



## THE MINDE OF THE FRONT.

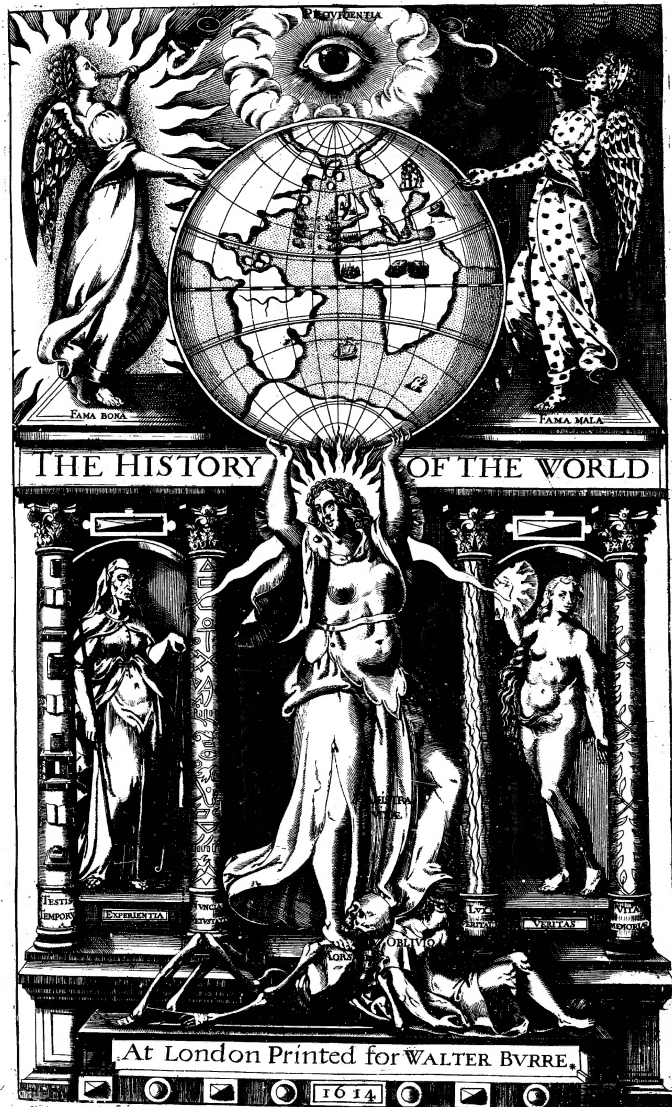
**F**rom Death and darke Obluion (*neere the same*)  
The Mistrisse of Mans life, graue Historie,  
Raising the World to good, or Euill same,  
Doth vindicate it to Æternitie.

High Providence would so: that nor the good  
Might be defrauded, nor the Great secur'd,  
But both might know their wayes are vnderstood,  
And the reward, and punishment assur'd.

This makes, that lighted by the beemie hand  
Of Truth, which searcheth the most hidden springs,  
And guided by Experience, whose streight wand  
Doth me te, whose Line doth sound the depth of things:

Shee chearefully supporteth what shee reares;  
Assisted by no strengths, but are her owne,  
Som: note of which each varied Pillar beares,  
By which as proper rules shee is knowne,

Times witnesse, Herald of Antiquitie,  
The light of Truth, and life of Memorie.





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**H**OW unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my self, to undertake a worke of this mixture; mine own reason, though exceeding weak, hath sufficiently resolved me. For had it bene begotten then with my first dawne of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open its selfe to my yonger yeares: and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well have doubted, that the darke lesse of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation: I have proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly purposed (some few shall excepted) to confine my discourse, within this our renowned Island of Great Brittain. I confesse that it had better sorted with my disability, the better part of whose times are runne out in other travailes; to have set together (as I could) the unioynted and scattered frame of our English affaires, than of the universall: in whome had there bene no other defect, (who am all defect) then the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawne on to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost, and soule-peircing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured: with the desire to satisfie those few friends, which I have tried by the fire of adversitie; the former enforcing, the latter perswading; have caused mee to make my thoughts legible, and my selfe the Subject of every opinion wise or weak.

To the world I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were, (Fortune changing) sped much better in any age. For, Prosperity and Adversity have ever more tied and untied vulgar affections. And as we see it in experience, That dogs doe alwaies barked at those they know not; and that it is in their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so is it with the inconsiderate multitude. Who, wanting that vertue which we call Honesty in all men, and that especiall gift of GOD which we call Charity in Christian men; condemne, without hearing; and wound, without offence given: led there-vnto by uncertaine report only; Demonolog. l. 3<sup>ca</sup>. which his Maiesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. Blame no man (saith Siracides) before thou have inquired the matter: vnderstand first, and then reforme righteously. Ecclesi. 11. 7

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*fine iudice, maligna, fallax, Rumor is without witnesse, without iudge, malicious and deceueable. This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gaue St. Augustine Argument to affirme, That he feared the praise of good men, and detested that of the euill. And herein no man hath giuen a better rule, then this of Seneca; Conscientia iustitiamus, nihil in famam laboremus; sequatur vel mala, dum bene merearis. Let vs satisfie our owne consciences, and not trouble our felues with fame: be it neuer so ill, it is to be despised so we deserue well.*

For my selfe, if I haue in any thing serued my Country, and prised it before my priuate: the generall acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time, than doeb a faire Iunbine day to a Sea-man after shipwrack, and the contrary no other harme than in our agious tempest after the port attained. I know that I lost the loue of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I must still honor in the dust; though further than the defence of Her excellent person, I neuer persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what deuice they did it: He that is the Supreme Iudge of all the world, hath taken the accompt; so as for this kind of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parata, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that haue made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath bene begotten for them: I can neither enuy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine owne mishap in that kind; but content my selfe to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis in many particulars.

To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope: seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can traualle the world without a passeport. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many interuall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then some possibility, to perswade by the mouth of one Advocate, euen Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying and extensive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giving life which G.O.D. hath cast, upon Slime and Dust: as that among those that were, of whom we read; and heare, and among those that are, whom we see and conuerse with; euery one hath received a severall picture of face, and euery one a diuers picture of minde; euery one a forme apart, euery one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing where in Nature so much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found so great diuersity of opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many naturall and unnaturall; wise, foolish; manly, and childish affections, and passions in Mortall Men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference, of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme interuall.

And though it hath pleased G.O.D. to reserve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himselfe; yet, as the fruit tels the name of the Tree; so doe the

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outward workes of men (so farre as their cogitations are acted) giue vs whereof to guesse at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to expresse the one by the other, every neare the life: did not craft in many, feare in the most, and the worlds loue in all, reach euery capacity, according to the compasse it hath, to qualifie and make ouer their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam recidunt, quibus veritas non subest. No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behauiour: the things that are forced for pretences, hauing no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their owne natures. Neither can any man (saith Plutarch) so change himselfe, but that his heart may be sometime seene at his tongues end.

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable creatures, if wee direct our selues to the Multitude; Omnis honestæ rei malus iudex est vulgus, The common people are euill Iudges of honest things, and whole wisdom (saith Ecclesiastes) is to bee despised; if to the better sort; euery understanding hath a peculiar indgement; by which it both censures other men, and valueth it selfe. And therefore vnto mee it will not seeme strange, though I finde these my worthless papers torne with Rats: seeing the slowfull Censurers of all ages, haue not feared to taxe the Reuerend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the severest men to themselves, with Hypocrisie; the greatest louers of Iustice, with Popularity; and those of the truest valour and fortitude, with vaine-glorie. But of these na-  
Eccle. 11.  
quæ reprobis  
sere alium.

To me it belongs in the first part of this preface, following the common and approoued custome of those who haue left the memories of time past to after ages; to giue, as neare as I can, the same right to History which they haue done. Yet seeing therein I should but borrow other mens wordes; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath bene honored; in this one it triumpheth ouer all humane knowledge, That it hath giuen vs life in our understanding, since the world it selfe had life and beginning, euen to this day: yea it hath triumphed ouer time, which besides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed ouer: for it hath carried our knowledge ouer the vast & denouing space of so many thousands of yeares, and giuen so faire and peiring eies to our minde; that we plainly behold liuing now, as if we had liued then, that great World, Magni Dei sapiens opus, the wise worke (saith Hermes) of a great G.O.D. as it was then, when but new to it selfe. By it I say it

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is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed: how it was covered with waters, and againe repopled: How Kings and Kingdomes haue flourish'd and fallen; and for what vertue and piety GOD made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity be made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe unto History, that it hath made vs acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and, out of the depth and darknesse of the earth, deliuered vs their memory and fame. In a word, wee may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-past miseries, with our owne like errors and ill deservings.

But it is neither of Examples the most lively instructions, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupified minde; as to make vs remember, That the infinite eye and wisdom of GOD doth pierce through all our pretences; as to make vs remember, That the iustice of GOD doth require none other accuser, than our owne consciences: which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formalities, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, couer from his knowledge. And so much did that Heathen wisdom confesse, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true GOD. If any (saith Eurypides) hauing in his life committed wickednesse, thinke he can hide it from the euermourning gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat GODS iudgements in particular, vpon those of all degrees, which haue plaid with his mercies; would require a volume a part: for the Sea of examples hath no bottom. The markes, set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that liued with them: so as they who succeed, and haue not seene the fall of others, doe not feare their owne faults. GODS iudgements vpon the greater and greatest, haue bene left to posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their vertue, who haue gathered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkable in the world. Now to point farre off, and to speake of the conversion of Angells in a Devils, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who haue gnawne the grasse of the earth with beasts, for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wise working of Pharao, when hee slew the Infants of Israel, ere they had recovered their Cradles. Or of the policy of Iezabel, in couering the Murder of Naboth by a trial of the Elders, according to the Law: with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopelesse proofe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farre-off respects, as heretofore? For who hath not obserued, what labour, practise, perill, bloodshed, and

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cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world haue undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make them selues and their issues maisters of the world? And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, and the rest, no fruit, flower, grasse, nor lease, springing vpon the face of the Earth, of those seedes: No; their very roots and ruines doe hardly remaine. Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum eueruntur, vel stando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is either ouerturn'd by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diuersly giuen by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdomes and States haue fallen (say the Politicians) by outward and forraigne force, or by inward negligence and dissension, or by a third cause arising from both: Others obserue, That the greatest haue sunk downe vnder their owne weight; of which Liue hath a touch: eo creuit, vt magnitudine laboret sua: Others, That the diuine providence (which Craetippus obiected to Pompey) hath set downe the date and period of euery estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will giue my selfe a day ouer to resolute.

For seeing the first bookes of the following story, haue vnder-taken the discourse of the first Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface, to trauaile after and ouer-take farre-off Antiquity, and to iudge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath bene gathered by our owne Kings, and their Neighbour Princes: who hauing beheld, both in diuine and humane letters, the successe of infidelities, iniustices, and cruelties; haue (notwithstanding) planted after the same patternes.

True it is that the iudgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred vpp a-like with examples of like nature: But euery one is touched most, with that which most neerely seemeth to touch his owne private; Or otherwise best suited with his apprehension. But the iudgements of GOD are for euer unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long proesse of time, and won to giue his blessing in one age, to that which he hath curst in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will bee able to discern the bitter fruites of irreligious policies; as well among those examples that are found in ages removed farre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no lesse appeare by euident proofe, than by assertion, That ill doing hath alwaies bene attended with ill successe, I will here, by way of preface, runne ouer some examples, which the worke ensuing hath not reached.

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Among our Kings of the Norman race, we haue no sooner passed ouer the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods iustice, vpon the children of Henry the first. For that King, when both by force, craft, and crueltie, hee had dispossessed, ouer-reacht, and lastly made blind and destroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne sonnes Lords of this Land: GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Nieces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with aboue a hundred and fiftie others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearely beloved.

To passe ouer the rest, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certain, that after the Murder of that King, the issue of blood then made, though it had some times stay and stopping, did againe breake out; and that so often, and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine race (very few excepted) died of the same disease. And although the young yeares of Edward the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more then suspitious: yet in that hee after wards caused his owne Vncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whome the Earle as then supposed to beeliuing; (the King making that to be treason in his Vncle, which was indeed treason in him-selfe, had his Vncles intelligence beene true) this I say made it manifest, that hee was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to haue had it otherwise; though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

This cruelty the secret and vnsearchable iudgement of GOD reuenged, on the Grand-child of Edward the Thirde: and so it fell out, euen to the last of that Line, that in the second or thirde descent they were all buried vnder the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had beene tempered with innocent blood. For Richard the second, who saw, both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with diuers others of his Counsaillours, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet hee alwaies tooke him-selfe for ouer-wise, to bee taught by examples. The Earles of Huntington and Kent, Montague and Spencer, who thought them-selues as great politicians in those daies, as others haue done in these: hoping to please the King, and to secure them-selues, by the Murder of Gloucester; died soone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farre more shamefully then did that Duke. And as for the King him-selfe (who in regard of many deedes, unworthy of his Greatnesse, cannot bee excused, as the disauowing him-selfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons, and Patents) He was in the Prime of his youth deposed; and murdered by his Cousen-germane and vassall, Henry of Lancaster; afterwards Henry the fourth.

*This*

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This King, whose Title was weake, and his obtaining the Crowne treacherous: who brake Faith with the Lordes at his landing, protesting to intend only the recouerie of his proper Inheritance; brake faith with Richard him-selfe; and brake Faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom he swore, that the deposed King should liue. After that he had enioyed this Realme some few yeares, and in that time had beene set vpon on all sides by his Subiects, and neuer free from conspiracies and rebellions: he law (if Soules immortall see and discerne any thinges after the bodies death) his Grand-child Henrie the sixth, and his Sonne the Prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murdered; the possession of the Crowne (for which he had caused so much blood to bea powred out) transferred from his race; and by the Issues of his Enemies worne and enioyed; Enemies, whom by his owne practise hee supposed, that he had left no lesse powerlesse, than the succession of the Kingdome questionlesse; by entraining the same vpon his owne Issues, by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reason could haue iudged no other wise, but that these cautious prouisions of the Father, seconded by the valour and signall victories of his Sonne Henry the fifth, had buried the hopes of euery Competitor, vnder the despair of al reconquest and recouery. I say, that humane reason might so haue iudged: were not this passage of Calaubon also true; Dies, hora, momentum, euertendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundata; A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to ouerturne the things, that seemed to haue beene founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henrie the sixth, vpon whom the great storme of his Grand-fathers greivous faults fell, as it formerly had done vpon Richard the Grand-child of Edward: although he was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince; yet as he refused the daughter of Armaignac, of the House of Nauarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom hee was affianced (by which match hee might haue defended his Inheritance in France) and married the Daughter of Aniou, (by which he lost all that hee had in France) so as in condescending to the unworthy death of his Vncle of Gloucester, the maine and strong pillar of the house of Lancaster; Hee drew on him-selfe and this kingdome the greatest ioynt-losse & dishonor, that euer it sustained since the Norman Conquest. Of whom it may truly be said, which a Counsellor of his owne spake of Henrie the Thirde of France, Qu'il estoit vns fort gentil Prince; mais son reigne est aduenu en vne fort mauuois temps, That he was a very gentle Prince; but his reign happened in a very vnfortunate season.

It is true, that Buckingham and Suffolke were the practisers and contriuers of the Dukes death: Buckingham and Suffolke, because the Duke gaue instructions to their authority, which otherwise vnder the Queene had bin absolute; the Queene, in respect of her personall wound, interpretæque iniuria forma,

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forma, because Gloucester dissuaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the success to the Counsaile. For after the cutting downe of Gloucester, Yorke grew up so fast, as hee dared to dispute his right, both by arguments and armes; in which quarrell, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolued. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down Yorke: yet his sonne the Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, despoiled Henry the Father, and Edward, the sonne, both of their liues and Kingdomes: And what was the end now of that politique Lady the Queene, other then this, That shee liued to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that she liued to looke on, while her Husband the King, and her onely sonne the Prince, were hewen in sunder; while the Crowne was set on his head that did it. Shee liued to see her selfe despoiled of her Estate, and of her moueables; and lastly, her Father, by rendering up to the Crowne of France the Earldome of Prouence and other places, for the payment of Fifty thousand crownes for her ransom, to become a starke beggar. And this was the end of that subtiltie, which Siracides calleth fine, but vnrighteous: for other fruit hath it neuer yeelded since the world was.

And now comes it to Edward the fourth turne (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of Lancaster were rooted up; One onely Earle of Richmond excepted: whome also hee had once bought of the Duke of Britaine, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward such a plantation; as could any way promise it selfe stability. For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the slaughter, which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings; and others, made of Edward the Prince in his owne presence: of which tragical Actors, there was not one that escaped the iudgement of GOD in the same kinde. And He, which besides the execution of his brother of Clarence, for none other offence then hee himselfe had formed in his owne imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the sixth, his predecessour; taught him also by the same Art to kill his owne sonnes and Successors Edward and Richard. For those Kings, which haue sold the blood of others at a low rate; haue but made the Market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To Edward the fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Master in mischeifs of all that fore-went him: who although, for the necessity of his Tragedie, hee had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne person, then all the rest; yet hee so well fitted every affection that played with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne interest. For he wrought so cunningly upon the affections of Hastings, and Buckingham, enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred: as hee

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easily allured them to condescend, that Riuer and Grey, the Kings Mother and half brother, should (for the first) be seuered from him: secondly, hee wrought their consent to haue them imprisoned, and lastly (for the avoyding of future inconuenience) to haue their heads seuered from their bodies. And hauing now brought those his chiefe instruments to exercise that common precept, which the Deuill hath written on euery poss, namely, To depresse those whome they had grieued, and to destroy those whom they had deprest; Hee urged that argument so farre and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the yong king himselfe, and of his brother, could fashion the conclusion. For hee caused it to be hammered into Buckinghams head, That, whensoever the king or his brother, should haue able yeares to exercise their power; they would take a most seuerer reuenge of that curelesse wrong, offered to their vncle and brother, Riuer and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters sonnes was without suspect: and yet the Diuell, who neuer trades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so hee did. But when hee found by Catesby, who sounded him, that he was not fordable; He first resolved to kill him sitting in counsell: wherein hauing sayled with his sword; He set the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could moue his appetite; He caused his head to be stricken off, before he ate his dinner. A greater iudgement of GOD, than this upon Hastings, I haue neuer obserued in any storie. For the selfe same due that the Earle Riuer, Grey, and others, were (without trial of Law, or offence giuen) by Hastings aduice executed at Pomfret: I say Hastings himselfe in the same daie, and (as I take it) in the same house, in the same lawlesse manner had his head stricken off in the Tower of London; But Buckingham liued a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perswaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their king. And hauing receiued the Earldome of Hereford for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely sonne; after many grievous vexations of minde, and unfortunate attempts being in the end betrayed and deliuered up by his trustiest seruants; He had his head seuered from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peeres. And what success he had Richard himselfe after all these mischeifs and Murders policies, and counter-policies to Christian religion; and after such time, as with a most mercilesse hand hee had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords; other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it tooke end, ere himselfe could well looke ouer and discern in the great outcrie of innocent blood, obtaining at GODS hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonor, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruell King Henry the seauenth cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of GODS iustice. A politique Prince hee was

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Scelerate fecerunt tuenda  
ten: de dem.

Sirac. 19.

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if euer there were any, and who by the ingine of his wisdom, beat downe and overturned as many strong oppositions both before and after hee were the crowne as euer King of England did: I say by his wisdom, because as he euer left the raines of his affections in the hands of his profite, so he alwaies wayed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. Hee had well obserued the proceedings of Loys the eleuenth, whome hee followed in all that was royall or royal-like, but hee was farre more iust, and began not their processs whome hee hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

Hee could neuer indure any mediation in rewarding his seruants, and therein exceeding wise, for what so euer him-selfe gaue, hee him-selfe receiued backe the thanks and the loue, knowing it well that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so reddeley as by benefitts) were traynes that better became great Kings, than great subiects. On the contrary, in what so euer hee greened his subiects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for such actions. How so euer, the taking off, of Stanles head, who set the Crowne on his, and the death of the young Earle of Warwick, some to George D. of Clarence, others, as the successe also did, that he held somewhat of the errors of his ancestors, for his possession in the first line ended in his grand children, as that of Edward the third and Henry the fourth had done.

Now for King Henry the eight: if all the pictures and Patternes of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many seruants did hee aduance in hast (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gaue hee abundant flowres from whence to gather bony, and in the end of Haruest burnt them in the Hine? How many wiues did hee cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the blood (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whome our common Chronicles haue kept the accompt) did he execute? Yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to haue giuen his accompt to GOD for the abundance of blood already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Norfolk the Father, and executed the Earle of Surrey the sonne; the one, whose desertings he knew not how to value, hauing neuer omitted any thing that concerned his owne honour, and the Kings seruice; the other, neuer hauing committed any thing worthy of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and aduised; the other, no lesse valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrowes which hee heaped vpon the Fatherlesse, and widowes at home: and besides the ruaine enterprises abroad, wherein it was thought that hee consumed more Treasure, than all our victorious Kings

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Kings did in their seuerall Conquests: what causelesse and cruell warres did he make vpon his owne Nephew King Iames the first? What Lawes and Wills did he deuise, to establish this Kingdome in his owne issues? vsing his sharpest weapons to cut off, and cut downe those branches, which sprang from the same roote that him-selfe did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious prouisions) it pleased GOD to take away all his owne, without increase; though, for themselves in their seuerall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For these wordes of Samuel to Agag King of the Amalekites, haue bene verified vpon many others: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse: so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women. And that blood, which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold aire of Scotland had frozen up in the North, GOD hath diffused by the sunshine of his grace: from whence His Maiesty now liuing, and long to liue, is descended. Of whome I may say it truly, That if all the malice of the world were infused into one eie: yet could it not discern in His life, euen to this daie, any one of those foule spots, by which the Consciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) haue bene defiled; nor any droppe of that innocent blood on the sword of his iustice, with which the most that fore-went him, haue stayned both their hands and faces. And for this Crowne of England; it may truly be a-crowed, That hee hath receiued it euen from the hand of GOD, and hath stayed the time of putting it on, howsoeuer hee were prouoked to hasten it: That Hee neuer tooke reuenge of any man, that fought to put him beside it: That Hee refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as euer Princeesse did, That His Maiesty entred not by a breach, nor by blood; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right set open; and into which, by a generall loue and Obedience, Hee was receiued. And howsoeuer His Maiesties preceding title to this Kingdome, was preferred by many Princes (witness the Treaty at Cambray in the yeare, 1559) yet hee neuer pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady, his Predecessor; no, notwithstanding the injury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long reigne.

Neither ought wee to forget, or neglect our thankfulness to GOD for the uniting of the Northerne parts of Brittain to the South, to wit of Scotland to England, which though they were seuered but by small brookes and haucks, yet by reason of the long continued warre, and the cruelties exercised vpon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely seuered. This I say is not the least of Gods blessings which His Maiesty hath brought with him vnto this Land: No, put all our petty grieuances together, and heap them vp to their height, they will appeare but as a Mole-hill, compared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Historiours since

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then; haue acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Rose, and the White, for the greatest happinesse, (Christian Religion excepted) that euer this Kingdome receiued from GOD, certainly the peace betwene the two Lions of gold and giues, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our britis bloud, heretofore and during the difference so often & abundantly shed, the state of England is more assured, the Kingdome more enabled to recover her ancient honor and rights, and by it made more inuincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies and conquests: It is true that hereof we do not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the year 1588, ioyned the army which hee commanded with that of Spaine, and landed it on the south coast; and had his Maiesty at the same time declared himselfe against vs in the north: it is easie to diuine what had become of the liberty of England, certainly we would then without murmur haue bought this union at a farre greater price than it hath since cost vs.

It is true, that there was neuer any Common-weale or Kingdome in the world; wherein man had cause to lament. Kings liue in the world and not aboue it. They are not infinite to examine euery mans cause, or to relieue euery mans woe. And yet in the latter, (though to his owne prejudice) His Maiesty hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his owne Coffers. Of whome it may be said, as of Salomon, Dedit Deus Salomoni latitudinem Cordis: Which if other men doe not vnderstand with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitude of knowledge; yet may it bee better spoken of His Maiesty, than of any King that euer England had; who as well in Diuine, as Human vnderstanding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

I could say much more of the Kings Maiesty, without flatterie: did I not feare the imputation of presumption; and withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of Queene Elizabeth, made by vnskilfull and common Painters; which by her owne Commandement, were knockt in peeces and cast into the fire. For ill Artifts, in setting out the beauty of the external: and weake writers, in describing the vertues of the internal; doe often leaue to posterity, of well-formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most perfect and Princely mindes, a most defective representation. It may suffice, and there needes no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruell and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbowr-Princes (of whome for that purpose I haue inserted this breife discourse) with His Maiesties temperate, reuengelesse, and liberall disposition: I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them iustly, and with an even hand: and withall, but bestow euery deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man which hath so iust cause to complaine, as the King him-selfe hath.

Now

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Now as we haue told the successe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great personages: so we finde, that GOD is euery where the same GOD. And as it pleased him to punish the usurpation, and vnnaturall cruelty of Henry the first, and of our third Edward, in their Children for many generations: so dealt He with the sonnes of Loys Debonaire, the sonne of Charles the great, or Charlemain. For after such time as Debonaire of France, had torne out the eyes of Bernard his Nephew, the sonne of Pepin, the eldest sonne of Charlemain, and heire of the Empire, and then caused him to die in prison, as did our Henry to Robert his elder brother: there followed nothing but murders vpon murders, poysonings, imprisonments, and ciuill warre; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguished.

And though Debonaire, after hee had rid himselfe of his Nephew by a violent death; and of his Bastard Brothers by a ciuill death (hauing inclosed them with sure gard, all the daies of their liues, within a Monasterie) beid him-selfe secure from all opposition: Yet GOD raised vp against him (which hee suspected not) his owne sonnes, to reuenge him, to invade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him; his owne sonnes, with whome (to satisfie their ambition) hee had shared his estate, and given them Crownes to weare, and Kingdomes to gouerne, during his owne life. Tea his eldest sonne Lothaire (for hee had four, three by his first wife, and one by his second, to wit, Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, and Charles) made it the cause of his deposition, That hee had vsed violence towards his Brothers and Kinsmen, and that hee had suffered his Nephew (whome hee might haue deliuered) to be slaine, eo quod, saith the Text, fratribus et propinquis violentiam intulerit, et nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permiserit. Because hee vsed violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, and suffred his Nephew to be slaine whom he might haue deliuered.

Yet did hee that which few Kings doe; namely, repent him of his crueltie. For among many other things, which hee performed in the Generall Assemblie of the States it followes, Post hæc autem palam se crasse confessus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosij exemplum, penitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat. After this hee did openly confesse him-selfe to haue erred, and following the example of the Emperour Theodosius hee vnder-went voluntary penance as, well for his other offences, as for that which hee had done against Bernard his owne Nephew.

This hee did: and it was praise-worthie. But the bloud that is vniustly spilt, is not againe gathered vp from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, haue but dead rewards.

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Picturement,  
in Sal. 1. 12.

Stee. Psiquire  
recher. l. 3. c. 11.

Taff. Wisdom

*This King, as I have said, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire his eldest he gave the Kingdom of Italy; as Charlemain, his Father, had done to Pepin the Father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To Pepin the second sonne he gave the Kingdom of Aquitaine: to Loys, the Kingdom of Bauier: and to Charles, whome hee had by a second wife, called Iudith, the remainder of the Kingdom of France. But this second wife, being a Mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded Debonaire to cast his sonne Pepin out of Aquitaine; thereby to greaten Charles: which, after the death of his sonne Pepin, he prosecuted to effect, against his Grandchild bearing the same name. In the meane while, being invaded by his sonne Loys of Bauier, he dies for greife.*

*Debonaire dead: Loys of Bauier, and Charles after wards called the bald, and their Nephew Pepin of Aquitaine, ioyned in league against the Emperour Lothaire their eldest Brother. They fight neare to Auxerre the most bloody battaile that euer was stroken in France: in which, the marvellous losse of Nobility, and men of warre, gave courage to the Saracens to invade Italie; to the Hunnes, to fall upon Almaine; and the Danes, to enter upon Normandy. Charles the Bald by treason seizeth upon his Nephew Pepin, kills him in a Cloyster, Carloman rebels against his Father Charles the Bald, the Father burnes out the eyes of his sonne Carloman; Bauire invades the Emperour Lothaire his Brother, Lothaire quits the Empire, Hee is assailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conscience, for his rebellion against his Father and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monestarie. Charles the Bald the Uncle oppresseth his Nephewes the sonnes of Lothaire, hee usurpeth the Empire to the preiudice of Loys of Bauiere his elder Brother, Bauiers armies and his sonne Carloman are beaten, hee dies of greife, and the Usurper Charles is poisoned by Zedechias a Iew his Physitian, his sonne Loys le Beque dies of the same drinke. Beque had Charles the simple, and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman; they rebell against their Brother, but the eldest breaks his Neck; the younger is slaine by a wild Bore; the sonne of Bauiere had the same ill destiny and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in sporting with his companions. Charles the grosse becomes Lord of all that the sonnes of Debonaire held in Germanie, wherewith not contented, hee invades Charles the simple, but being forsaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his vnderstanding, hee dies a distracted begger. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes Maior of the Pallace, then by Robert the Brother of Eudes, and lastly being taken by the Earle of Vermandois, hee is forced to die in the prison of Peron. Loys the sonne of Charles the simple breaks his Neck in Chasing a Wolfe, and of the two sonnes of this Loys, the one dies of poison, the other dies in the prison of Orleans, after whome Hugh Capet, of another race, and a stranger to the French, makes him-selfe King.*

*Thefe*

*These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire: who after hee had once apparelled iniustice with authority, his sonnes and successeurs tooke up the fashion; and wore that Garment so long without other prouision, as when the same was torne from their shouldders, every man despised them as miserable and naked beggers. The wretched successe they had, (saith a learned French-man) shewes, qu'en ceste mortil y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la iustice: that in the death of that Prince, to wit of Bernard the sonne of Pepin, the true heire of Charlemaine, men had more meddling, than either GOD, or Iustice had.*

*But to come nearer home; it is certaine that Francis the first, One of the worthiest Kings (except for that fault) that euer the French-men had, did neuer enjoy him-selfe; after hee had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol and Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Prouence, which poore people were there-upon burnt, and murdered; men, woemen, and children. It is true, that the said King Francis repented him-selfe of the fault, and gave charge to Henry his sonne, to doe iustice upon the Murderers; threatening his sonne with GODS judgments, if hee neglected it. But this unreasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry him-selfe was slaine in sport by Montgomerie; we all may remember what became of his foure sonnes, Francis Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: Yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty, and breach of faith; with all their Massacres, upon those of the religion, and great effusion of blood; the Crowne was set on his head, whome they all laboured to disolue; the Protestants remaine more in number than euer they were; and hold to this day more strong citities than euer they had.*

*Let us now see if GOD be not the same GOD in Spaine, as in England and France. Towards whome we wil looke no further backe than to Don Pedro of Castile: in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicil, our Richard the third, and the great Euan Vasilowich of Moscouia, were but pettie ones: this Castilian, of all Christian and Heathen Kings, hauing bene the most mercilesse. For besides those of his owne blood and Nobility which hee caused to be slaine in his owne Court and Chamber, as Sancho Ruis the great Maister of Calatraua, Ruis Gonfales, Alphonso Tello, and Don Iohn of Arragon, whome he cutt in peeces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian buriall: I say besides these, and the slaughter of Gomes Manriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great commander of Castile, Hee made away the two Infantes of Arragon his Cosen-germans, his brother Don Frederick, Don Iohn de la Cerde, Albuquerque, Nuges de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo,*

de Toledo, Guttiere his great Treasurer, and all his Kindred, and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whom after hee had kept in close prison from their Cradles, till one of them had liued sixteen years, and the other fourteen; hee murdered them there. Nay hee spared not his Mother, nor his wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Lastly as he caused the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and the Deane, to be killed of purpose to enioy their treasures: so did he put to death Mahomet Aben Alhamar King of Barbarie, with seauen and thirty of his Nobilitie; that came vnto him for succour, with a great summe of mony, to leuy (by his fauour) some companies of souldiers to returne withall. Yea he would needs assist the Hangman with his waile hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope Urban declared him an enemy both to GOD and Man. But what was his end? Having bene formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster: He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earle of Agramara, who dispossessed all his Children of their inheritance; which, but for the Fathers iniustice and cruelty, had neuer bene in danger of any such thing.

If wee can parallell any man with this King, it must be Duke Iohn of Burgoigne: who, after his traitorous murder of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancellor of France, the Bishops of Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and renowned Church-men, the Earle of gran Pré Hector of Chartres, and (in effect) all the Officers of iustice, of the Chamber of Accomptes, Treasure, and Request, (with sixteen hundred others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slaine. Hereby, while hee hoped to gouerne, and to haue maistred France: Hee was soone after stricken with an axe in the face, in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slaine. These were the Louers of other mens miseries: and miserie found them out.

Now for the Kings of Spaine, which liued both with Henry the seventh, Henry the eighth, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon was the first: and the first that layd the foundation of the present Austrian greatness. For this King did not content himselfe to hold Arragon by the usurpation of his Ancestor; and to fasten there vnto the Kingdome of Castile and Leon, which Isabel his wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her own Neece the Daughter of the last Henry: but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, hee also cast his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of Nauarre; and, contrarie to faith, and the promise that hee made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted therest, as there was no meanes left for any army to invade it. This King I say, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick Kings

King of Spaine

French Inuent.  
in Anno. 1418

Kings of Naples, Princes of his owne blood, and by double alliance tied vnto him; sold them to the French: and with the same Army, sent for their succour vnder Gonsaluo, cast them out; and shewed their Kingdome with the French, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wise and politique King, who sold Heauen and his owne Honour, to make his sonne, the Prince of Spaine, the greatest Monarch of the world: saw him die in the flower of his yeares; and his wife great with child, with her vniuely birth, at once and together buried. His eldest daughter married vnto Don Alphonso Prince of Portugall, beheld her first husband breake his neck in her presence; and being with child by her second, died with it. A iust iudgement of GOD vpon the race of Iohn, father to Alphonso, now wholly extinguished: who had not onely left many disconsolate Mothers in Portugall, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slaine, with his owne hand, the sonne and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Duchesse of Viseo. The second Daughter of Ferdinand married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned foole; and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry the eighth, hee cast off by the King: the mother of many troubles in England; and the mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy zeale shed a world of innocent blood; lost Callice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude: all those Kingdomes of Ferdinand haue maisters of a new name; and, by a strange familie are gouerned and possessed.

Charles the sixth, sonne to the Arch-duke Philip, in whose vaine enterprises vpon the French, vpon the Almans, and other Princes and States, so many multitudes of Christian souldiers, and renowned Captaines, were consumed: who gaue the while a most perilous entrance to the Turkes, and suffered Rhodes, the Key of Christendome, to be taken; was in conclusion chased out of France, and in a sort out of Germany; and left to the French, Metz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire; stole away from Insprug; and scaled the Alpes by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice; hauing hoped to swallow vp all those dominions, wherein hee concocted nothing saue his owne disgraces. And hauing, after the slaughter of so many Millions of men, no one foote of ground in either: hee crept into a Cloyster, and made himselfe a Pensioner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the yeare to his sonne Philip; from whom he very slowly received his meane and ordinary maintenance.

His Sonne againe King Philip the second, not satisfied to hold Holland and Zeland (wrested by his Ancestors from Iaqueline their lawfull Princess) and to possess in peace manie other Prouinces of the Netherlands: perswaded by that mischeiuous Cardinall of Granuile, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable seruices, done to his Father the Emperor by the Nobility of those countries; nor

Neher. Hist.  
1. 7. fol. 213.

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Wife of the  
Netherland

only forgot the present, made him upon his entrie, of forty millions of Florents, called the Nouale aide; nor only forgot, that hee had twice most solemnly sworne to the Generall states, to maintaine and preserve their ancient rights, priuiledges, and customes, which they had enioyed vnder their thirty and five Earles before him, Conditionall Princes of those Prouinces: but beginning first to constraîne them, and enthrall them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impouerish them by many new deuised and intolerable Impositions; He lastly, by strong hand and maine force, attempted to make him-selfe not only an absolute Monarch ouer them, like vnto the Kings and Soueraignes of England and France; but Turke-like, to tread vnder his feete all their Nationall and fundamentall Lawes, priuiledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the Pope a dispensation of his former Oathes (which dispensation was the true cause of all the warre and bloodshed since then) and after he had tried what hee could performe, by diuiding of their owne Nobility, vnder the government of his base sister Margaret of Austria, and the Cardinall Granuile; Hee employed that most mercilesse Spaniard Don Ferdinand Aluarez of Toledo Duke of Alua, followed with a powerfull army of strange Nations: by whom he first slaughterd that renowned Captaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gaucare; and Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made away Montigue, and the Marquis of Berghes; and cut off in those fixe yeares (that Alua gouerned) of Gentlemen and others, eightene thousand and fixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous murders and massacres. By whose ministry when he could not yet bring his affaires to their wished endes, hauing it in his hope to worke that by subtilty, which he had failed to performe by force: Hee sent for gouernour his bastard brother Don Iohn of Austria; a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But hee, vsing the same papall aduantage that his predecessors had done: made no scruple to take Oath vpon the Holy Euangelists, to obserue the treaty made with the generall states; and to discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, and other strangers, there in garrison. Towards whose Pay and Passport, the Netherlands strained them-selues to make payment of fixe hundred thousand pounds. Which monies receiued, He suddenly surpris'd the Citadells of Antwerp and Nemeures: not doubting (being vn suspected by the States) to haue possess'd him-selfe of all the maiestie places of those Prouinces. For whatsoeuer hee ouertly pretended: Hee held in secret a contrary counsell with the Secretarie Escouedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, and others, Ministers of the Spanish tyranny; formerly practis'd, and now againe intended. But let vs now see the effect and end of this peruerie, and of all other the Dukes cruelties. First for him-selfe; after hee had murdered so many of the Nobility; executed (as aforesaid) eightene thousand fixe hundred

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in fixe yeares; and most cruelly slaine Man, Woman, and Child, in Mecklin, Zurphen, Naerden, and other places: and after hee had consumed fixe and thirtie millions of treasure in fixe yeares: notwithstanding his Spanish want, That hee would suffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrells, and milke-tubbs: Hee departed the country no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse and detestation of the whole Nation; leaving his masters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, than hee found them at his first arriuall. For Don Iohn, whose hangbry conceit of him selfe ouer-came the greatest difficulties; though his iudgement were ouer-weake to manage the least: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers ieaousie and distrust; with the continuely death that seized him, euen in the flowre of his youth. And for Escouedo his sharpe-witted Secretarie, who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Master both England and the Netherlands; being sent into Spaine vpon some new proiect, He was at the first arriuall, and before any access to the King, by certaine Russians appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his owne lodging. Lastly, if wee consider the King of Spaines carriage, his counsaile, and successe in this businesse; there is nothing left to the memorie of man more remarkable. For hee hath paid aboue an hundred Millions, and the liues of aboue foure hundred thousand Christians, for the losse of all those countries; which, for beauty, gaue place to none; and for reuennue, did equall his West Indies: for the losse of a Nation, which most willingly obeyed him; and who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in despite of all his forces become free Estates, and farre more rich and powerfull, than they were, when hee first began to impouerish and oppresse them.

Oh by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poisonings, and vnder what reasons of State, and politique subtilties, haue these forrenamed Kings, both strangers, and of our owne Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD vpon them selves, vpon theirs, and vpon their prudent ministers! and in the end haue brought those things to passe for their enemies, and scene an effect so directly contrarie to all their owne counsailes and cruelties; as the one could neuer haue hoped for them-selves; and the other neuer haue succeeded; if no such opposition had euer bene made. GOD hath said it and performed it euer: Perdam sapientiam sapientum, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the lining, the fall and fortunes of the dead: seeing the world is the same that it hath bin; and the children of the present time, will still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times we haue, we hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for euer, or at least we hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for.

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For

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For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeite the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our selues; or preiudice our selues, that GOD hath giuen vs letters patents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a non obstante: so wee neither looke behind vs what hath beene, nor before vs what shall bee. It is true, that the quantitie which wee haue, is of the body: wee are by it ioyned to the earth: we are compounded of earth; and wee inhabit it. The Heauens are high, far off and vnsearceable: wee haue sense and feeling of corporal things; and of eternall grace, but by reuelation. No meruaile then that our thoughts are also earthlie: and it is lesse to bee wondred at, that the words of worthless men cannot cleanse them; seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose vnderstanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabit, haue not performed it. For as the Prophet Elai cryed out long agoe, Lord, who hath beleeued our reports? And out of doubt, as Elai complained then for him selfe and others: so are they lesse beleeued, euery day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, bee in euery mans mouth, yea in the discourse of euery woman, who for the greatest number are but Idolls of vanitie: what is it other than an vniuersall dissimulation? Wee professe that wee know GOD: but by workes we deny him. For Beatitudo doth not consist in the knowledge of diuine things, but in a diuine life: for the Deuills know them better than men. Beatitudo non est diuinorum cognitio, sed vita diuina. And certainly there is nothing more to bee admired, and more to bee lamented, than the priuat contention, the passionate dispute, the personall hatred, and the perpetual warre, massacres, and murders, for Religion among Christians: the discourse whereof hath so occupied the World, as it hath well nere driuen the practise thereof out of the world. Who would not soone resolue, that tooke knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their liues which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heauen; and that the World it selfe were but vsed as it ought, and as an inne or place, wherein to repose our selues in passing on towards our celestiall habitation: when on the contrary, besides the discourse of outward profession, the soule hath nothing but hypocrisie. Wee are all (in effect) become Comedians in religion: and while we act in gesture and voice, diuine vertues, in all the course of our liues we renounce our Persons, and the parts wee play. For Charitie, Iustice, and Truth, haue but their being in termes, like the Philosophers Materia prima.

Neither is it that wisdom, which Salomon defineth to be the Schoole-Mistresse of the knowledge of God, that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we giue it our good word; but the same which is altogether exercised in the seruice of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it.

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These indeed bee the markes, which (when wee haue bent our consciences to the highest) wee all shooote at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future: and yet when we haue gathered the greatest abundance, wee our selues enioy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For therest; Hee that had the greatest wisdom, and the greatest ability that euer man had, hath told vs that this is the use: When goods increafe (saith Salomon) they also increafe that eat them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? As for those that deuour the rest, and follow vs in faire weather: they againe forsake vs in the first tempest of misfortune, and steere away before the Sea and Winde; leauing vs to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of Maister Darnet, and use his owne words: Whilest the Emperour Charles the first, after the resignation of his Estares, stayed at Vlushing for winde, to carrie him his last iourne into Spaine; Hee conferred on a time with Seldius, his brother Ferdinands Embatladour, till the deepe of the night. And when Seldius should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his seruants, and no bodie answering him (for those that attended vpon him, were some goneto their lodgings, and all the rest asleepe) the Emperour tooke vp the candle him-selfe, and went before Seldius to light him downe the staires; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that Seldius could make. And when Hee was come to the staires foot, He said thus vnto him: Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperour, when hee shalbe dead and gone, That Him, whome thou hast knowne in thy time enuioured with so many mighty Armies, and Guards of souldiours, thou hast also seene alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea euen of his owne domestically seruants. &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD; which I will by no means goe about to withstand.

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reuerend respect that is held of great men, and the Honour done vnto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward loue for their iustice and piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the outcrie of an Heard of Animals, who without the knowledge of any true cause, please them-selues with the noyle they make. For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) haue euer beene applauded; the most vertuous (if vnprosperous) haue euer beene despised. For as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune her-selfe rides the Man. Who, when hee is descended and on foote: the Man taken from his Beast, and

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Fortune from the Man; a base groome beates the one, and a bitter contempt pursues at the other, which equall libertie.

The second, is the greatning of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whome wee leave behind vs. Certainly, of those which conceive that their soules departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be said of them, which Lactantius spake of certaine Heathen Philosophers, quod sapientes sunt in re stulta. For when our spirits immortall shalbe once separate from our mortall bodies, and disposed by GOD: there remaineth in them no other ioy of their posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other sorrow for their pouertie, than there doth of shame in that, which beareth vpon a Beggars cottage.

Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt viui etiam eorum filij quia anima mortuorum rebus viuientium non interfunt. The dead though holy, know nothing of the liuing, no, not of their owne children: for the soules of those departed, are not conuertant with their affaires that remaine. And if wee doubt of Saint Augustine, wee cannot of Iob; who tells vs, That wee know not if our sonnes shalbe honorable: neither shall wee vnderstand concerning them, whether they shalbe of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confermeth: Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieth him-himselfe in vaine: hee heapeth vp riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The liuing (saith hee) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all. for who can shew vnto man, what shalbe after him vnder the

Sunne? Hee therefore accepted it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and traualle in the world; not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wise man should enjoy the fruits thereof: which made mee (saith hee) endeavour euen to abhorre mine owne labour. And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowfull estates after death GOD hath reserved? mans knowledge lying but in his hope; seeing the Prophet Esai confesseth of the elect, That Abraham is ignorant of vs, and Ibraell knowes vs not. But hercof wee are assured, that the long and darke night of death:

(of whose following day wee shall neuer behold the dawne, till his returne that hath triumphed ouer it) shall couer vs ouer, till the world be no more. After which, and when wee shall againe receiue Organs glorified and incorruptible, the seats of Angelicall affections: in so great admiration shall the soules of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or lesse ioy, nor any returne of foregone and mortall affection, towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whome whether wee shall retain any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them: no man can assure vs; and the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary; If a diuine life retain any of those faculties, which the soule exercised in a mortall body; wee shall not at that time so diuide the ioyes of Heauen, as to cast any part thereof on the memory

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of their felicities which remaine in the World. No; bee their estates greater than euer the World gaue, wee shall (by the difference knowne vnto vs) euen detest their consideration. And whatsoeuer comfort shall remaine of all forepast, the same will consist in the charitie, which wee exercised liuing: and in that Pietie, Iustice, and firme Faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of GOD to accept of vs, and receiue vs. Shall wee therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as vnnecessarie and vaine? certainlie no. For that infinite wisdom of GOD, which hath distinguished his Angels by degrees: which hath giuen greater and lesse light, and beautie, to Heauenly bodies: which hath made differences betweene beasts and birds: created the Eagle and the stie, the Cedar and the Shrub: and among stones, giuen the fairest tincture to the Rubie, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Iudges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posteritie, for a marke and ensigne of the vertue and vnderstanding of their Ancestors: so, seeing Siracides preferreth Death before Beggerie: and that riches, without proportionable estates, fall vnder the miserable succour of other mens pittie; I accompt it foolishnesse to condemne such a care: Provided, that worldly goods bee well gotten, and that wee raise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For as Plato doth first preferre the perfection of bodilie health; secondly, the forme and beautie; and thirdly, Diuitias nulla fraude quasitas: so Hieremie cries, Woe vnto them that erect their houses by vnrighteousnesse, and their chambers without equitie: and Esai the same, Woeto those that spoyle and were not spoiled. And it was out of the true wisdom of Salomon, that hee commandeth vs, not to drinke the wine of violence; not to lie in wait for blood; and not to swallow them vp aliuie whose riches wee couet: for such are the wages (saith hee) of euery one that is greedy of gaine.

And if wee could afford our selues but so much leisuere as to consider, That hee which hath most in the world, hath in respect of the world, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longest time lent him to liue in it, hath yee no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past when wee were not, or by that time which is to come in which wee shall abide for euer: I say, if both, to wit our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing; it is not out of any excellency of vnderstanding, that wee so much prize the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coueting those mortall things of the world, as if our soules were therein immortal, and neglecting those things which are immortal, as if our selues after the world were but mortall.

But let euery man value his owne wisdom, as hee pleaseth. Let the rich-

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Rich men thinke all fooles, that cannot equal his abundance; the Reuenger esteeme all negligent, that haue not troden downe their opposites; the Politician, all grosse, that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when wee once come in sight of the Port of death, to which all winds drive vs; and when by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can neuer be weighed againe, the Nauigation of this life takes end: Then it is I say, that our owne cogitations (those sad and seuerer cogitations, formerly beaten from vs by our Health and Felicity) returne againe, and pay vs to the uttermost for all the pleasing passages of our liues past. It is then that wee cry out to GOD for mercie; then, when our selues can no longer exercise cruelty towards others: and it is onely then, that wee are stricken through the soule with this terrible sentence, That GOD will not be mockt. For if according to Saint Peter, The righteous scarcely bee saved: and that GOD spared not his Angells: where shall those appeare, who, hauing serued their appetites all their liues, presume to thinke, that the seuerer commandments of the All-powerfull GOD were giuen but in sport; and that the short breath, which wee draw when death presseth vs, if wee can but feign it to be the sound of Mercy (without any kinde of satisfaction or amends) is sufficient? O quam multi, saith a renowned Father, Cum hac spe ad eternos labores & bella descendunt: I confesse that it is a great comfort to our friends, to haue it said, that wee ended well: for wee all desire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what shall wee call a disesteeming, an apposing, or (indeed) a mocking of GOD; if those men doe not appose him, disesteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for GOD, to aske him forgiveness at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For what doe they other-wise, that die this kinde of well-dying, but say vnto GOD as followeth? Wee beseech thee O GOD, that all the falshoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our liues past, may be pleasing vnto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that haue had no leisure to doe any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a iust GOD; that thou wilt loue iniuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdom, and charity foolishnesse. For I shall pra- iudice my sonne (which I am reioyned not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to haue bene iunior (which I am too proud to doe) if I deliuer the oppressed. Certainly, these wise worldlings haue either found out a new GOD; or haue made One: and in all likelihood such a Leaden One, as Lewis the eleuenth wore in his Cappe; which, when he had caused any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, hee would take it from his head and kisse it: beseeching it to pardon him this one euill act more, and it should be the last, which, (as at other times) hee did, when by the practise of a Cardinall and a falsified Sacrament, he caused the Earle of Armagnack to be stabbed to death; mockeries indeed fit to be reijed towards a Leaden, but not towards the

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eu-er-living GOD. But of this composition are all the deuout louers of the world, that they feare all that is durelesse and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practises of their opposites, and their very whisperings: they feare the opinions of men which beat but vpon shadows: they flatter and forsake the prosperous and vnprosperous, bee they friends or Kings: yea they durt vnder water, like Ducks, at euery pebble stone, that is but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giant-like valour, against the terrible iudgements of the All-powerfull GOD: yea they shew themselves gods against GOD, and slaues towards men; towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest: If wee truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit of the rich and mighty, whome wee call fortunate; and of the poore and oppressed, whome we account wretched: wee shall finde the happinesse of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by GOD to the very instant, and both so subiect to interchange (witnesseth the suddaine downfall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy vprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certaine, whereof to boast; nor the other so vn-  
certaine, whereof to bewaile it selfe. For there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that hee may be deprived of either or all, the very next houre or day to come. Quid vespere vehat, incertum est, What the euening will bring with it, it is vn certaine. And yet wee cannot tell (saith Saint Iames) what shall be to morrow. To day he is set vp, and to morrow hee shall not be found: for hee is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the aire which compasseth aduersitie, be very obscure: yet therein wee better discern GOD, than in that shining light which enuironeth worldly glorie; through which, for the clearenesse thereof, there is no vanitie, which escapeh our sight. And let aduersitie seeme what it will; to happie men, ridiculous, who make themselves merrie at other mens misfortunes; and to those vnder the troile, greivous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equal to either. For bee it that wee haue liued many yeares, and (according to Salomon) in them all wee haue reioyced; or bee it that wee haue measured the same length of daies, and therein haue eu-er more sorrowed: yet looking backe from our present being, we find both the one and the other, to wit, the ioy and the wee, say-  
led out of sight; and death, which doth pursue vs and hold vs in chace, from our infancie, hath gathered it. Quicquid erat is retro est, mors tenet: What-so-euer of our age is past, death holds it. So as who-so-  
euer bee hee, to whome Fortune hath bene a seruant, and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompts of his memory (for wee haue no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truely examine what it hath reserved either of beauty and youth, or foregone delights; what it hath saved, that

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that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of what euer else the amorous Spring-time gaue his thoughts of contentment, then vnauailable; and bee shall finde that all the art which his elder yeares haue, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heauie, secret, and sad sighes. Hee shall finde nothing remaining, but those sorrowes, which grow up after our fast-springing youth; ouer-take it, when it is at a stand, and ouer-top it utterly, when it begins to wither: in so much as looking backe from the very instant time, and from our now being; the poore, diseased, and captiue creature, hath as little sence of all his former miseries and paines; as hee, that is most blest in common opinion, hath of his fore-passed pleasures and delights. For what-so-euer is cast behind vs, is iust nothing: and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it. Omnia quæ euentura sunt, incerto iacent. Onely those few black Swannes I must except: who hauing had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retaining the comfortable memorie of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the graue without feare; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glorie.

For my selfe, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrowes of this life, are but of two sorts: whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the first wee complaine to GOD against our felues, for our offences against him; and confesse, Etrius iustus in omnibus quæ uenerunt super nos, And thou O Lord art iust in all that hath befallen vs. In the second wee complaine to our selues against GOD: as if hee had done vs wrong, either in not giuing vs worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites: or for taking them againe from vs, hauing had them; forgetting that humble and iust acknowledgment of Iob, The Lord hath giuen, and the Lord hath taken. To the first of which Saint Paul hath promised blessednesse; to the second, death. And out of doubt hee is either a fool or congratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meane so-euer his estate bee, that the same is yet farre greater, than that which GOD oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how sharpe so-euer his afflictions bee, that the same are yet farre lesse, than those which are due vnto him. And if an Heathen wise man call the aduersities of the world but tributa uiuendi, the tributes of liuing: a wise Christian man ought to know them, and beare them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them man-like, and resolutely; not as those whining souldiours doe, qui gementes sequuntur imperatorem.

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for vs, and appointed vs all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their distribution, beene partiall to the most mighty Princes of the world; That gaue vnto Darius the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable begger; a begger begging water of an Enemy,

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to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Baiazet to play the Gran Signior of the Turkes in the morning, and in the same day the Foot-stoole of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had also playd, being taken by Sapore) that made Belliliarius play the most victorious Capitaine, and lastly the part of a blinde beggar; of which examples many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but of the last worlde, complaine of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolve, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the lesse. For when on the one and the other, euery man weares but his owne skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any man, out of weaknes, prise the passages of this world other wise (for saith Petrarch, Magni ingenij est reuocare mentem a terribilibus) it is by reason of that unhappie fantasye of ours, which forgeth in the braines of Man all the miseries (the corporal excepted) whereunto hee is subiect: Therein it is, that Misfortune and Aduersitie worke all that they worke. For seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, what euer Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a foolish madnes in the shipwracke of worldly things, where all sinkes but the Sorrow, to saue it. That were, as Seneca saith, Fortuna succumbere, quod tritius est omni tato, to fall vnder fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie.

But it is now time to sound a retreat; and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moued me, to draw the picture of time past (which we call Historie) in so large a table, may also be accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of diuine providence, euery where found (the first diuine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) haue persuaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so nare, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implyeth the other: Creation, inferring Providence; (for what Father forsaeth the child that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation) Yet many of those that haue seemed to excell in worldly wisdom, haue gone about to disioyne this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation & Providence, but granting that the world had a beginning; the Aristotelian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time, for by Faith we vnderstand, that the world was made by the word of God; he too mighty a work for Aristotles rotten ground to beare up, vpon which he hath notwithstanding founded the Defences of Forreifes of all his Verball Doctrine: Yet that the necessitie of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary euen in the iudgement of Nature all reason, wherein hee beleecued, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be

marvaile at. And it is no lesse strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seeing Aristotle hath sayled in this maine poynt; and taught liete other than termes in the rest.) haue so retrencht their mindes from the following and ouertaking of truth, and so absolutely subiected them-selues to the law of those Philosophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the search of causes, they haue condemned either for phantasticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heauen Philosophers, are vndoubted grounds and principles indeed, because so called? Or that ipse dixit, doth make them to bee such? certainly no. But this is true, That where naturall reason hath built anything so strong against it selfe, as the same reason can hardly assaile it, much lesse batter it downe: the same in euery question of Nature, and finite power, may bee approved for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For saith Charron in his Booke of wisdom, Tout proposition humaine a auant d'authorité que l'autre, si la raison n'en fait la difference; Euery humane proposition hath equall authoritie, if reason make not the difference, the rest being but the fables of principles. But hereof how shall the vpright and vnpartiall iudgement of man giue a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to giue in euidence? And to this purpose it was well said of Lactantius, Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine vilo iudicio inuenta maiorum probant, & ab alijs pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their owne wisdom, who without any iudgment approve the iuention of those that fore-went them; and suffer them-selues, after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them. By the aduantage of which slouth and dullnesse, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant: as it hath set true Philosophie, Physick, and Diuinity, in a Pillory; and written ouer the first, Contra negantem Principia; ouer the second, Virtus specifica; and ouer the third, Ecclesia Romana.

But for my selfe, I shall neuer bee perswaded, that GOD hath but ryp all light of Learning within the lamborne of Aristotles braines; or that it was euer said vnto him, as vnto Eldras, Accendam in Cordetuo Lucernam intellectus: that GOD hath giuen inuention but to the Heathers; and that they onely haue inuaded Nature, and found the strength and bottom thereof; the same nature hauing consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these and these bee the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught vs; and not reason: and so hath experience, without Art. The Cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that sower Runnet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reason of this cause, why the sowernesse doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I thinke that there is nothing to bee found in vulgar Philosophie, to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But man, to couer his ignorance in the least things, who cannot giue an true reason

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for the Grasse vnder his feete, why it should bee greener rather then red, or of any other colour; that could neuer yet discover the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are farre lesse noble creatures than him-selfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heauens them-selues: Man (saith Salomon) that can hardly discern the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before vs; that hath so short a time in the world; as hee no sooner begins to learne, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his vnderstanding nothing true; that is ignorant of the Essence of his owne soule, and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle bee hee) could neuer so much as define, but by the Action and effect, telling vs what it workes (which all men know as well as hee) but not what it is, which neither hee, nor any else, doth know; but GOD that created it; (for though I were perfect, yet I know not my soule, saith Iob.) Man I say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all the actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD who (saith Iob) is so excellent as wee knowe him not; and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before. Man-kind had a beginning of being. Hee will disable GODS power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather giue the mothes of the Aire for a cause; cast the worke on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of the Forme; and lastly, for want of a worke-man, haue it Esernall: which latter opinion Aristotle, to make him-selfe the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectaours haue maintained it; paratiac coniurati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis inuictis opiniones tueri. For Hermes, who liued at once with, or soone after, Moses, Zoroaster, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melilius, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleantes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whose opinions are exquisitely gathered by Steuchius Eugubinus) found in the necessitie of inuincible reason, One eternal and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the vniuersall. Horum omnium sententia quamuis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, vt Prouidentiam vnā esse consentiant: siue enim Natura, siue Aether, siue Ratio, siue mens, siue fatalis necessitas, siue diuina Lex, idem esse quod a nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions (saith Lactantius) though vncertaine, come to this; That they agree vpon one Prouidence; whether the same bee Nature, or light, or Reason, or vnderstanding, or destinie, or diuine ordinance; that it is the same which we call GOD. Certainly, as all the Riuers in the world, though they haue diuers risings, and diuers runnings; though they some times hide them-selues for a while vnder ground, and seeme to be lost in Sea-like

Charron de  
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LaB. de orig.  
errori, l. x. c. 3.

Salomon, l. 9.

Iob. xvi.

LaB.

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Lakes; doe not last finde, and fall into the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humane capacitie hath, and after all Philosophicall contemplation and curiositie; in the necessitie of this infinite power, all the reason of man ends and dissolves it selfe.

As for others, and first touching those, which conceive the matter of the World to have been eternall, and that God did not create the world ex nihilo, but ex materia preexistente: the Supposition is so weake, as it hardly worth the answering. For (saith Eusebius) Mihi videtur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annexet, They seeme vnto me, which affirme this, to giue part of the work to God, and part to Fortune: in so much as if God had not found this first matter by chance, He had neither been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the vniuersall. For were the Matter or Chaos, eternall: it then followes, That either this supposed Matter did sit it selfe to God; or God, accommodate himselfe to the matter. For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Workmans will. For the second; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applied himselfe, according to the proportion of Matter which he lighted vpon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter had been made by any Power, nor Omnipotent, and infinitely wise: I would gladly learne how it came to passe, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent and infinitely wise; and no more, nor no lesse, than serued to receiue the forme of the vniuersall. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as serued to finish the worke of the World: Or had there bene more of this matter, than sufficed; then did God dissolve & annihilate what-soeuer remained and was superfluous. And this must euery reasonable soule confesse, That it is the same worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing. And by the same are and power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternall matter, bee againe changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this matter was the cause of it selfe; this, of all other, were the greatest idiotisme. For, if it were the cause of it selfe at any time; then there was also a time when it selfe was not: at which time, of not being, it is easie enough to conceive, that it could neither produce it selfe, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. Nihil autem seipsum precedit, nec seipsum componit corpus. There is nothing that doth precede it selfe, neither doe bodies compound themselves.

For the rest; Those that saie this matter to be eternall, must of necessitie confesse, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternitie. And then had infinite

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nite matter left no place for infinite forme, but that the first matter was finite, the forme which it receiued proues it. For conclusion of this part; who-so-euer will make choyce, rather to beleue in eternall deformitie, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madness of that kind, as wanteth reames to expresse it. For what reason of man (whome the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which wee can comprehend but a kind of shadow, quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) hath any thing wanting in it selfe, either for matter or forme; yea for as many worlds (if it had bene GODS will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation; the worke hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Tea Reason it selfe findes it more easie for infinite power, to deliuer from it selfe a finite world, without the helpe of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a foole and dust, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are Dionysius his words, Deus in vna existentia omnia prahabet: and againe Esse omnium est ipsa Diuinitas, omne quod videt, & quod non videt; to wit, causaliter, or in better reames, non tamquam forma, fed tanquam causa vniuersalis. Neither hath the world vniuersall closed vpon all of GOD. For the most parts of his workes (saith Stracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his wisdom be opened, by the glorious work of the world: which neuer brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we seldome entitle GOD the all-shewing, or the all-willing; but the all-mighty, that is infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, inferre the Worlds eternitie; and yet not so salvage therein, as those are, which giue an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word (nothing) bee taken in the affirmatiue; and the making, imposed vpon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctour Aristotle him selfe confesseth, quod omnes antiqui decreuerunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsum infinitum, That all the ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to bee infinite: and a little after, more largely and plainly, Principium eius est nullum, fed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omnia completi ac regere: it is strange that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of falsehood, to conclude falsly; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For if wee compare the world vniuersall, and all the vnmeasurable Orbes of Heauen; and those merueilous bodies of the Sunne, Moone, and Statres, with ipsum infinitum: it may truly bee said of them all, which him selfe affirmeth of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum; and therefore

COV. 16. v. 21.

Strac. lib. 1. c. 9. et Arist. Phys. 2. ad.

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fore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omnem proportionem) is no wonder in GODS power. And therefore Anaximander, Melissus, and Empedocles, call the world vniuersall, but particulam Vniuersitatis and infinitatis, a parcel of that which is the vniuersalitie and the infinitie it selfe; and Plato, but a shadow of GOD. But the other, to proue the worlds eternitie, vtgeth this Maxime, That A sufficient and effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted: inferring, that GOD being for euer a sufficient and effectual cause of the world, the effect of the cause should also haue bene for euer; to wit, the world vniuersall. But what a strang mockerie is this in so great a Maister, to confesse a sufficient and effectual cause of the world, (to wit an almighty GOD) in his Antecedent; and the same GOD to be a GOD restrained in his conclusion, to make GOD free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, vnable to determine; able to make all things, and yet vnable to make choyce of the time when? For this were impiously to resolue of GOD, as of naturall necessity; which hath neither choyce, nor will, nor vnderstanding; which cannot but work matter being present; as fire, to burne things combustible.

Againe he thus disputeth, That every Agent which can worke, and doth not worke: if it after-ward worke, it is either thereto moued by it selfe, or by some-what else; and so it passeth from power to Act. But GOD (saith he) is immouable, and is neither moued by him selfe, nor by any other; but being alwaies the same, doth alwaies worke: Whence he concludeth, if the world were caused by GOD, that he was for euer the cause thereof; and therefore eternall. The answer to this is very easie, For that GODS performing in due time that, which hee euer determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancie in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for euer, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it selfe sufficient, others adde further, that the patterne or Image of the World may be said to be eternall: which the Platonick s call, spiritualem mundum; and doe in this sort distinguish the Idea, and Creation in time. Spirituale ille mundus, mundi huius exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vira equali est Architecto; fuit semper cum illo, eritque sumper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decessit iam ab opifice ex parte vna, quia non fuit semper; retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus. That representatiue, or the intentionall world (say they) the famplier of this visible world, the first worke of GOD, was equally ancient with the Architec for it was for euer with him, and euer shalbe. This materiall world, the second worke or creature of GOD, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from euerlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for euer to come.

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The first point, That it was not for euer, all Christians confesse: The other they vnderstand no other-wise, than that after the consummation of this World, there shalbe a new Heauen and a new Earth; without any new creation of matter. But of these things we need not here stand to argue: though such opinions bee not unworthy the propounding; in this consideration, of an eternall and vchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point Proclus the Platonist disputeth, That the compounded essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissipable) is continued, and knis to the Diuine Being, by an individuall and inseperable power, flowing from diuine vnitie; and that the Worlds naturall appetite of GOD sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a goodness and vnderstanding diuine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued and knis together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and euerlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith hee) is not capable of, but receiueh it from the diuine infinite, according to the temporall Nature it hath, successiue every moment by little and little; euen as the whole Materiall World is not altogether: but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, doe by the same small degrees succeed; as the shadow of a tree in a Riuer, seemeth to haue continued the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continuall ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to returne to them, which denying that euer the World had any beginning, will denie that euer it shall haue any end, and to this purpose affirme, That it was neuer heard, neuer read, neuer scene, no nor by any reason perceived, that the Heauens haue euer suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the Elder by continuance; or in any sort other-wise than they were; which had they bene subiect to finall corruption, some change would haue bene discerned in so long a time: To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather proue their newnesse, and that they haue not continued so long; than that they will continue for euer as they are. And if coniecturall arguments may recieue answer by coniectures: it then seemeth, that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, and others, were grossly mistaken: or else those parts of the world, lying within the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Summes heat; neither were the Seas, vnder the Equinoctiall, navigable. But wee know by experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, ouer which wee Navigate, passable enough. Wee read also many Histories of deluges: and how that in the time of Phaeton, diuers places in the world were burnt vp, by the Summes violent heat.

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Mar. Phil. de  
immort. An.  
mel. 9. c. 1.

Arist. Met. 2.  
Phil. 2. 8.  
S. vult. 3. Beda  
de ciuitate tem.  
1. l. c. 23. Titius  
1. p. 9. 102.  
et al.

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But in a Word, this obseruation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certaine, That stone-walls, of matter molding and friable, haue stood two, or three thousand yeares: that many things haue bene digged vpp out of the earth, of that depth, as suppos'd to haue bene buried by the generall flood: without any alteration either of substance or figure, yea it is beleiu'd, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mines, and Rocks, vnder ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementarie, and compounded, the eldest times haue not inuaded and corrupted: what great alteration should wee looke for in Caelestiall and quintessentiaall bodies? And yet wee haue reason to thinke, that the Sunne, by whose helpe all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as here-to-fore. We haue neither Giants, such as the eldest world had: nor mighty men, such as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of lesse vertue, which from the Heauens receiue vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger discourse, wee might easily fetch store of prooffe; as that this world shall at length haue end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good answer that can bee made to this obiection: If the World were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no first, no cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible wisdom, but that every Nature had bene a-like eternall; and Man more rationall than every other Nature: Why had not the eternall reason of Man, provided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equal: why not equal conditions to all? why should heavenly bodies liue for ever; and the bodies of Men rotte and die?

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gaue Order that it should hang in the Aire: that the Sunne should trauaile betwene the Tropicks, and neuer exceed those boundes, nor faile to performe that Progresse once in every yeare: the Moone to liue by borrowed light: the first starres (according to common opinion) to be fastned like Nails in a Cart-wheele; and the Planets to wander at their pleasure? Or if none of these had power ouer other: was it out of Charity and Loue, that the Sunne by his perpetuall trauaile within those two Circles, hath visited, giuen light vnto, and releiu'd all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the Sunne haue of his owne accord kept this course in all eternitie: He may iustly be called eternall charity, and euerslasting Loue. The same may be saide of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and cleare fountaines  
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of vertue and operation, may also bee called eternall vertues: the Earth may be called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and begger; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleine againe in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more gods by Millions, than euer Hesiodus dreamt of. But in steed of this mad follie, wee see it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reason deserue it better; That the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselves they haue nor constrained, nor could. Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quae illud determinauerit, Euery thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of Aristotle hath both commended many errors vnto vs, and sought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World: so if the best definition bee taken out of the second of Aristotles phisicks, or primo de Caelo, or out of the fifth of his Metaphisicks; I say that the best is but vnnimall, and seruing onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion, from Artificiall: which yet the Academics open better, when they call it A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the World: who giue the first place to Prouidence; the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Prouidentia (by which they vnderstand GOD) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex prouidentia prodiens; Natura postremum. But bee it what bee will, or bee it any of these (GOD excepted) for participating of all: yet that it hath choice or vnderstanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is vnnamorable of Lactantius: Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam; Hec onely can bee said to bee the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly exprest by Ficinus: Potest vbiq; Natura, vel per diuersa media, vel ex diuersis materijs, diuersa facere: sublatâ vero mediorum materialiumque diuersitate, vel vnicum vel similitum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diuersity of meanes, or out of diuersity of matter, to produce diuers things: but taking away the diuersity of meanes, and the diuersity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter being present. Now if Nature made choyce of diuersity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heaven and Earth; it had then both vnderstanding and will; it had counsaile to beginne; reason to dispose; vertue and knowledge to finis; and power to gouerne: without which, all things had bene but one and the same: all of the  
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Lat. de ira  
Dial. 1. c. 10.

Arist. 4. 1 de  
caus. 3. 7.  
22.

matter of Heaven, or all of the matter of Earth. And if we grant Nature this will, and this understanding, this counsaile, reason, and power: Cur Natura potius, quā Deus nominetur? Why should we then call such a cause rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men haue notion, and giue the first and highest place to Diuine power: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omnesq; lumnum locum diuino cuidam numini allignant. And this I say in short: that it is a true effect of true reason in man (were there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime power. Vera Philosophia, est assensus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere sunt, & semper eadem: True Philosophy, is an ascending from the things which flow, and rise, and fall, to the things that are for euer the same.

For the rest; I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous, to confound God and Nature. be it but in termes. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his owne will; and makerh of one Earth, Vessels of honor and dishonor. It is Nature that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God, that commandeth all: It is Nature that is obedient to all, It is God that doth good vnto all, knowing and louing the good he doth: It is Nature, that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himselfe: Nature, nothing in it selfe. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things; in which it liueth and laboureth; for by it selfe it existeth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the earth, that beauties things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct euery River into the salt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these: by the same Affection, Reason, and knowledge it is that Nature worketh. And therefore seeing all things work as they do, (call it by toym, by Nature, or by what you please) yet because they work by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the supremest power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder. To to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, & such a faculty, as neither knowing it selfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doth yet work all things to their last and uttermost perfection. And therefore euery reasonable man, taking to himselfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that euer the world had; to wit; That there is a power infinite, and eternall, (which also necessity doth proue vnto vs, without the helpe of Faith; and Reason, without the force of Authoritie) all things doe as easily follow which haue bene deliuered by diuine letters, as the waters of arming River doe successively pursue each other from the first fountaines.

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This much I say it is, that Reason it selfe hath taught vs: and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia præcedit, Religio sequitur: quia prius est Deum scire, consequens colere; Sapientia goes before, Religion follows: because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapientia Plato calleth, absoluti boni scientiam, The science of the absolute good; and another, scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum. For Faith (saith M. More) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples perswaded: fides nequaquam vi extorquetur; sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. I confesse it, That to inquire further, as of the essence of God, of his power, of his Art, and by what meane He created the world. Or of his secret iudgment, and the causes; is not an effect of Reason: Sed cum ratione insaniunt, but they grow mad with reason, that inquire after it. For as it is no shame nor dishonor (saith a French Author) de taire arrest au but qu'on n'ait eue surpasser, For a man to rest himselfe there, where he finds it impossible to passe on further: so what soeuer is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, It acknowledgeth it to be so; as understanding it selfe not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knowes the end of his own Art. For seeing both Reason and Necessity teach vs (Reason, which is pars diuini spiritus in corpus humanū meris) that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach vs: and seeing the same Reason and Necessity make vs know, that the same infinite power is euery where in the world; and yet how euery where, it cannot informe vs: our beleefe hereof is not weakened, but greatly strenghtned, by our ignorance; because it is the same Reason that tels vs, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conuected by man.

I haue bene already ouer long, to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse: especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grossest, the vnswearable diuision of the bookes, I could not know how to excuse, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first part finished. All men know that there is no great Art in the deuising euery of those things, which are subiect to number and measure. For the rest, it suites well enough with a great many Bookes of this age, which speake to much, and yet say little; Ipsi nobis furto subducimur, We are stolen away from our selues, setting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I beleene as he doth; that who so thinkes himselfe the wisest man, is but a poore and miserable ignorant. Those that are the best men of w. n., against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, doe alwaies keepe the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from themselves, from selfe loue, selfe estimation, and selfe opinion.

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Generally concerning the order of the worke, I haue onely taken counsaile from the Argument. For of the Assyrians, which after the downefall of Babel take vpp the first part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of posterity: some few enterprises, greater in fame than faith, of Ninus and Semiramis excepted.

It was the story of the Hebrewes, of all before the Olympiads, that overcame the consuming disease of time; and preserved it selfe, from the very cradle and beginning to this day: and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (to which in many Scriptures wee are referred) are now where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which shot vpp here and there in the same time. I am driven to relate by way of digression: of which we may say with Virgil.

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto;  
They appear here and there floating in the great gulfes of time.

To the same first Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them deriued to vs; though most of the Authors Names, haue perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Lawes; they had diuersity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobilitie, Politie in warre; Navigation; and all, or the most of needfull Trades. To speake therefore of these (seeing in a generall Historie we should haue left a great deale of Nakednesse, by their omission) it cannot properly bee called a digression. True it is that I haue also made many others: which if they shall be layd to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heape of humane error. For seeing wee digresse in all the wayes of our liues: yea seeing the life of man is nothing else but digression; I may the better bee excused, in writing their liues and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of Historie, vnd of the Kindes.

The same hath bene taught by many; but by no man better, and with greater breuity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Lawes are also taught vs by the Prophets and Apostles; and euery day preache vnto vs. But wee still make large digressions: yea the teachers themselves do not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.

For the rest; after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldeans, and had raised a great Monarchie, producing Actions of more importance than were else where to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whilst it so florished, that the affaires of the nations adioyning had reference thereto. The like obseruance was to be vsed towards the fortunes of Greece, when they againe began to get ground vpon the Persians, as also towards the affaires of

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Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty than the Greekes.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations, who resisted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember what was knowne of them from their severall beginnings, in such times and places, as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies; which in the end swallowed them vpp. And herein I haue followed the best Geographers: who seldome giue names to those small brookes, whereof many, ioyned together, make great Rivers; till such time as they become united, and runne in a maine streame to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weake; and the stile not euery where like it selfe: the first, shewes their legitimation and true Parent; the second, will excuse it selfe vpon the Variety of Matter. For Virgill, who wrote his Eclogues, gracili aeuena, vsed stronger pipes when he sounded the warres of Aeneas. It may also be layd to my charge that I vse diuers Hebrew words in my first booke; and else where: in which language others may thinke, and I my selfe acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that some of them I finde in Montanus; others in Lattaine Carester in S. Senensis, and of the rest I haue borrowed the interpretation of some of my learned friends. But say I had bene beholding to neither, yet were it not to bee wondered at hauing had a eleuen yeares leasure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other; tongue, how-so-euer, I know that it will bee said by many, That I might haue bene more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times; hauing bene permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I answer, that who-so-euer in writing a moderne Historie, shall follow truth too neare the beeles, it may happily strike out his teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that hath led her followers and seruants into greater miseries. Her that goes after her too farre off, loseth her sight, and loseth him selfe: and hee that walkes after her at a middle distance, I know not whether I should call that kind of course Temper or Basenesse. It is true, that I neuer trauailed after mens opinions, when I might haue made the best vse of them: and I haue now too few daies remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extreame ambition, or extreame cowardise, or both, doe yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, betwene the bed and the graue. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and taxe the vices of those that are yet liuing, in their persons that are long since dead; and haue it laid to my charge. But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall finde fault with me for painting them over a new; they shall therein accuse themselves iustly, and me falsely.

For

## The Preface.

For I protest before the Maiesty of GOD, That I malice no man under the Sunne. Impossible I know it is to please all: seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subiection to their private passions; but that they seeme diuerse persons in one and the same day. Seneca hath said it, and so doe I: Vnus mihi pro populo erat: and to the same effect Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis fed tibi; or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher, Satis est vnus, Satis est nullus. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince Henry, the successiue hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I vnderooke this Worke. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the world without a Maister: from which all that is presented, hath receiued both blows & thanks. Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis iudicii, in quo lis secundum plures datur. But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will iudge charitably: so against those, qui gloriantur in malitia, my present aduersitie hath disarmed mee. I am on the ground already; and therefore haue not farre to fall: and for rising againe, as in the Naturall priuation their is no recession to habit; so is it seldome seene in the priuation politique. I doe therefore for-beare to stile my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promise a second and third volume (which I also intended) if the first receiue grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certaine, let vs claw the Reader with neuer so many courteous phrases; yet shall we euer more be thought fooles, that write foolishly. For conclusion; all the hope I haue lies in this, That I haue already found more vngentle and vncourteous Readers of my Lowe towards them, and well-deseruing of them, than euer I shall doe againe. For had it beene otherwise, I should hardly haue had this leisure, to haue made my selfe a foole in print.

THE



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## The Contents of the Chapters, Paragraphes, and Sections, in the second Booke of the first Part of the Historie of the WORLD.

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THE FIRST PART OF  
THE HISTORIE OF THE  
WORLD: INTREATING OF THE  
Beginning, and first ages of the same,  
*from the Creation vnto*  
ABRAHAM.  
THE FIRST BOOKE.

## CHAP. I.

*Of the Creation, and Preseruatiō of the World.*

§. I.

*That the invisible God is seene in his Creatures.*

OD, whome the wisest men acknowledge to be a power vneffable, and vertue infinite, a light by abundant claritie inuisible, an vnderstanding which it selfe can onely comprehend, an essence eternall and spirituall, of absolute purenesse and simplicitie, was and is pleased to make himselfe knowne by the worke of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude whereof, (all which he imbraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) we behold the image of that glorie, which cannot bee measured, and withall that one, and yet vniuersall nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious lights of heauen, we perceiue a shadow of his diuine countenance, in his mercifull prouisiō for all that lue, his manifold goodnesse: and lastly, in creating and making existent the world vniuersall by the absolute art of his owne word, his power and almightinesse, which power, light, vertue, wisdom, and goodnesse, being all but attributes of one simple essence, and one God, wee in all admire, and in part discern *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition, order, and varietie of celestiaall and terrestriall bodies: terrestriall, in their strange and manifold diuorsities; celestiaall, in their beautie and magnitude; which in their continuall and con-

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trary

trarie motions, are neither repugnant, internixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects we approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent cause, and by these motions their Almighty mouer.

In these more then wonderfull workes, God (saith *Hugo*) speaketh vnto man, and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects all that liue witness in themselves, the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable soules: for according to *S. Gregorie*, *Omnis homo eo ipso quod rationalis conditus est, expressa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*: Every man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him is God. This God all men behold (saith *Iob*) which is according to the *Fathers*, *Dominationem ipsius, conspiciere in creaturis, to discern him in his providence in his creatures*. That God hath bene otherwise seene, to wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my vnderstanding, grounded on these places of *S. Iohn*, and *S. Paul*, Yee haue not heard his voice at any time, neither haue yee seene his shape. And againe, Whom neuer man saw, nor can see.

And this I am sure agreeth with the nature of Gods simplicities, of which *S. Augustine*, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videndi non potest*. That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that bee, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were *Origen*, *Cyril*, *Chrysostome*, *Gregorie Nazianzenus*, *Hierome*, *Augustine*, *Gregorie the Great*, *Euaristus*, *Aluinus*, *Dionysius Areopagita*, *Aquinas*, and all others of authoritie. But by his owne word, and by this visible world, is God perceived of men, which is also the vnderstood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his creatures, whose Hieroglyphical Characters, are the vnumbred Stars, the Sunne, and Moone, written on these large volumes of the firmament: written also on the earth and the seas, by the letters of all those liuing creatures, and plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned *Cusanus*, *Mundus vniuersus nihil aliud est, quam Deus explicatus*, The world vniuersall is nothing else but God exprest. And the inuisible things of God (saith *S. Paul*) are seene by creation of the world, being considered in his creatures. Of all which there was no other cause preceding then his owne will, no other matter then his owne power, no other workman then his owne word, no other consideration then his owne infinite goodness. The example and patterne of these his creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternitie in the abundance of his owne loue, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his vnchanged will moued, by his high wisdom disposed, and by his almighty power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to loue God *Ex fide*, & *ex effectibus*, (that is) both perswaded by his word, and by the effects of the worlds creation: *Neque enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognosque potest, sed vel ex verum, que facta sunt, queque sunt & gubernantur obseruatione & collatione, vel ex ipsius Dei verbo*: For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot bee knowne by any knowledge of cause or beginning, (saith *Montanus*) but either by the obseruing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and gouerne, or else by the word of God himselfe.

## §. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authoritie is not to be despised, haue acknowledged the world to haue bene created by

G O D.



Herm in Parnaxo  
mandat & in  
sermone loquitur.

His work, and creation of the world, did most of the ancient and learned Philosophers acknowledge, though by diuers termes, and in a different manner exprest. I meane all those who are entitied by *S. Augustine*, *Summi Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest iudgement and vnderstanding. *Atercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium vniuersorum*, The originall

of the vniuersall: to whom he giueh also the attributes of *Mens, natura, actus, necessitas, finis, & renouatio*. And wherein he truly, with *S. Paul*, casteth vpon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by Gods almighty word, and not by hands: *verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundus*. *Zoroaster* (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) took the word fire to expresse God by (as in *Deuteronomy* *Deut. 4. 24.* and in *S. Paul* it is vsed) *Omnia ex vno igne genita sunt*, All things (saith he) are created or produced out of one fire.

Sodid *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the will of the most high God; whose remarkable wordes are thus conuerted. *Cum abscon-*  
*10* *disset omnia IVPITER summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans*  
*cogitata & mirabilia*: Of which I conceiue this sense: When great *IVPITER* had hid  
all things in himselfe, working out of the lone of his sacred heart, he sent thence or  
brought forth into gratefull light, the admirable workes which he had forethought.

*Pindarus* the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most high, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Vnus Deus Pater Creator suumus*. *Plato* calleth God the cause and originall, the nature and reason of the vniuersall, *totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus*. But hereof more at large hereafter.

Now although the curiositie of some men haue found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers, in matters of Diuinity: (it being true that the Scrip-  
*20* ture hath not want of any forraigne testimony) yet as the *Fathers* with others excellently learned are my examples herein; so *S. Paul* himselfe did not despise, but thought it lawfull, and profitable, to remember whatsoever he found agreeable to the word of God, among the Heathen, that he might therby take from them all escape by way of ignorance, God rendering vengeance to them, that know him not: as in his Epistle to *Titus* he citeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Mendaces*, and in the seuenteenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus*, &c. for Truth (saith *S. Ambrose*) by whomsoever vttered, is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas à quocumq; dicitur, à spiritu sancto est*: and lastly let those kinde of men learne this rule: *Qua sacra seruimus, prophana non sunt*, Nothing is prophane that serueth to the vse of holy things.

## §. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio.  
Genes. 1. 1.

**T**His visible world of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (saith *Tertullianus*) things beganne to bee. This word beginning (in which the *Hebrewes* secke some hidden mystery, and which in the *Iewes Targum* is conuerted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men haue conceiued, both which are subsequent: but only to creation then. For before that beginning, there was neither primary matter to be informed, nor forme to inform, nor any being, but the eternall. Nature was not, nor the next parent of time begotten, time properly and naturally taken; for if God had but disposed of matter already in being, then as the word beginning could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of matter proceeded from a greater power then that of God. And by what name shall we then call such a one (saith *Laetantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to dispose of things made: whereupon it may be concluded, that matter could not be before this beginning: except we faime a double creation, or allow of two powers, and both infinite, the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. *Nam impossibile plura esse infinita: quoniam alter unus esset in altero finitum*, There cannot be more infinites then one; for one of them would limit the other.

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## §. IIII.



Quid. Metam.  
lib. 1.

Ante mare, & terras, & (quod regit omnia) celum,  
Vnus erat toto naturæ vultus in Orbe,  
Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestæq; moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heauen, that all doth hide,  
In all the world one only face of nature did abide:  
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heape.

¶ V. I.

How it is to be understood that the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters, and that  
this is not to be searched curiously.



Basil. Hexam.

After the creation of Heauen and Earth, then void and without forme,  
the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters. The *Seuenty Interpreters* vñe  
the word *super-ferebatur*, moued vpon or ouer: *incubabat*, or *fovebat*  
(saith *Hierome*) out of *Basil*, and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem*  
*non meam tibi, sed virtutis cuiusdam Syri sententiam recensebo* (saith *Basil*)  
which wordes *incubare* or *fovere* importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, haue a  
speciall liking. *Verbum tranlatum est ab auium pulcritudine sue incubantibus, quamuis spiri-*  
*tuali; & plane inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo*. The word is taken of birds *hatching*  
*their young*, not corporally, but in a spiritual and vnexpressible manner.

Some of the Hebrewes conuert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volabat*, The Spirit of  
God did flutter: the Chaldaean Paraphrast in this sense, *uentus a conspectu Dei sufflatus*,  
or as other vnderstand the Chaldaean, *flabat, pellebat, remouebat*: the winde from the face  
of God did blow vnder, *drine*, or *remoue*, or did blow vpon, according to the 147. Psalm.  
He caused his winde to blow, and the waters increas: but there was yet no winde nor exhalation:  
*Arias Montanus* in these wordes, *Et spiritus Elohim Merachefet, id est, effica-*  
*citer motitans, confoens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris*; The Spirit of God effi-  
cually and often mouing, keeping warme, and chersishing, quickning and stirring vpon  
the face of this double liquor. For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents,  
and the last passive and materiall, to wit, *causa*, which is the diuine goodnesse, *Iehi*,  
which is, *fiat, siue erit, let it be, or it shall be*. *Que vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit*:  
which voice (saith he) was the first that was uttered by the word of God. The third *Spiri-*  
*ritus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, *id est, via quodam diuina, agilis ac presens per omnia per-*  
*tingens, omnia complectens*, that is, a certaine diuine power, or strength euery where, active  
and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things. The fourth he  
calleth *Maim*, *id est, materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis*; matter apt to become  
euery thing. For my selfe I am resolu'd (Cum Deus sit superrationale omni ratione, See-  
ing God us in all reason above reason) that although the effects which follow his won-  
derfull wayes of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans vnderstanding, yet  
the manner and first operation of his diuine power cannot be conceiued by any  
minde, or spirit, compassed with a mortall body. *Animalis homo quo Dei sunt non*  
*percipit*: For my thoughts (saith the Lord in *Esa*) are not your thoughts, neither are your  
wayes my wayes. And as the world hath not knowne God himselfe: so are his wayes  
(according to St. Paul) past finding out. O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne  
thee, saith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality and operation, were  
by incubation, or how else, the manner is only knowne to God, *quomodo in omnibus sit*  
*rebus, vel per effectum, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit* &c. For how God (saith  
in *Iohann. 17. 25*. St. Augustine, speaking of this Vbiquitie) is in all things, either by essence, presence, or  
power, our vnderstanding cannot comprehend. *¶ Nil inter Deum hominemq; distaret, si*  
*confilia, & dispositiones illius manifestæ eterne, cogitatio assequeretur humana*: There  
would be no difference betwene God and Man, if mans vnderstanding could conceiue the  
counsels

¶ Sal. 147. 18.

Ar. Mont. vii. sup.  
Engub. in Cof.  
fol. 13.

Ar. Mont. de na-  
tura, pag. 149.

¶ Eys 55. 8.

Aug. Tract. 20.

in Iohann. 17. 25.

LaR. in Prefat.

counsels and disposing of that eternall Maiesty; and therefore to be ouer-curious in  
searching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the creation of the world,  
or his all-piercing and operative Spirit distinguishing, gaue forme to the matter of the  
Vniuersall, is a labour and search like vnto his; who not contented with a knowne  
and safe foord, will presume to passe ouer the greatest Riuer in all parts, where hee is  
ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one loofe his life, and the other his vnder-  
standing. We behold the Sunne, and enioy his light, as long as we looke towards it,  
but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warme our selues safely, while we stand neare  
the fire; but if we seeke to outface the one, or enter into the other, we forthwith be-  
come blinde or burnt.

But to eschew curiosity: this is true, that the English word (moued) is most pro-  
per and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoeuer is  
effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeede bee truly called  
*Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula*, *vis causæ efficientis*, The force of the efficient  
cause, St. Augustine sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometime for a winde or  
breath, *sub nomine spiritus, vnder the name of a spirit*, which is sometimes so taken:  
or for *virtualis creatura*, for a created virtuality: Tertullian and Theodoret call it also a  
breath or winde: *Mercurius* nameth it *Spiritus tenuem intelligibilem*, a pure or thine  
intelligible spirit: *ANAXAGORAS, mentem*. TOSTATVS, *volantem & mentem*  
Dei, The will and minde of God; which *Mens*, Plato in *Timæo*, maketh *animam mundi*,  
The soule of the world: and in his sixth Booke de Republica he calleth it the law of Heauen;  
in his Epistles, the leader of things to come, and the presence of things past. But as Cy-  
prius wrote of the Incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox flet, & non*  
*mentium, sed etiam Angelorum: My minde faileth, my voice is silent, and not mine only*,  
but euen the voice of Angels: so may all men els say in the vnderstanding and vtterance  
of the wayes and workes of the Creation; for to him (saith *Azianzenus*) there is  
not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi*  
*est quicquid eius est, & quicquid est, whatsoever attribute of him there is, and whatsoever*  
he is, it is the very same substance that himselfe is.

But the Spirit of God which moued vpon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath  
or winde, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite actiue power of God,  
which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustaineth, and giueth conti-  
nuance to the Vniuersall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the  
same is it, which maintaineth all things, saith SALOMON. If thou send forth thy Spirit  
(saith DAVID) they are created: And GREGORIE, *Deus suo presentiale esse, ad omni-*  
*bis rebus esse, ita quod, si seceribus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihi-*  
*lum delacerent vniuersa*; God giueth being to all things, by being present with all things,  
so as, if he should withdraw himselfe from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it  
would againe fall away, and vanish into nothing. And this working of Gods Spirit in all  
things, Virgil hath exprest excellently.

Principio celum ac terras, camposq; liquentes,  
Lucentemq; globum Lunc, Titanicq; astra,  
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; insula per artus,  
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

The heauen, the earth, and all the liquid mayne,  
The Moones bright Globe, and Starres Titanian,  
A Spirit within maintaines: and their whole Masse,  
A Minde, which through each part infused doth passe,  
Fashions, and workes, and wholly doth transpiree  
All this great body of the Vniuerse.

And this was the same Spirit, which moued in the Vniuersall, and thereby both  
distinguished and adorned it. His Spirit hath garnished the heauens, saith Iob. So  
then

Necim. lib. 1.  
Theol.

¶ Eys. 40. 1.

¶ Virg. Enid.  
lib. 6. 724.

So Iob. 26. v. 13.

then the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters, and created in them their spirituallity, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heat; and heat rarification, and subtilty of parts. By this Spirit, (which gaue heat and motion, and thereby, operation to euery nature, while it moued vpon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, disposed to all formes alike) was begotten aire: an element, superior, as lighter then the waters, through whose vast, open, subtille, diaphanick, or transparent body, the light afterwards created might easily transpiree: light, for the excellency thereof, being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chrysostome* calleth a vitall Operation, *agnis à Deo instam, ex qua aque non solum motum, sed & vim procedendi animalia habuerint.* He calleth it a vitall Operation giuen by God vnto the water; whereby the waters had not only motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth liuing creatures.

§. VII.

*Of the light created, as the materiall substance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and vse of it: and of motion, and heat annexed vnto it.*

**T**Hese waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and vnted, and called the Sunne, the Organ, and instrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceiue) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sunnes creation, and the vnting of the dispersed light therein. This is proued by these wordes, *Let there be lights in the firmament, to separate the day from the night:* which lights in the firmament of heauen were also made for signes, and for seasons, and for dayes, and for yeares, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which dayes and yeares are distinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three dayes which preceded the Sunnes creation, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the day named in the first verse, was but such a space, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a ciuill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and vpper waters, and of the seas, and creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beasts, plants, minerals, and mans body: so may light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or materiall substance of the Sunne, and other lights of heauen. Howbeit neither the Sunne, nor any thing sensible, is that light it selfe, *que causa est luciditatis, which is the cause, that things are lightsome* (though it make it selfe and all things else visible) but a body most illightned, which illuminateth the Moone, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the Greekes call *Aether*, the place of the supposed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies liuing in this our aire. For this light *Auicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium celestium virtutum, & impressionum: the conductor, and preseruer, or nourisher of celestiall vertues and impressions*, nothing descending of heauenly influences, but by the medium, or meanes of light. *Aristotle* calleth light, a quality, inherent, or cleauing to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen est qualitas inherens Diaphano:* but this may be better touched of the heat, which it transportheth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heat (say the Platonicks) *absente lumine residet in subiecto, the light being departed doth reside in the subiect,* as warmth in the aire, though the same be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academikes* make incorporall, and so doth *Montanus*, *Cuius claritas resistit, nec spatium: which neither hardnesse resisteth, nor space leaueth.*

*Aristotle* findeth corporallitie in the beames of light; but it is by way of repetition of other mens opinions, saith *Picolomineus, Democritus, Leucippus, and Epicurus,*

giue

giue materialty to light it selfe, but improperly: for it passeth at an instant, from the heauen to the earth, nor is it resisted by any hardnesse, because it pierceth through the solid body of glasse, or other Crystalline matter; and whereas it is withstood by vnclane and vnpure earthy substances, lesse hard and more easie to inuade then the former, the same is, *Quod obstaculum naturæ terræ atq; solidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem: Because an obstacle, by nature, earthy and soule, doth not receive the pure clearenesse of light:* alluding to that most diuine light, which only shineth on those mindes, which are purged from all worldly drossie, and humane vnclanneesse.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion: neither doe I maruaile at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or latter Writers, that any of them vnderstood either it or themselves therein: all men (to cast off ignorance) haue disputed hereof, but there is no man that hath bene taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferiour to any in wit) as he hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beatus, Hugo, Lombard, Lyranus*, and others: so is his owne iudgement herein; as weak as any mans; and most of the Schoole-men were rather curious in the nature of termes, and more subtille in distinguishing vpon the parts of doctrine already laid downe, then discouers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophie or Diuinity: of whom it may be truly said, *Quodlibet sapientie odiosus acuminis nimis: Nothing is more odious to true wisdom, then too acute sharpnesse.* Neither hath the length of time, and the search of many learned men, (which the same time hath brought forth and deuoured) resolved vs, whether this light be substantiall, corporall, or incorporall: Corporall they say it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the aire, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth, and yet euery day we see the aire illightened: incorporall it cannot be, because it is sensible: sensible it is, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed: others say (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, because no forme so excellent as it selfe to informe it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subiect: for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the Sunne in existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then either, or both must be one of these, Lucide or bright, darke or opaque, Diaphanous or transparent; but darkenesse cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light, nor darkenesse, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or forme, or both, be Lucide and shining. Lucide and shining obtayne their so being of the light, and therefore, if we deriue this being of light from a former, then would the progresse goe on infinitely, and against nature; and therefore be concludeth that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily, and immediately of it selfe, and is therefore the Sunnes forme, and the forme of all Lucide and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others iudge.

But in my vnderstanding, *lumen*, (which may be Englished by the word Shine) is an intentionall Species of that, which may be Englished by Light; and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sunne, or other lights of heauen, or from any other light, is an image, or intentionall Species thereof; and an intentionall Species may be vnderstood by the example of a redde, or greene colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sunne through redde or greene glasse: for then wee perceiue the same colour cast vpon any thing opposit; which rednesse or other colour we call the *intentionall Species* of the colour in that glasse. And againe, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet vnderstood: so it is dispersed, whether this light first continued be the same, which the Sunne inholdeth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance

any longer, then till the Sunnes creation. But by the most wise and vnchanged order, which God obserued in the worke of the world, I gather, that the light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sunne: for *Moses* repeateth twice the maine parts of the vniuersall; first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with forme: first, naming the

Heauens,

*Lucida corpora sunt plena luce, alienis tenebris impressa. Opaca sunt plena suis tenebris alieno lumine. Transparenscia seu Diaphana earent luce & lumine & tenebris permanent.*

*Scal. lib. ext. g.*

*Perf. 12.*

9.

*Gen. 1.4.*

*Gen. 1.4.*

*Eux dicitur quæ se, & omnia visibilia facit, Causa, in compend. cap. 7. & exercit. lib. 5.*

*Picin. lib. de Elementis. cap. 11.*

*Flac. de signis.*

Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused, and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry land, and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was vncouered, and before it was called, *Arida*, or dry land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or enriched with their vntuall formes: so the Sunne, although it had not his formall perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (vnder the name of Light) created; and this light formerly dispersed, was in the fame fourth day vnited and set in the firmament of Heauen: for to Light created in the first day God gaue no proper place or fixation, and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation*, (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdom of God finde cause why it should moue (by which motion dayes and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any creature produced, to which, by mouing, the Sunne might giue light, heat, and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from waters) beganne to budde forth the budde of the hearbe, &c. God caused the Sunne to moue, and (by interchange of time) to visite every part of the inferiour world; by his heate to liue vp the fire of generation, and to giue actiuitie to the feedes of all natures: For as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to bee erected, doth accommodate the fame to that vse and end, to which it was ordaind; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the light to be; which by his all-powerfull word he approued, and approving it dispensed thereof, to the vse and comfort of his future creatures.

But in that it pleased God to aske of Ios, *by what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth*; we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not vnder mans vnderstanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enioy the effects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (saith *ESDRAS*). And those which inhabit the heavens, doo only know the essence thereof. *Nihil ignotum in celo, nihil notum in terra*, Nothing unknowne in heauen, nothing perfectly knowne on earth. *Res verae sunt in mundo inuisibiles, in mundo visibiles umbrae rerum*: Things themselves are in the inuisible world, in the world visible but their shadowes: Surely if this light be not spirituall, yet it approacheth nearest vnto spirituality; and if it haue any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for how soeuer, it is of all things seen, the most beautifull, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficiall. For it ministrerh to men and other creatures all celestiall influences; it disperseth those fadde thoughts and sorrowes, which the darknesse both begetteth and maintaineth; it discouereth vnto vs the glorious workes of God, and carrieth vp with an Angellcall swiftnesse our eyes vnto heauen, that by the light thereof, our mindes being informed of his visible meruailes, may continually traualle to surmount these percieued heavens, and to finde out their omnipotent cause and Creatour. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis*; Our knowledge doth not quiet it selfe in things created. *Et ipsa lux facit, ut cetera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cum suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet*. It is the light, (saith *St. Ambrose*) that maketh the other part of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it selfe communicateth its goodnesse and beauty vnto all: of which *Ouid* out of *Orpheus*:

Ouid, Met. l. i.

*Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,  
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,  
Mundi oculus.*

The world discerneth it selfe, while I the world behold,  
By me the longest yeares, and other times are told,  
I the worlds eye.

Lastly,

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any farre-off dawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the fame in the beauty, motion, and vertue of this light may be perceiued. Therefore was God called *lux ipsa*, and the light by *Hermes* named *lux sancta*, and *Christ* our Saviour said to bee that light which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Yet in respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimitie, and puritie, this is also true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits, nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus profectio non mens est, at verò ut sit mens causa est, nec spiritus, sed causa qua spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit*. God (saith *HERMES* in *POEMANDRO*) certainly is not a minde, but the cause, that the minde hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.

So then the *Masses* and *Chaos* being first created, void, darke, and informed, was by the operative Spirit of God pierced and quickned, and the Waters hauing now receiued Spirit and motion, refolued their thinner parts into aire, which God enlightened. The Earth also by being contigant, and mixt with waters (participating the same diuine vertue) brought forth the budde of the hearbe that seedeth feede, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operative vertue might be continued, God appointed the light to be vnited, and gaue it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those feuerall species, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time, and times succeding.

## ð. VIII.

Of the firmament, and of the waters about the firmament: and whether there be any cristalline heauen, or any primum mobile.



After that the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters*: that is, those waters which by rarification and euaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But these waters separate about this extension, which the Latine translation calleth *firmamentum*, for *expansum* (for so *Platinius*, and *Ianius* turne it) are not the cristalline Heavens, created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Basilius Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the fame place many learned arguments against this fancie. For the waters about the firmament, are the waters in the aire about vs, where the fame is more solid and condense, which God separated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the wordes *Raquia*, which *Montanus* writeth *Raktagh*, and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the heauen and for aire, and more properly for the aire and ether then for the Heavens, as the best Hebricians vnderstand them, *quos suprema ac tenuia ab infimis crassis diducta interfecta, disarent*, for that whereby the supreme and thinnest bodies were placed in distance being severed and cut off from low and grosse matters: and the waters about the firmament exprest in the word *Mayim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters about the aire, or in the vppermost Region of the fame.

And that the word Heauen is vsed for the aire, the Scriptures euery where witness, as in the blessings of *Ioseph*, and in the 104. Psalm. \* *By these springs shall the fowle of the heauen dwell; and upon Sodome and Gomorrah it rained brimstone and fire out of the heauen*; and in *Isaacs* blessing to *Isaac*, *God giue thee therefore of the dew of heauen*; and in *Deuteronomy* the 11. *But the land, whither you goe to possess it, is a land, that drinketh water of the raine of heauen*; and in *Ios*, *Who hath ingathered the frosts of heauen*; and in *St. MATTHEW*, *Behold the fowles of heauen, for they sow not*.

So

Gen. 1. 1.

So as in all the Scriptures of the old Testament throughout, is the word Heauen very often vsed for aire, and taken also hyperbolically for any great height, as, *Let vs build vs a Tower, whose toppe may reach to heauen, &c.* and in this very place *Basil* a- nouetheth that this appellation of heauen for the firmament, is but by way of similitude: his owne wordes be these, *Et vocauit Deus firmamentum caelum. Hac appellatio aliq. quidem proprie accommodatur, huius autem nunc ad similitudinem; And God called the firmament heauen: This appellation (saith Basil) is properly applied to another* (that is, to the Starry Heauen) *but to this* (that is, to the Firmament deuiding the waters) *it is imposed by similitude:* and if there were no other proofe, that by the firmament was meant the aire, and not the Heauen, the wordes of *MOSES* 10 in the eighth Verse conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth Verse makes it manifest: for in the eight Verse it is written, that God called the firmament, which deuided waters from waters, Heauen; and in the 20. Verse hee calleth the firmament of Heauen, aire, in these wordes: *And let the foule flie vpon the earth in the open firmament of heauen:* and what vse there should be of this icie, or cristalline, or waterie heauen, I conceiue not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *Primum mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, in stead of this helpe, it would adde an vnmeasurable greatnesse of circle, whereby the swiftnesse of that first Moueable would exceede all possibilitie of beleefe. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia, but no man ought to be held to impossibilities;* and saith 20 it selfe (which surmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible conductor the word of truth, which also may be called *lumen omnia rationis, & intel- lectus, the light of all reason and vnderstanding.* Now that this supposed first Moueable turneth it selfe so many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scrip- tures teach it not) let those that can belceue mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I can not: but of these many heauens, let the Reader, that desireth satisfaction, search *Orontius*, and of this waterie Heauen, *Basilus Magnus* in his *Hexam.* fol. 40. 41. &c. and *Matth. Beroaldus* his second Booke and sixt Chapter. For my selfe I am perswaded, that the waters called the waters about the heauens, are but the cloudes and waters ingendred in the vppermost aire.

## §. I X.

*A conclusion repeating the summe of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.*

**T**O conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise *God* in the beginning, and 40 when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehensible eternitie. First, he created the matter of all things: and in the first three daies he distinguished and gaue to euery nature his proper forme, the forme of leuitie to that which ascended, to that which descended, the forme of grauitie: for he separated light from darkenesse, deuided waters from waters, and gathered the waters vnder the firmament into one place. In the last three daies, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the world: he set in the firmament of Heauen, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fish, giuing to all, that haue life, a power generative, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to creatures vegetatiue and growing, their feedes 50 in themselves; for he created all things, that they might haue their being: and the generations of the world are preserved.

## §. X.

## §. X.

*That nature is no Principium per se; nor forme the giuer of being: and of our ignorance, how second causes should haue any proportion with their effects.*



**A**ND for this working power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to *Aristotle*, the same is nothing else, but the strength and faculty, which God hath infused into euery creature, ha- 10 uing no other selfe-ability, then a Clocke; after it is wound vp by a mans hand, hath. These therefore that attribute vnto this facultie, any first or sole power, haue therein no other vnderstanding, then such a one hath, who looking into the sterne of a shippe, and finding it guided by the helme and rudder, doth ascribe some absolute vertue to the peece of wood, without all consideration. If the hand, that guides it, or of the iudgement, which also directeth and commandeth that hand; forgetting in this and in all else, that by the vertue of the first act, all A- 20 gents worke whatsoeuer they worke: *Virtute primi actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt:* for as the minde of man seeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the eares, and maketh choise by the will: and therefore we attribute sight to the eye, and hearing to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde only, that giueth abilitie, life, and mo- tion to all these his instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infused properties; and by men, as by severall organs, seuerall effects; all second causes whatsoeuer being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they haue receiued from the head and fountaine of the Vniuersall. For as it is Gods infinite power, and euerywhere-pres- 30 ence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giueth to the Sunne power to draw vp vapours; to vapours to be made cloudes, cloudes to contayne raine, and raine to fall: so all second and instrumentall causes, together with Nature it selfe, without that operative facultie which God giueth them, would become alto- 40 gether silent, vertuelesse, and dead: of which excellently *ORPHEVS;* *Per te vire- cunt omnia, All things by thee spring forth in youthfull Greene.* I enforce not these things, thereby to annihilate those variable vertues, which God hath giuen to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heauenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his workes in their vertues praise him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, haue taken on them to teach: I say there is not any one among them, nor any one among vs, that could euer yet conceiue it, or expresse it, euer enrich his owne vnderstanding with any certaine truth, or euer edifie others (not foolish by selfe-flatter- 50 rie) therein. For (saith *Lactantius*, speaking of the wisdom of the Philosophers) *si facultas inueniende veritatis huic studio subiaceret, aliquando esset inuenta; cum vero tot temporibus, tot ingenijs in eius inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nul- lum ibi esse sapientiam, If in this stuaie* (saith he) *were meanes to finde out the truth, it had ere this bene found out: but seeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits haue bene worne out in the inquirie of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisdom there to be had. Nam si de vniuersa precisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum sci-* 60 *entia necessarij haberetur, If the precise knowledge of any one thing were to be had, it should necessarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had.* And as the Philoso- phers were ignorant in nature, and the wayes of her working: so were they more cu- rious, then knowing, in their first matter and Physicall forme. For if their first mat- ter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaueth, when it doth subsist. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take conseruence, it hath not bene taught; neither are these formes (saith a learned Authour) any thing, *si ex ea exprimentur* 70 *potentia,*

*Natura enim; remota prouidentia ex parte fluit diuina; prout nihil est. Eadem de illi. Sa- pientia, l. 3. c. 20.*

*cyprum de me- 16. 13.*

*potentia, quæ nihil est.* Again, how this first matter should be *subiectum formarum*, and passive, which is understood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceiue: for to make forme which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, diuine and humane: only it may be said, that originally there is no other difference between matter and forme, then between heat and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kind of rationall consideration. Leaving therefore these riddles to their louers, who by certaine scholasticall distinctions writ and peruert the truth of all things, and by which *Aristotle* hath laboured to proue a false eternitie of the world, I thinke it faire safer to asseme with *S. AVOVSTINE*, *I hat all species and kinds are from God, from whom whatsoeuer is natural proceedeth, of what kinde or estimation soeuer, from whence are the seedes of all formes, and the formes of all seedes and their motions; A quo est omnis species, à quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cuiuscunq; generis est, cuiuscunq; estimationis est, à quo sunt semina formarum, forme seminum, motus seminum atq; formarum.* And thus much *Auerrois* is forced to confesse. For all formes (saith he) are in primo motore; which is also the opinion of *Aristotle* in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* vpon *Dionysius*.

xx. Metaph.

## §. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starres haue great influence: and that their operations may diuersly be prevented or furthered.



ND, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that haue written thereof, may be fairly receiued, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an inexcusable necessity, and made it more generall, and vniuersally powerfull then it is, by giuing it dominion ouer the minde of man, and ouer his will; of which *Ouid* and *Lucretius*.

Iunen sat. 7. 101

*Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.  
Scelus regna dabunt, captiuus Fata triumphos,*

Gainst Fate no counsell can preuaile.  
Kingdomes to slaues, by Destinie,  
To Captiuus triumphs giuen be.

Basil. lib. 4.  
Aug. de beatif.  
70. c. 45.  
Theo. cont. gent.  
3. c. 43.  
Pict. in 12. de  
4. 5.  
G. de fat.

An error of the *Chaldeans*, and after them of the *Stoicks*, the *Pharisees*, *Priscilianists*, the *Bardilianists*, and others, as *Basil*, *Augustine*, and *Thomas* haue obserued: but, that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceiued of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the *Platonist*. *Plinius* out of the *Astronomers* calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestiall Orbes, vnchangeably working in inferior bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things, which a rationall minde doth not order nor direct. *Ptolomie*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chrysippus*, *Empedocles*, and the *Stoicks*, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and inexcusable necessity, and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de vniuerso, nostrum fatum est Deus*) and the definite lot of all liuing. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starres are instruments of farre greater vse, then to giue an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunne set: it being manifest, that the diuersity of seasons, the Winters, and Summers, more hot and cold, are not so vncreated by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keep one and the same course, but that the Starres haue also their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath giuen vertues to Springs, and fountaines,

taines, to cold earth, to plants and stones, Minerals, and to the excrementall parts of the basest liuing creatures, why should wee robbe the beautifull Starres of their working powers? for seeing they are many in number: add of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not thinke, that in the treasury of his wisdom he who is infinite, there can be wanting (euen for euery starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as euery hearbe, plant, fruit, and flower, adorning the face of the Earth hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to couer and shadow her dusty face, but otherwise for the vse of man and beast, to feede them and cure them: so were not those vncountable glorious bodies set in the firmament, to no other end, then to adorne it, but for instruments and organs of his diuine providence, so faire as it hath pleased his iust will to determine. *Origen* vpon this place of *Genesis*, *Let there be light in the firmament, &c.* affirmeth that the Starres are not causes (meaning per chance binding causes) but are as open bookes, wherein are contained and set downe all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisdom: which latter part I beleue well, and this saying of *Syracides* withall. *That there are hidde yet greater things then these be, and we haue scene but a few of his workes.* And though, for the capacitie of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and vttermost vertues of hearbs and plants, which our selues slow and set, and which grow vnder our feete, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestiall bodies: for hardly (saith *SALOMON*) can we discern the things that are vpon the earth, and with great labour finde we out those things that are before vs: who can then inuigilate the things that are in heauen? *Mulsum est de rebus celestibus aliquid cognoscere: Aristotle.* It is nought to know a little of heavenly things. But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we doe not binde God to his creatures, in this supposed necessity of destinie, so on the contrary we doe not robbe those beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes depouled God of his prerogatiue, or had God himselfe constrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celestiall inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some were iustificable; of whom *S. AVOVSTINE*, *Impia peruersitate in malis factis rectissime reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius auctorem (scilicet, quàm commissorem) scelerum.* Where we reprehend them of euill doers, they againe with wicked peruersesse urge, that rather the Author and Creatour of the Starres, then the doer of the euill is to be accused.

Aug. 20. super Gen. ad lit.

But that the Starres and other celestiall bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitiue appetite, which is also stirred by the configuration and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora celestia* (saith *DAMASCENE*) *constituunt in nobis habitus, complexionem, & dispositionem.* The heavenly bodies (saith he) make in vs habits, complexion, and dispositions: for the body (though *Galen* inforce it further) hath vnderbodily a kinde of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in humour, and mindes weak in vertues: for those of cholerick complexion are subiect to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to be transported, where the minde hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her vasailes, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonlesse minde I am refused: For all those which were created mortall, as birds, beasts, and the like are left to their naturall appetites, ouer all which, celestiall bodies (as instruments and executioners of Gods providence) haue absolute dominion. What we should iudge of men, who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell: for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them: so whoeuer shall neglect the remedies by vertue and pietie prepared, putteth himselfe altogether vnder the power of his sensuall appetite; *Vincitur fatum si resistas, vincit si contempseris: Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it, if thou neglect it, it conquers thee.*

Quint.

But that either the Starres or the Sunne haue any power ouer the mindes of men immediately, it is absurd to thinke, other then as afore said, as the same by the bodies temper may be effected. *Lumen solis ad generationem sensibulum corporum confert; &*

Aug. de ciuit. Dei. lib. 5.

Hex. lib. 4. d. l.  
tunc. 3.

*ad vitam ipsam mouet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sunne (saith Saint AUGUSTINE) helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moueth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them: yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio; The Sunne is good to serue, not to sway (saith St. Ambrose.) And St. AUGUSTINE: Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora; God ruleth the bodies below by those above, but he auoucheth not that superiour bodies haue rule ouer mens minds, which are incorporeall.*

Hor. lib. 4. d. l.  
4. 39.

But howsoeuer we are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in nature and art, that encounter the fume, and weaken their operation: and Aristotle himselfe confesseth, that the heauens doe not alwaies worke their effects in inferior bodies, no more then the signes of raine and wind doe alwaies come to passe. And it is diuers times seene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. *Est in luculentis patrum virtus; In the young offspring the fathers vertue is,* and so the contrary, *patrum vitia:* and herein also there is often found an entercange; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vitious men, to vertue.

*Egregia est soboles, scelerato nata parente.*

A worthy sonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods refered power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the world so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing vp may fashion a few, and reforme them; nor any so well disposed, whom (the raine being let loose) the continuall fellowship and familiaritie, and the examples of disolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Vessels will euer retain a fauour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult either to cleanse the minde once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet fauour of vertue first receiued, when the minde was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a fauourable constellation (allowing that the Starres incline the will) and a vertuous education doe happily artie, or the contrarie in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding vertuous or vitious, heauen and earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the seedes of vertue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, then the strength of selfe nature and kinde could haue yielded them; so the plants apt to grow wild, and to change themselves into weeds, by being set in a soile futable, and like themselves, are made more vnfaunoury and filled with poyson. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapientis adiunxit opus agrorum, quemadmodum agricola terra naturam:* A wise man assisteth the worke of the Starres, as the husbandman helpeth the nature of the soile. And Ptolomie himselfe confesseth thus much, *Sapientis, & omnia sapientis medici dominantur astris, A wise man, and the ominous art of a wise Physician shall preuaile against the starres.* Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the starres, as he did the rest of the vniuersall, whose influences may be called his referued and vnwritten lawes. But let vs consider how they binde: euen as the lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the world haue by their lawes decreed, that a theefe and a murderer shall suffer death; and though their ordinances are daylie by Iudges and Magistrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly, yet these lawes doe not deprive Kings of their naturall or religious compassion, or binde them without prerogative, to such a seuer execution, as that there should be nothing left of libertie to iudgement, power, or conscience: the Law in his owne nature being no other then a deafe Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe sometimes for causes to themselves knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves, it were then impious to take that power and libertie from God himselfe, which

which his Substitutes enjoy; God being mercy, goodnesse, and charitie it selfe. Otherwise that example of prayer by our Saviour taught. *And let vs not be leade vnto temptation, but deliuer vs from euill,* had bene no other but an expence of wordes and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truly) hath assured vs, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble prayers and desires may not make frustrate, and breake asunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceiue) that Fate or Destinie, though depending vpon eternall power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependencie, that God himselfe should in a kinde haue shut vp him selfe therein.

How miserable then were the condition of men (saith St. AUGUSTINE) left altogether without hope.

And if this strength of the Starres were so transfer'd, as that God had quitted vnto them all dominion ouer his creatures; be he Pagan or Christian that so beleneeth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginarie Gods of the other would thereby be depoulted of all worship, reuerence, or respect.

And certainly, God which hath promised vs the reward of well-doing, which Christ himselfe claimed at the hands of the Father (*I haue finished the worke which thou gavest me to doe.*) And the same God, who hath threatned vnto vs the sorrow and torment of offences, could not contrary to his mercifull nature be so vnjust, as to bind vs inuitably to the destinies, or influences of the Starres, or subiect our soules to any imposed necessitie. But it was well said of *Plinius*, that the starres were significant, but not efficient, giuing them yet something lesse then their due: and therefore as I doe not content with those, who would make those glorious creatures of God vertuelesse: so I thinke that we derogate from his eternall and absolute power and providence, to ascribe to them the same dominion ouer our immortall soules, which they haue ouer all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the soules of men, louing and fearing God, receiue influence from that diuine light it selfe, whereof the Sunnes claritie, and that of the Starres is by *Plato* called but a shadow. *Lumen est umbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis, Light is the shadow of Gods brightnesse, who is the light of light.* But to end this question, because this Destinie, together with Providence, Prefcience, and Predestination are often confounded, I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two, for euery man hath not obserued it, though all learned men haue.

## ¶ XII. Of Prefcience.

40 Prefcience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call *Prognosis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *præscientia*) considered in order and nature (if we may speake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prefcience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatsoeuer our selues fore-know, except the same be to succcede accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prefcience of God (as it is Prefcience only) is not the cause of any thing futurely succceeding: neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impose any necessity, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will rise, and set; that all men borne in the world shall die againe; that after Winter, the Spring shall come; after the Spring Sommer and Haruest, and that according to the seuerall seedes that we sow, we shall reape seuerall sorts of graine, yet is not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledge in vs binde or constrain the Sunne to rise and set, or men to die; for the causes (as men perswade themselves) are otherwise manifest and knowne to all. The eye of man (saith *Bertrius*) beholdeth those things subiect to sense,

sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is a horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their own natures. And againe out of the same Authour. *Divina providentia rebus generalibus non imponit necessitates, quia si omnia evenirent ex necessitate, premia bonorum, & poena malorum periret.* Divine providence (saith he) imposeth no necessity upon things that are to exist, for if all came to passe of necessity, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of euill.

## §. XIII.

## Of Providence.

**N**OW Providence (which the Greekes call *Pronoia*) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not only behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philosophers (saith St. Augustine) is deuoted into Memorie, Knowledge, and Care: Memorie of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future; and we our selues account such a man for provident, as, remembering things past, and obseruing things present, can by iudgement, and comparing the one with the other, prouide for the future, and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures euerywhere teach vs, *Moses* in many places, the Prophets in their predictions: Christ himselfe and his Apostles assure vs hercof; and, besides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Providence of God: yea the Turks themselves are so confident therein, as they refuse not to accompanie and visit each other, in the most pestilent discases, nor shunne any perill whatsoeuer, though death therein doe manifestly present it selfe.

The places of Scripture prouing Providence, are so many, both in generall and particular, as I shall neede to repeat but a few of them in this place. Sing vnto God (saith DAVID) *which conuerth the heauens with cloudes, and prepareth raine for the earth, and maketh the grasse to grow vpon the mountaines, which giueth to beasts their foode, and feedeth the young Ravens that cries: all thef waite vpon thee, that thou maist giue them foode in due season.* And thou shalt drinke of the riuers Cheareth (saith God to ELIAH) and I haue commanded the Ravens to feede thee there. Behold the Fowles of the aire, they sow not, nor reape, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them: againe, are not two sparrowes sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea all the haire of your head are numbered. And St. PETER, Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you; And his iudgements are written (saith DAVID.)

God therefore, who is euery where present, who filleth the heauens and the earth, whose eyes are vpon the righteous, and his countenance against them that doe euill, was therefore by Orpheus called *oculus infinitus*, an infinite eye, beholding all things, and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne word. *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo: I will not giue my glorie to another.* No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; but God is euery where present, and King of Kings. The example of Gods vniuersall prouidence is seene in his creatures. The Father prouideth for his children: beasts and birds and all liuing for their young ones. If prouidence be found in second Fathers, much more in the first and Vniuersall: and if there be a naturall louing care in men, and beasts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose diuine loue was the beginning, and is the bond of the Vniuersall. *Amor diuinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum vniuersi* (saith PLATO.) *Amor Dei est modus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque eius immobile sustentaculum, ac vniuersae*

*vniuersae machina fundamentum, The loue of God is the perpetuall knot, and linke or chaine of the world, and the immouable pillar of euery part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the vniuersall.* God therefore who could onely be the cause of all, can onely prouide for all, and sustaine all; so as to absolute power, to euery-where presence; to perfect goodnesse; to pure and diuine loue; this attribute and transcendent habit of Providence is only proper and belonging.

## §. XIII.

## Of Predestination.

**N**OW for Predestination; we can difference it no otherwise, from Providence and Prescience, then in this, that Prescience only fore-seeth: Providence fore-seeth and careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, euen from the brightest Angels of heauen, to the vnworthiest wormes of the earth, and Predestination (as it is vsed specially by Diuines) is only of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their saluation properly, in the common vse of Diuines, or perdition, as some haue vsed it. Yet Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernardus Theologus, and others, take the word Predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicity: diuers of the Fathers take it more largely somtimes: among whom St. Augustine speaking of two Cities, and two societies, vseth these wordes, *Quarum vna est, quae praedestinata est in aeternum regnare cum Deo, altera aeternum supplicium subire cum Diabolo, whereof one is it, which is predestinated to reigne for euer with God, but the other is to undergoe euerylasting torment with the Deuill:* for according to NONIVS MARCELLVS, *destinare est preparare;* and of the same opinion are many Protestant writers, as Caluin, Beza, Buchananus, Danew, and such like: and as for the manifold questions hercof arising, I leaue them to the Diuines; and why it hath pleased God to create some vessels of honour, and some of dishonour, I will answer with Gregorie, who saith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt:* He that seeth no reason in the actions of God, by consideration of his owne infirmitie perceiueh the reason of his blindness. And againe with St. AUGUSTINE, *Osculta esse causa potest, iniusta esse non potest:* Hidden the cause of his Predestination may be, vniust it cannot be.

## §. XV.

## Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seeme to be by fortune, and against reason and Providence.

**N**ASTLY, seeing Destinie or Necessitie is subseqent to Gods prouidence, and seeing that the Starres haue no other dominion, then is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as Plato calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificium Dei Organum, The art, or artificial Organ of God:* and CYSANVS, *Diuini precepti instrumentum, The instrument of the diuine precept,* we may then with better reason reiect that kinde of Idolatrie, or God of fooles, called Fortune or Chance: a Goddesse, the most reuerenced, and the most reuiled of all other, but not ancient; for Homer maketh her the Daughter of Oceanus; as Pausanias witnesseth in his *Messenicks*. The Greekes call her *tyxw* signifying a relative being; or betiding, so as before Homers time this great Ladie was scarce heard off; and Hesiodus, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfeit Gods, hath not a word of Fortune: yet afterward shee grew so great and omnipotent, as from

Kings and Kingdomes, to beggers and cottages, these ordered all things, resisting the wisdom of the wisest, by making the possessor thereof miserable: valuing the folly of the most foolish by making their successe prosperous, inasmuch as the actions of men were said to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens liues, but her palmitres: of which PALLADIUS, *Vita hominum ludus fortune est, The life of man is the play of Fortune*; and because it often falleth out, that enterprises guided by ill counsels haue equall successe to those by the best iudgement conducted, therefore had Fortune the same externall figure with Sapience: wherof *Athenæus*.

*Aur. viii. de pertinet. Sen. ep. 74*  
*Demetrius Poliorcetes in the great and often changes of his Fortune, is said to haue vied to crie out vpon Fortune, applying to her a Verse of ÆSCHYLVS. Tu me extulisti, eadem me is (sentio) 10 perdim.*

*Longissime à Sapientia Fors absidet,  
 Sed multa perfcit tamen similis.*

From wisdom Fortune differs farre,  
 And yet in workes most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly vnderstood) is nothing else but a power imaginarie, to which the successe of humane actions and endeuours were for their varietie ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be given, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant, contrary to this true ground of PLATO: *Nihil est ortum sub Sole, cuius causa legitima non precesserit, Nothing euer came to passe vnder the Sunne, of which there was not a iust preceding cause*. But *Aguinas* hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoeuer may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen *besides the intention of the inferior, but not besides the intention of the superior: Præter intentionem inferioris, sed non præter intentionem superioris*, (to wit) the ordinance of God; and therefore (saith MELANCHTON) *Quod Peste fortunam, nos Deum appellamus, Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God*, and that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth vs, as in the law of murder. *He that 30 smiteth a man, and he die, shall die the death, and if a man hath not laid waite, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee*. Now where the Scripture hath these wordes, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, if he hurt him by Chance, and in *Deuteronomie* the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Axe from the helue, whereby an other is slaine, was the worke of God himselfe, we in our phrase attribute this accident to Chance or Fortune: and in the *Proverbs* the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord*: so as that which seemeth most casual and subiect to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of *Aristotle* and his sectators, with those of *Plato*, and the *Academikes* to this effect, That the same power which they called *animam mundi*, the soule of the world, was no other then that incomprehensible wisdom, which we expresse by the name of God, gouerning euery being aswell in heauen as in earth; to which wisdom and power they sometime gaue the title of necessitie or Fate, because it bindeth by ineuitable ordinance: sometime, the stile of Fortune, because of many effects there appeare vnto vs no certain causes. To this effect speaketh *St. Augustine* in his questions vpon *Genesis* the first Booke: the same hath *Seneca* in his fourth of *Benefits*; which was also the doctrine of the Stoicks, of which seeth was: *For whatsoeuer (saith he) 50 thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced by diuers termes, according as he useth, and exerciseth his power diuersly*.

*Te facimus Fortis Deum, celsiq. locum.*  
*Sen. 10 366.*  
*Exod. 21. 13.*  
*Prov. 1.*  
*Prov. 33.*  
*Cic. ac. quest. 1.1.*  
*Spec. 1.4. c. 7.*

But it may be objected, that if Fortune and Chaunce were not sometimes the causes of good and euill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expresse successe, how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend vpon so many vnworthy and

and emptie-headed fooles; that riches and honour are giuen to externall men, and without kernell: and so many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their liues in poore and dejected estates. In a word there is no other inferior, or apparent cause, beside the partialitie of mans affection, but the falsioning and not falsioning of our selues according to the nature of the time wherein we liue, for whoeuer is most able, and best sufficient to discerne, and hath withall an honest and open heart and louing truth, if Princes, or those that gouerne, endure no other discourte then their owne flatteries, then I say such an one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall euer more hang vnder the wheele, which kinde

10 of deseruing well and receiuing ill, wee alwaies fallily charge Fortune withall. For whoeuer shall tell any great man or Magistrate, that he is not iust, the Generall of an Armie, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire, shall neuer be made a Counsellor, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and iust with him that is iust, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperitie, but he must also change with the successe, if he be of contrary qualities, faile with the tide of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attain to honour and riches, but by such an obsequant flauish course? These men haue nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeite kinde of wondering at other men, and by making them beleue that all their vices are vertues, and all their dustie actions cristalline, haue yet in all ages prospered equally with the most vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, *Omnis insipiens arrogans & plausus capitur, Euery foole is woone with his owne pride and others flattering applaus*: so as whoeuer will liue altogether out of himselfe, and studie other mens humours, and obserue them, shall neuer be vnfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the season wherein he liueth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodnesse fruitfull) shall neuer prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to warre or contend 30 in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liueth: for such a one is often the author of his owne miserie, but best it were to follow the aduise, which the Pope gaue the Bishops of that age, out of *Ouid*, while the Arian Heresie raged:

*Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.*

While furie gallops on the way,  
 Let no man furies gallop stay.

And if *Cicero* (then whom that world began not a man of more reputed iudgement) had followed the counsaile of his brother *QUINTVS*, *Potuisse* (saith *PE- 40 TRARCH*) *in lectulo suo mori, potuisset integro caduere sepe viri, He might then haue died the death of nature; and bene with an vntime and vnaduersed body buried*; for as *Petrarch* in the same place noteth: *Quid sustinens quam desperantem (preferim de efflu) litibus perpetuis implicari, What more foolish then for him that despaires, especially of the effect, to be entangled with endless contentions?* Whoeuer therefore will set before him *Machiauels* two markes to shooe at (to wit) riches, and glorie, must set on and take off a backe of yron to a weake wooden bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble: for as he, that first deuised to adde failes to rowing vessels, did either so proportion them, as being fultened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne inuention: so that man which prizeth vertue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoise and strike his failes, as the diuers natures of Calmes and stormes require, must cut his failes, and his cloth, of meane length and breadth, and content himselfe with a slow and sure nauigation, (to wit) a meane and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the

*Ouid. Rem. am. lib. 1.*

the rest, or of whatsoeuer Lords or Gods, imaginarie powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishness) of man hath found out: let vs resolue with *St. Paul*, who hath taught vs, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord, Iesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him* 3 there are diuerities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

1. cor. e. 8. v. 6.  
Cap. 12. vers. 6.

## CHAP. II.

## Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods rest.

## §. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

Gen. 1. 26.

Trinit. Act. 1. 2.  
De volunt. Dei.  
Plat. leg. 1. 1.



HE creation of all other creatures being finished, the heuens adorned, and the earth replenished, God said, *Let vs make man in our owne Image, according to our likenesse.*

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods workes to vs knowne, *ingens miraculum homo, man is the greatest wonder* (saith *Plato* out of *MERCURIUS*;) *Natura ardentissime artificium, The artificial worke of the most ardent or fire-like nature* (as saith *Zoroaster*) though the same be meant, not for any excellencie externall, but in respect of his internall forme, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an essence immortall, and spirituall; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

Sanctum, quia  
pars partem im-  
mortalitatis, ani-  
mali, quia im-  
mortalis.  
In locum Quia,  
Quia 1. 1. 76.

Sanctus hic animal mentis, capax alia.  
Deerat adhuc: & quod dominari in cetera posset,  
Natus homo est.

More holy then the rest, and vnderstanding more  
A liuing creature wants, to rule all made before,  
So man began to be.

Of this Image and similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceiue, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and dominion, as *St. Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, and some others: which *St. Ambrose* denyeth to the woman in these wordes, *Ut sicut Deus vnus, ab eo feret homo vnus, & quando ex Deo vno omnia, ita ex vno homine omne genus esset super faciem totius terre: Vnus igitur vnus fecit, qui vnitatis eius habet imaginem*, That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one made one, that should haue the Image of his vnitie. But whereas it is gathered out of the following wordes of the

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same Verbe, that man was after the image of God in respect of rule and power, it is written *Dominamini* in the plural number, and let them rule ouer the fish of the Sea, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceiue, that man is said to be after the image of God in respect of his immortall soule only, because as God is inuisible, so the soule of man is inuisible, as God is immortall and incorpall, so is the soule of man immortall and incorpall; and as there is but one God which gouerneth the world, so but one soule which gouerneth the body of man; and as God is wholly in euery part of the world, so is the soule of man wholly in euery part of the body: *Animae est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*, The soule is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in euery part thereof, according to *Aristotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men denie that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all the *Aristotelians* in the world shall neuer proue. These and the like arguments doe the *Iewes* make (saith *Tostatus*) and these resemblances, betwene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men resemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) *Memorie*, *Vnderstanding*, and *Will*, and yet all these, being of reall differences, are but one minde: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude diuers; and againe, they distinguish betwene *imaginem Dei*, and *ad imaginem Dei*, and spinne into small threds, with subtle distinctions, many times the plainnesse, and incertie of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that eateth through and dissolueth the purest gold. *Viliorum* alio maketh the image of God to be substantiall, but not the similitude: *sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declaratum, A word-declaring qualitie in the substance*. Out of which wordes, and that which followeth, it is infer'd, that as the image and similitude doe greatly differ: so the sinnefull soule doth not therefore leaue to be the image of God; but it hath not his similitude, except it be holy and righteous. *St. Augustine* also against *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by sinne, the perfection of this image is lost in man, and in his Retractions maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howsoeuer the Schoole-men and others distinguish, or whatsoeuer the Fathers conceiue, sure I am that *St. Paul* maketh the same sense of the image, which *Viliorum* doth of the similitude, who saith: *As we haue borne the image of the earthly, so shall we beare the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, that the wordes image and similitude were vsed but in one sense, and in this place the better to expresse each other; whatsoeuer *Lombard* hath said to the contrary. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himselfe in the Scriptures, which neither *Moses*, the Prophets, or Apostles, euer conceiued. Now as *St. Paul* vseth the word (image) for both: so *St. James* vseth the word (similitude) for both in these wordes. *Therewith blese wee God cum the Father, and sheweth curse we Men, which are made after the similitude of God*: Howsoeuer therefore *St. Augustine* seemeth, out of a kinde of elegance in writing, to make some difference, as where he writeth, *Conferuntur imaginem in aternitate similitudinem in mortalibus inueniri, we confesse that this image is found in eternitie, but his similitude in manners*, that is, in the spirituall dispositions and qualities of the minde, yet thus he eliewhere speaketh plainly. *Quasi vero possit esse imago aliqua in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omnino similis non est, procul dubio nec imago est*, As if (saith he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is no image. The verie wordes of the Text make this most manifest, as *Let vs make man in our image, according to our likeness*: which is, Let vs make man in our image, that he may be like vs; and in the next Verbe following God himselfe maketh it plaine, for there he vseth the word (image) only, as thus. *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him*. And to take away all dispute or ambiguitie, in the first

1. cor. 15. 49.  
vs. supra.  
Ans. et sup.

first Verse of the fifth Chapter, the word (similitude) is vsed againe by it selfe, as, in the day that God created A DAM, in the likenesse of God made he him. And this similitude S. Paul Colof. the third, calleth the image. Put on (saith he) the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him, that created him. And in Siracides it is written, he made them according to his image. Now if we may beleuee S. Paul before Peter Lombard and other Schoole-men, then it is as manifest as wordes can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same, for S. Paul vseth both the words directly in one sense. For they turned the glorie of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.

Zanchius laboureth to proue, that man was formed after the image of God, both in body and minde: *Nulla pars in homine qua non fuerit huiusce imaginis participes, No part in a man (saith he) which was not part:icipating Gods image: for God said, Let vs make man according to our owne image.* But the soule alone is not man, but the Hypostasis or whole man compounded of body and soule. The body of man (saith he) is the I-  
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mage of the world, and called therefore Microcosmus; but the Idea and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne objection seemeth to me sufficient, where he allegeth, that it may be said that Moyses spake by the figure Synecdoche, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the body only: so when God said, Let vs make man after our image, hee meant the soule of man, and not the bodie of earth and dust: *Maledictus qui deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (saith S. AVGVSTINE), *Cursed is he that referrcth the Deitie of God to the lineaments of mans body.* *Deus enim non est humane forme participes, neque corpus humanum diuine* (saith PHILLO), *God is not partaker of humane forme, nor human: body of the forme diuine:* The Hebrew word for image is Tselem, which signifieth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *In imagine pertransit homo, Man passeth away in a shadow:* Let vs then know and consider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition, for it is both against his nature and his word; an error of the Anthropomorphic, against the very essence and Maiesty of God.

Surely Cicero, who was but a Heathen, had yet a more diuine vnderstanding then these grosse Heretikes: *ad similitudinem Dei proprius accedebat humana virtus, quam figura, The vertue which is in man (saith he) came nearer the similitude of God, then the figure.* For God is a spirituall substance, inuisible, and most simple; God is a iust God: God is mercifull: God is charitie it selfe, and (in a word) goodnesse it selfe, and none else simply good. And thus much he hath pleased God himselfe: to teach vs, and to make vs know of himselfe. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of such a nature, or wherein can man be said to resemble his vnexceivable power and perfectnesse? certainly, not in domiion alone: for the Deuill is said to be the Prince of this world, and the Kingdome of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither, because man hath an immortal soule, and therein the faculties of Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will, for the Deuils are also immortal, and participate those faculties, being called Demones, because sciters of Knowledge, and subtilty; neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: for who haue rebelled against God? who haue made Gods of the vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea euen of shamefull parts of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet doe I not condemn the opinion of St. Chrysostome and Ambrose, as touching domiion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some sort after the image of God, if we take Domiion, such as it ought to bee, that is, accompanied with iustice and pietie: for God did not only make man a ruler and Governour ouer the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heauen (or of the aire) and ouer the Beasts of the field; but God gaue vnto man a domiion ouer men, he appointed Kings to gouerne them, and Iudges, to iudge them in equitie. Neither doe I exclude reason, as it is the abilitie of vnderstanding. For I doe not conceiue, that *Trenauis* did therefore call man, the image of God, because hee was  
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animal ratione only; but that he vnderstood it better, with SYBILLA: *Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens, Man, that is endued with right reason, is said to resemble God, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creator, and the same God to serue, loue, and obey: and therefore said St. Augustine (who herein came nearer the truth) fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente, God made man, in respect of the intellect, after his owne image and similitude;* 3 and REYNERIVS; *Homo, quod habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei, Man was made after the image of God, in minde, or in that he had a minde.*

# ¶ I I.

Of the intellectuall minde of man, in which there is much of the image of God: and that this image is much deformed by sinne.

**B**UT *Mens* is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to Aristotle, which is *forma, vel natura hominis*, The forme or nature of man; but this facultie or gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi*, the principall strength of the minde, or soule, *vis actus est perpetua veritatis contemplatio; whose act, exercise, or office, is the perpetuall contemplation of truth;* and therefore it is also called *intellectus diuinus, intellectus contemplatiuus, & anima contemplatiua, A diuine vnderstanding, and an intellectuall minde contemplatiue.* *Est autem mens nostra (saith CYSANVS) vis comprehendendi, & totius virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectuall minde (saith he) is a power of comprehending, euen the whole, that is in this kinde powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: vnto which Mercurius attributeth so much (if his meaning accompanie his wordes) that he esteemeth it to be the very essence of God (which was also the error of the Manichees and others) and not otherwise separate from God (saith he) then the light from the Sunne: for this *Mens* or vnderstanding (saith Mercurius) *est Deus in hominibus, Is God in men,* or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of the same essence or nature with the diuine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; so is this *Mens* or vnderstanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite vnderstanding, but a power and facultie of our soules the purest; or the *lumen anime rationalis*, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this *Mens* others call *animam animam, The soule of the soule,* or with St. Augustine, the eye of the soule, or receptacle of Sapience and diuine knowledge, *que amoris sapientie tanquam ducent sequitur, which followeth after the lone of sapience as her guide* (saith Philo) between which and reason, between which and the minde, called *anima*, between which and that power which the Latines call *animas*, there is this difference. Reason is that facultie by which we iudge and discourse; *Animas*, by which we liue. Hereof it is said, *Animas corpus animat, id est, viuificat; anima, or the soule is that which doth animate the body, that is, giueth it life:* for death is the separation of body and soule; and the same strength (saith Philo) which God the great director hath in the world, the same hath this *Animas*, or mind, or soule in man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this Basilagreeth, which calleth this *Mens*, or diuine vnderstanding, *peritiam animae partem, the perceiuing part of the minde,* or the light, by which the Soule discerneth: *dormitionum mens, non animas, sopitur, & in furiosis mens extinguitur, anima manet, in men that sleepe it is this (mens) or vnderstanding, and not the minde or soule, which resteth, during which time it is but habituall in wise men, and in made men this (mens) is extinguished, and not the Soule: for made men doe liue, though distract.**

Therefore this word being often vsed for the Soule giuing life, is attributed abluely to made men, when we say that they are of a distract minde, in read of a broken vnderstanding, which word (mind) we vse also for opinion, as, I am of this mind,  
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or that minde: and sometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, he is of an honest minde, or, a man of a iust minde: sometimes for affection, as I doe this for my minds sake; and *Aristotle* sometimes vseth this word (*mens*) for the phantastic, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we haue without discouf: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is vfed in the proper signification, including both the vnderstanding agent and possible, it is described to be a pure, simple, substantiall act, not depending vpon matter, but hauing relation to that, which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large thus; a part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth vnderstand, not depending vpon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion coming from without, and 10 apt to be disseuered, as, eternall from that which is mortall. Hereof excellently *Mercurius*: *Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti praest, mens anima, anima corpori*, The Soule (meaning that which giueth life) is the image of this vnderstanding, or Mens, and this (*Mens*) or vnderstanding is the image of God. Gods President or ruler ouer this vnderstanding, this vnderstanding ouer the Soule, and this Soule ouer the body. This diuision and distinction out of the Platonikes and Peripatetikes, I leaue to the Reader to iudgeof. That *Mens humana* hath no neede of any organ, *Marsilius Ficinus* in his ninth booke of the Soules immortallitie laboureth to proue.

Lib.9. cap.5.

Zanch. de oper. Dei. part. 3. lib. 1. cap. 2.

*Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in wordes, for (saith he) *ad facilitatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organo, tanquam medio per quod intelligat, quamquam 20 eget obiecto in quod intueatur, & ex quo intelligentem concipiat: hoc autem obiectum sunt phantasmata, scilicet rerum a sensibus perceptarum simulacra ad phantasiam prolata*. To exercise the facultie of vnderstanding, the minde of man (saith he) needeth no instrument, as a meane, by which it may vnderstand: but it needeth an object, whercon to looke, and whence to conceive the act of vnderstanding. This object are the phantasies, or the resemblances of things receiued from the sense, and carried to the phantasie: But in effect his conclusion seemeth to carry a contrarie sense, when he maketh the Phantasie, in representing the object to the vnderstanding, to be a corporall Organum; neither can it be vnderstood to be an Organum of any thing, but of the vnderstanding. And hee addeth that the resemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his vnderstanding and minde, as 30 colours are to the sight: whence it fo followeth, that the imagination or phantasie it selfe is to the facultie of vnderstanding, as the eye is to the facultie of seeing, and as this is an Organum: so that. Of this question, How the Minde in all her actions maketh vse of the body, and hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to a most graue and learned discouf in the last Reple of Mr. Dr. *Bislon*, now Bishop of Winchester, vnto *Henrie Iacob*. Howlouer the truth bee determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discouf, nor in respect of the minde it selfe, by which we liue, nor in respect of our fowles simply, by which we are immortall, that we are made after the image of God. But most safely may wee resemble our selues to God in mente, and in respect of that pure facultie which is neuer separate from the contemplation and loue of God. Yet this is not all.

P. 185. &amp; sequens.

Ad imaginem Dei creauit illum, id est, sapientie virtutem, ac bonitatem potentem, qui se intuius Creatoris agnouerit suum, atque imitari, proinde, ingenio, proinde, auctoritatis, non concessit ratione fluere.

Exata.

For *St. Bernard* maketh a true difference betweene the nature and faculties of the minde or Soule, and betweene the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the image of God, whose words are these: *Non propter id imago Dei est, quia sui meminit Mens, scilicet, intelligit & diligit* (which was also the opinion of *S. AUGUSTINE*) sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere ac diligere eum a quo facta est, (that is) The minde (or Mens) was not therefore the image of God, because it remembereth, vnderstandeth, and loneth it selfe, but because it can remember, vnderstand, and loue God, who created it. And, that this image may be deformed and made vnprofitable, heare *BASIL*: *Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est, peccatum vero imaginis huius pulchritudinem deformauit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentiis affectibus immergit, Alan was made after the image and similitude of God, but Sinne hath deformed the beautil of this image, and made 40 it*

it vnprofitable by drawing our mindes into corrupt concupiscentie.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortallitie, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it selfe, nor in all these ioyned, by any of which, or by all which we resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and vnderstanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Originall righteoufnesse, most perfectly infused by God into the minde and Soule of man in his first creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberallitie, that wee were printed with the scale of Gods image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which ioyned to the Soule 10 is a part of the essentiall constitution of our proper Species) but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodnesse, who breathed life into earth, and contriued within the truncke of dust and clay, the inimitable habilitie of his owne iustice, pietie, and righteoufnesse.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) doe those that are powerfull retaine the image of God, as according to his Commandments they exercise the Office or Magistracie to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the waies of God, which in the Scriptures is called walking with God; and all other men 20 so long retaine this image, as they feare, loue, and serue God, truly, (that is) for the loue of God alone, and doe not bruite and deface his scale by the waight of manifold and voluntarie offences, and obstinate finnes. For the vniuersall minde cannot bee after the image of God, seeing God is iustice it selfe; The bloud-thirstie hath it not; for God is charitie, and mercie it selfe: Falldowne, cunning practise, and ambition, are properties of Sathan; and therefore cannot dwell in one soule, together with God; and to be shord, there is no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darknesse, betweene beautil and deformitie, or betweene righteoufnesse and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common vnderstanding, haue made vs capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this image of Gods goodnesse, which the sensuall soules of beasts cannot perceiue; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and imbrace the false and duresse pleasures of this stage-play world, then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanlip of Gods wisdom, and the liberallitie of his mercy, formed eyes to our soules, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impuritie of our flesh, behold the highest heauens, and thence bring knowledge and Object to the minde and Soule, to contemplate the euer-during glorie, and termelesse ioy, prepared for those, which retaine the image and similitude of their Creator, preserving vndisfled and vrent the garment of the new man, which, after the image of God, is created in righteoufnesse, and true holinesse, as saith *St. Paul*. Now whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by *St. Augustine* with whom *S. Ambrose* ioyneth, that, by sinne, the perfection of the image is lost, and not the image it selfe; both opinions by 40 this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the image of God, in man, may be taken two waies; for either it is considered, according to naturall gifts, and consisteth therein; namely, to haue a reasonable and vnderstanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the image of God is no more lost by sinne, then the very reasonable or vnderstanding nature, &c. is lost: (for sinne doth not abolish and take away these naturall gifts) or the image of God is considered, according to supernaturall gifts, namely, of diuine grace, and heavenly glorie, which is indeede the perfection and accomplishment of the naturall image; and this manner of similitude and image of God, is wholly blotted out and destroyed by sinne.

Gen. 5. 22.

2. Cor. 6. 14.

1. Cor. 3. 9.

S. Ambros.

## ¶. III.

Of our base and fraile bodies : and that the care thereof should  
yeeld to the immortall Soule.

**T**He externall man God formed out of the dust of the earth, or according to the signification of the word, Adam of Adamath, of redde earth, or, *ex limo terre*, out of the slime of the earth, or a mixed matter of earth and water. *Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex glaphar adamath* (id est) *ex pinguisima & molissima*, Not that God made an Image or Statue of clay, but out of clay, earth or dust God formed and made flesh, blond, and bone, with all parts of man.

That Man was formed of earth and dust, did Abraham acknowledge, when in humble feare he called vnto God, to saue Sodome. *Let not my Lord now be angrie, if I speake, I, that am but dust and ashes: And in these houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, doe our soules inhabit*, according to *Iob 3*, and though our owne eyes doe euer where behold the fudden and resistlesse assaults of death, and Nature assureth vs by neuer-failing experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times vpon the earth haue neither certaintie nor durabilitie, that our bodies are but the Antidotes of paine and diseases, and our Mindes the Huiues of vnnumbred cares, sorrowes, and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posits, 20 against which Enuie and Fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappinesse of our condition, and the darke ignorance, which couereth the eyes of our vnderstanding, that we only prize, pamper, and exalt this vassall and slaue of death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast-away leasure) the imprisoned immortall Soule, which can neither die with the reprobate, nor perish with the mortall parts of vertuous men: seeing Gods iustice in the one, and his goodnesse in the other is exercised for euermore, as the euer-liuing subiects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great accompt? neuer while we haue one vanitie left vs to spend: we pleade for titles, till our breath faile vs; digge for riches, while our strength enleath vs; exercise malice, while we can reuenge; and then, when Time 30 hath beaten from vs both youth, pleasure, and health, and that nature it selfe hateth the house of old age, we remember with *Iob*, that we must goe the way, from whence we shall not returne, and that our bedde is made ready for vs in the darke: And then I say, looking ouer late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked vp from vs all our liues, we behold therein the fearful images of our actions past, and wchall, this terrible inscription: *That God will bring euery worke into iudgement, that man hath done vnder the Sunne*.

But what examples haue cuer moued vs? what perswasions reformed vs? or what threatnings made vs affraide? we behold other mens Tragedies plaide before vs, we heare what is promised and threatned: but the worlds bright glorie hath put out the eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights, (with which we only see) doe neither looke vp towards termelisse ioyes, nor downe towards endlesse sorrowes, till we neither know, nor can looke for any thing else, at the worlds hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor*:

*Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil deniq; morbi  
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc sumus, ipsis, periculis  
Tentati, nihilo meliores reddimur vniquam,  
Sub vicijs nullo culpærum sine manentes.*

Diseases, famine, enemies, in vs no change haue wrought,  
What erst we were, we are; still in the same snare caught:  
No time can our corrupted manners mend,  
In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

But

But let vs not flatter our immortall soules herein: for to neglect God all our liues, and know that we neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) euen a contemptuous laughing to scorn, and deriding of God, his lawes and precepts. *Frastra sperant, qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur, They hope in vaine*, saith *BERNARD*, *quia in his sibi flatter themselves with Gods mercy.*

*Errat in Pl. et  
habitat.*

## ¶. IIII.

Of the Spirit of life, which God breathed into man, in his Creation.

**I**N this frame and carcase God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a liuing soule: (that is) God gaue to a Bodie of earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule spiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodilic instruments as men vse, but God breathed the Spirit of life and immortalitie into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into such as loue and feare him. The Spirit of God (saith *ELIHY* in *Iob*) *bat made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath giuen me life: In qua sententia* (saith *RABANVS*) *videnda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labijs suis inspirasse in sacrum formati, ut vincto possit, & spiraculum vite habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tus fecerunt me, &c. tropica ha locutione magis quam propria, (id est) iuxta consuetudinem, quas solent homines operari, loquutus est. In which sentence* (saith he) *the begger liues of carnall sense is to be avoided, lest perhaps we should thinke, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with iawes or lips vpon his face (being formed) that he might liue, and haue the spirit of life: for the Prophet also when he saith, Thy handes haue made me, spake this tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the custome which men vse in working. Quantum est periculi hys, qui Scripturas sensu corporeo legunt: In what danger are they that reade the Scriptures in a carnall sense. By this breath was infused into man both life and soule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philosophers call *Animam*, *que viuificat corpus, & animat, Which doth animate, and giue life to the body. The inspiration of the Almighty giueth vnderstanding*, saith *Iob*; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soule of man, returneth againe to God that gaue it, as the body returneth vnto the earth, out of which it was taken, according to *Ecclesiastes*: *And dust shall returne to the earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall returne to God that gaue it.* Neither is this word (spirit) vniuallly otherwise taken in the Scriptures, then for the soule; as when *Stephen* cryed vnto God: *Domine suscipe spiritum meum, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit*: and in *St. Iohn*, *And Iesus bowed his head, and gaue vp the Ghost, or spirit, (which was) that his life and soule left his body dead.* And that the immortall soule of man differeth from the soules of beasts, the manner of the creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in abundance euery creeping thing, and les the earth bring forth the liuing thing, according to his kinde, the beast of the earth, &c.* But of Man it is written, *Let vs make man in our owne image, &c.* and further, *that the Lord breathed in his face breath of life.* Wherefore, as from the water and earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence receined life: so shall they againe be dislolved into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath euermasting, which God breathed into man, shall, according to *Ecclesiastes*, returne againe to God that gaue it.*

p. V.

*That Man is (as it were) a little world: with a digression touching our mortalitie.*

**M**AN, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Winterfall: in whom God concluded the creation, and worke of the world; and whom he made the last and most excellent of his creatures, being internally endued with a diuine vnderstanding, by which he might contemplate and see his Creator, after whose image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of reason and other abilities, that thereby also he might gouerne and rule the world, and all other Gods creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of liuing natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giuing to Angels an intellectuall, and to Beasts a sensuall nature; he vouchsafed vnto man; both the intellectuall of Angels, the sensuall of Beasts; and the properall belonging vnto man; and therefore (saith GREGORIE NAZANZENE:) *Homo est triuitalis, natura vinculum, Adam is the bond and chaine which bindeth together both natures:* and because in the little frame of mans body there is a representation of the Vniuersall; and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the parts thereof, therefore was man called *Microworld*; or the little world. *Deus igitur hominem saluauit, uelut aliterum quendam mundum, in breui imaginem, atque exiguu totum, in terris statuit, God therefore placed in the earth the man whom he had made, as it were another world, the great and large world in the small and little world:* for out of earth and dust was formed the flesh of man; and therefore heauie and lumbie; the bones of his body we may compare to the hard rocks and stones, and therefore strong and durable: of which Ouid.

*Asp. Phys. lib. 8. cap. 12. §. 17. f. Greg. Nazianz. Epil. Omnis in homine creatura, et calum et terra, Aug. l. 9. §. 4. 67. retr. l. 1. c. 2.*

Ouid. Met. l. 1.

*Inde genus durum sumus, experientie laborum,  
Et documenta domus, que sumus origine nati.*

From thence our kinde hard hearted is; enduring paine and care,  
Approouing that our bodies of a stonie nature are.

His blood, which disperseth it selfe by the branches of veines through all the bodie, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by brookes and riuers ouer all the earth; his breath to the aire; his naturall heate to the inclosed warmth, which the Earth hath in it selfe, which stirred vp by the heate of the Sunne, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth. Our radical moisture, oile, or Balsamum (whereon the naturall heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertilitie of the earth; the haire of mans body, which adorns or ouerhadowes it, to the grasse, which couereth the vpper face and skin of the earth; our generatiue power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandering, and vnsable clouds, carried euery where with vncertaine winds; our cies, to the light of the Sunne and Moone, and the beauty of your youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Sunnes heat drie vp, & wither away, or the fierce pusses of wind blow them from the stalks; the thoughts of our minde; to the motion of Angels; and our pure vnderstanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which alwaies looketh vpwards) to those intellectuall natures, which are alwaies present with God; and lastly our immortal soules (while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beautified with the title of his own image and similitude: And although, in respect of God, there is no man iust, or good, or righteous: (for in *Angeli deprehensi est stultitia, Behold, be found folly in his Angels,* (saith Iob) yet with such a kind of difference, as there is betwene the substance, and the shadow, there may be found a goodnesse in man: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and similitude of his owne righteousnes.

In

Job 4. 18.

In this also is the little world of man compared, and made more like the Vniuersall (man being the measure of all things; *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, saith *Aristotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the foure complexions resemble the foure Elements, and the seuen Ages of man the seuen Planets: Whereof our Infancie is compared to the Moone, in which we seeme onely to lue and growe, as Plants; the second age to *Mercurie*, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third age to *Venus*, the dayes of loue, desire, and vanitie; the fourth to the *Sunne*, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seeke honour and victorie, and in which our thoughts trauaile to ambitious ends; the sixth age is ascribed to *Iupiter*, in which we begin to take accompt of our times, iudge of our selues, and grow to the perfection of our vnderstanding; the last and seventh to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are sad and ouer-cast, and in which wee finde by deere and lamentable experience, and by the losse which can neuer be repaired, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the sorrow onely abideth: Our attendants are sicknes, and variable infirmities; and by how much the more we are accompanied with plentie, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whome when Time hath made vnforcible to others, we become a burthen to our selues: being of no other vse, then to hold the riches we haue, from our succellours. In this time it is, when (as afore said) we, for the most part, and neuer before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we passe vnto, with many sighes, groanes, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowfull businesse of a wretched life, towards which we alwaies trauaile both sleeping and waking: neither haue those beloued companions of honour and riches any power at all, to hold vs any one day, by the promises of glorious entertainments; but by what crooked path so euer we walke, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death: whose doores lie open at all houres, and to all persons. For this tide of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, euer runneth with a perpetuall ebbe and falling streame, but neuer floweth againe: once leafe once fallen, springeth no more, neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne vs againe, with the garments of new leaues and flowers.

*Redditur arboribus flores reuientibus etas,  
Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, redit.*

To which I giue this sense,

The Plants and trees made poore and old  
By Winter enuious,  
The Spring-time bounteous  
Couers againe, from shame and cold:  
But neuer Man repair'd againe  
His youth and beautie lost,  
Though art, and care, and cost,  
Doe promise Natures helpe in vaine.

And of which

*CATVLLVS, EPIGRAM. 53.  
Siles occidere & redire possunt:  
Nobis cum semel occidit breuis lux,  
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.*

The Sunne may set and rise:  
But we contrariwise  
Sleepe after our short light  
One euerclasting night.

For if there were any bailing place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the same might also perpetually be main.

maintained; but as therein is a continuance of motion in naturall liuing things, and as the sappe and iuyce, wherein the life of Plants is preferred, doth euermore ascend or descend: so is it with the life of man, which is alwaies either encreasing towards ripenesse and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottennesse and dissolution.

## §. VI.

*Of the free power, which man had in his first creation, to dispose of himselfe.*



Here be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all mankind, vnto whom God in his creation gaue a free and vnconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberall choice of all things, with one only prohibition, to trie his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortall and immortall life, a nature celestiall and terrene, and (indeed)

Eccl. 1. 5. 14.

God gaue man to himselfe, to be his owne guide, his owne workeman, and his owne painter, that he might frame or describe vnto himselfe what he pleased, and make election of his owne forme. *God made man in the beginning* (saith STRACIDES) *and left him in the hands of his own counsaile.* Such was the liberalitie of God, and mans felicitie: whereas beasts, and all other creatures reasonlesse brought with them into the world (saith Lucilius) and that euen when they first fell from the bodies of their Dammes, the nature, which they could not change; and the supernall spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforesaid) God gaue vnto man all kinde of seedes and grafts of life, (to wit) the vegetatiue life of Plants, the sensuall of beastes, the rationall of man, and the intellectuall of Angels, whereof which sooner he tooke pleasure to plant and cultiue, the same should futuramente grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choyce and plantation. This freedome of the first man *Adam*, and our first Father, was enigmatically described by *Aclepius Atheniensis* (saith *Mirandula*) in the person and fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as hee pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into diuers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from reason to brutallie, from vertue to vice, from meekenesse to crueltye, and from iustice to oppression. For by the liuely image of other creatures did those *Ancients* represent the variable passions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were signified deceders; by Lions, oppressours, and cruell men; by swine, men giuen ouer to lust and sensualitye; by wolues, rauening and greedy men; which also *S. Matthew* resembleth to false Prophets, *which come to you in sheepes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening Wolues*, by the images of stones and stockes, foolish and ignorant men, by Vipers, vngratefull men: of which *Saint Iohn Baptist*, *O see generation of vipers, &c.*

Matth. 7. 15.

Matth. 3. 7.

## §. VII.

*Of Gods causing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Vniuersall created was exceeding good.*



In this worke of man God finished the creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisse est fecisse, with whom, to will is to make*, saith *Beda*. Neither did God foretell, that hee left the world made, and the creatures therein to themselves: for *my father worketh to this day* (saith *Christ*) *and I worke*; but

Iohn 5. 17.

God

God rested, (that is) he created no new *species* or kinds of creatures, but (as aforesaid) gaue vnto man a power generatiue, and so to the rest of liuing creatures, and to Plants and flowers their seedes in themselves; and commanded man to multiply and fill the earth, and the earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their severall kinds: all which being finished, God saw that his workes were good; not that he fore-knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were, for God made euery Plant of the field before it was in the earth, but he gaue to all things which he had created the name of good; thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose simple puritie and from so excellent a cause, there could proceede no impure or imperfect effect. For man hauing a free will and liberall choyce, purchased by disobedience his owne death and mortalitie, and for the crueltye of mans heart, was the earth afterward cursed, and all creatures of the firstage destroyed: but the righteous man *Nobah*, and his familie, with those creatures which the Arke contained, referred by God to replenish the earth.

Gen. 1. 28.  
22. 24.

## CHAP. III.

## Of the place of Paradise.

## §. I.

*This the seate of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marneile that men should erre.*



CONCERNING the first habitation of man were said, that the Lord God planted a garden, Eastward, in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made. GEN. 2. 6. Of this seate and place of *Paradise*, all ages haue held dispute; and the opinions and iudgements haue been in effect, as diuers, among those that haue written vpon this part of *Genesis*, as vpon any one place therein, seeming most obscure: some there are, that haue conceiued the being of the terrestriall *Paradise*, without all regard of the worlds Geographie, and without any respect of East and West, or any consideration of the

place where *Moses* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the heauens) the way how to finde out and iudge, in what region of the world this garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respectiue and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the first interpretation, or trusting to their owne iudgements, vnderstood one place for another; and one error is so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thousand children, if the licentiousnesse thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those writers which gaue themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things so obsequant sectatours of those Masters, whom they admired and beleued in, as they thought it safer to condemne their owne vnderstanding, then to examine theirs. For (saith *Vadianus* in his Epistle of *Paradise*) *magnum errorem (magnum virorum auctoritate persuasum) transmissimus, ut passim oves many grosse errors, by the authoritie of great men ledde and perswaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the vnderstanding of this place. I speake it not, that I my selfe dare presume to censure them, for I reuerence both their

learning

learning and their peticie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum est errare*. And to the end that no man should be proude of himselfe, God hath distributed vnto men such a proportion of knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselves their owne weakness. *Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus, God neuer gave the knowledge of all things to any one.* St. Paul confest that he knew not, whether he were taken vp into the third heauen in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himselfe acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, seeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to St. Iude) who is only wise. *Sapientia ubi innuitur?* (saith I o n) *but where is wisdom found? and where is the place of understanding?* 10 *man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the land of the living.* And therefore seeing God found folie in his Angels, mens iudgements (which inhabit in houses of clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our saluation dependeth not.

## §. II.

A recitall of strange opinions, touching Paradise.

**N**OW as touching Paradise, first it is to be enquired, whether there were a Paradise or no? or whether Moses description were altogether mytical, and allegorical? as Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius with others haue affirmed, and that vnder the names of those foure Riuers, Pison, Gehon, Hidkel, and Perath, The tree of life, and the tree of knowledge, there were deliuered vnto vs other mysteries and significations; as, that by the foure Riuers were meant the foure Cardinal vertues, *Iustice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence*, or (by other) Oile, Wine, Milke, and Honnie. This Allegorical vnderstanding of Paradise by Origen diuulged, was againe by Francisus Georgius receiued (saith Sixtus Senensis) whose frivolous imaginations Sixtus himselfe doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Booke, fol. 338. the last Edition.

St. Ambrose also leant wholly to the Allegorical construction, and set Paradise in the third heauen, and in the vertues of the minde, & in nostro principali, which is, as I conceiue it, *in mente*, or in our soules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or garden of Paradise, was meant the soule or minde; by Adam, *Mens*, or vnderstanding; by Eue, the sense; by the Serpent, delectation; by the Tree of good and euill, Sapience; and by the rest of the trees, the vertues of the minde, or in the minde planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, vpon the first of the *Corinthians*, c. 6. he in direct wordes alloweth both of a celestiall and terrestriall Paradise; the one, into which St. Paul was rapt; the other, into which Adam was put by God. *Aug Chrysostomus*, was of opinion, that a Paradise had bene, but that there was not now any marke thereof on the earth: the same being not only defaced, but withall the places now not so much as existing. To which Luther seemeth to adhere.

The Menicbes also vnderstood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion Padiamus inclineth, as I conceiue his wordes in two fowerall places. First, vpon this: *Fill the earth*, Gen. 10. Of which he giueth this iudgement. *Hoc ipso etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini vniuersis animantibus, subijcite terram, clarissime docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (vt tunc erat) fructibus consistam, sedem & hortum illud Ade & posteritatis future fuisse, These wordes (saith he) in which God said, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule ouer euerie creature, doe clearly shew, that the vniuersall earth set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and seat of Adam, and of his future posteritie. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the Acts the 17. *Apostolus ex vno sanguine**

*guine omne genus humanum adeo factum docet, vt habitarent super vniuersam faciem terra: ita igitur terra Paradisus ille erat; The Apostle (saith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell ouer all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth (saith he) was that Paradise.* Which conjectures I will answer in order. *Georgius* Becanus differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that Adam was first planted by God in one certaine place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Georgius* hindeth neare the Riuer of *Acisines*, in the confines of *India*.

*Tertullian*, *Bonsancturus*, and *Durandus*, make Paradise vnder the *Equinoctiall*, and *Possellius*, quite contrarie vnder the North pole: the *Chaldeans* also for the most part, and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of Origen, or rather Origen theirs, who would either make Paradise a figure, or Sacrament only, or else would haue it seated out of this sensible world, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Aire. *Strabus*, and *Rabanus*, were both sick of this vanitie, with Origen, and *Philo*: so was our venerable *Beda*, and *Pet. Comestor*, and *Moses Barcephas* the Syrian, translated by *sed. in Gen.* *Masius*. But as *Hopkins* saies of *Philo* iudeus, that he wondred, *quo malo gemo afflatus*, *Pet. Comest. l. i.* By what euill Angel he was blowne up into this error: so can I not but greatly meruaile at these learned men, who so grossly and blindly wandered; seeing *Moses*, and after him the Prophets, doe so plainly describe this place, by the Region, in which it was planted, by the Kingdomes and Prouinces bordering it, by the Riuers which watered it, and by the points of the compasse vpon which it lay, in respect of *Iudaea*, or *Canaan*.

*Xenocrismus* also, vpon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, beleueeth that all the Earth was taken for Paradise, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (saith hee) hath the same beautie ascribed to Paradise. He addeth, that the Ocean was that fountaine, from whence the foure Riuers, *Pison*, *Gehon*, *Tigrus*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning: for he could not thinke it possible, that these Riuers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, (whereof the one ranne through *India*, the other through *Aegypt*, and the other two through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*) could rise out of one fountaine, were it not out of the fountaine of the Ocean.

## §. III.

That there was a true locall Paradise Eastward, in the Countrie of Eden.



O the first therefore, that such a place there was vpon the earth, the words of *Moses* make it manifest, where it is written. *And the Lord God* *Gen. 2.* *planted a garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had made.* And how foucer the vulgar translation, called *Hieromes* translation, hath conuered this place thus, *Plantauerat Dominus Deus Paradysum voluptatis a principio*; The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning; putting the word (pleasure) for Eden, and (from the beginning) for Eastward: It is manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For what sense hath this translation (saith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatise of Paradise) that he planted a garden in pleasure, or that a Riuer went out of pleasure to water the garden? But the *Heuene* Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis*, the Paradise of Eden, and so doth the *Chaldean Paraphrast* truly take it for the proper name of a place, and for a *Nowne* appellatiue; which Region, in respect of the fertilitie of the soile, of the many beautifull riuers, and goodly woods, and that the trees (as in the *Indies*) doe alwaies keep their leaues, was called Eden, which signifieth in the Hebrew, *pleasantesse* or delicacie, as the *Spaniards* call the Countrie, opposit to the *Ile of Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, that as *Florida* was a Countrie, so called for the flourishing beautie thereof, so was Eden a Region, called pleasure, or delicacie, for the pleasure or delicacie: and as *Florida* signifieth flourishing: so Eden signifieth pleasure, and yet both are the proper names

names of Countries; for *Eden* being the proper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the Hebrew) and *Paradise* being the choice seat of all that Region, *Paradise* was truly the Garden of *Eden*, and truly the Garden of pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrarie to the translation of the Seentic; to the ancient Greeke Fathers, as *Basil*, *Chrysostome*, *Theodore*, *Gregorie*; and to the *Rabbin*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Salomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the *Latines*, *Seuerinus*, *Damasenus*, &c. who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (Eastward) for *ab initio*: for *Damasenus* owne words are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter confitus*; *Paradise is a place, meruallously planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward the East.*

And after all these Fathers, *Gnilhelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of latter times, doe both vnderstand these words of *Eden*, and of the East, contrarie to the vulgar translation; *Parisiensis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis*, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their owne words. After this I will beginne to speake of *Paradise terrestrial*, which that God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. *Posthas incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantasse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem, &c.* And then *Senensis*; *Moses enim clarissime prodit, Paradisum à Deo constitum in regione terre Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus CHAM habitasse ad Orientalem plagam Heden; For Moses (saith he) doth shew most clearly, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Country, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we reade, that CHAM dwelt on the East border of Heden. PERRERIUS endeoureth to qualifie this translation: for this particle (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alleging this place of Christ, that although the Deuill was said to be a man-slayer from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I thinke (referring my selfe to better judgement) the Deuill was from the instant of his fall a man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till mans creation. And for conclusion, *S. Hierome* (if that be his translation) aduise himselfe better in the end of the third Chapter of Genesis, converting the word (*Eden*) by (*ante*) and not (*a principio*) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden, Collocant Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis Cherubin; and Pererius himselfe acknowledge*, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew. *Posuit à parte Orientalis borti Heden, Cherubin; Hec set on the East side of the Garden of Heden, Cherubin.* *BECANUS* affirmeth that the Hebrew word (*Be*) significeth (with) as well as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But *Becanus* followeth this construction, only to the end, to finde *Paradise* vpon the riuer of *Aclines*: for there he hath heard of the *Indian* Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the tree of knowledge, of good, and euill, and would therefore draw *Paradise* to the Fig-tree: which conceit of his I will answer hereafter.*

Now, because *Paradise* was sited by *Moses* toward the East, thence came the custome of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans*: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the sunne riseth in March, which is directly ouer *Paradise* (saith *Damasenus*;) affirming, that we alwaies pray towards the East, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of *Salomon* had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselves in their seruice and diuine ceremonies, alwaies toward the West, thereby to auoid the superstition of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although *Paradise* were East from *Iudea*, yet it was West from *Persia*) and the seruing of God is euery where in the world, the matter is not great which way wee turne our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from *Paradise*, and pray

turning our selues towards the East, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by *Adams* fall we haue lost the *Paradise* on earth: so by Christs death and passion we may be made partakers of the *Paradise* celestiall, and the Kingdome of heauen. To conclude, I conceiue, that there was no other myleric in adding the word (East) to *Eden* by *Moses*, then to shew, that the Region of *Eden*, in which *Paradise* was, lay Eastward from *Iudea* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures alwaies called the people of those Nations, the Sonnes of the East, which inhabited *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Persia*: of which *Ouid*:

*Eurus ad Auroram, Nabataeq, regna recessit,  
Persidag, & radis iuga subdita matutini.*

The East winde with Aurora hath abiding  
Among th' Arabian, and the Persian hills,  
Whom Phœbus first salutes at his vp-rising.

And if it be objected, that *Hieremie* the Prophet threatning the destruction of *Hierusalem*, doth often make mention of Northern Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those Nations that followed *Nabuchodonosor*, and of whom the greatest part of his Armie was compounded; not that *Babylon* it selfe flood North from *Hierusalem*, though inclining from the East toward the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, *Peter Comestor* giueth best satisfaction: for he vseth the word, *From the beginning, that is, From the first part of the world, (a principio) id est* (saith he) *a primordio parte*, and afterward he affirmeth, that (*a principio* and *ad Orientem*) haue the same signification; *From the beginning and Eastward is all one, a principio idem est quod ad Orientem.*

But to returne to the prooffe of this place, and that this Storie of mankind was not allegorical, it followeth in the Text of the second Chapter and ninth Verse, in these words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow euery tree pleasant to the sight, and good for meate, &c.* so as first it appeared that God created *Adam* elsewhere, as in the world at large, and then, *put him into the garden*: and the end why, is exprest: *that he might dress it and keepe it; Paradise* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which proueth that *Paradise* was a terrestrial garden, garnished with fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegorical construction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a Riuer; expressing also the Region, out of which this Riuer sprang, which he calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is also a Countrey nere vnto *Charan* in *Mesopotamia*, *Ezechiel* witnesseth.

But to all these *Cabalists*, which draw the truth and Storie of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* answereth in these words: *Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons, si non est fons, non est flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, non Gebon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non est fons, non flumen, non folia, non uemedit Ena de arbore, non est Adam, non sunt homines, sed veritas iam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegorias renouantur.* If *Paradise* be not sensible, then there was no fountain, and then no riuer, if no riuer, then no such foure heads or branches, and then not any such riuer, as *Pison*, or *Gebon*, *Tigris*, or *Euphrates*, no such fig-tree, or fruit, or leaues, *Eue* then did not eate of the fruit, neither was there any *Adam*, or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called backe into Allegories. Words to the same effect hath *S. Hierome* vpon *Daniel*. *Conticefant eorum deliramenta, quæ vmbrae & imagines in veritate frequentes, ipsam conantur euertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbore; putent Allegorie legibus se debere subtrahere.* Let the dotages of them be silent, who following *Phadomes* and images in the truth, endeavour to subvert the truth it selfe, and thinke that they ought

to bring *Paradise*, and the rivers and the trees under the rules of *Allegorie*.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the *Storie* is the place made more manifest. For God gave *Adam* free libertie to eat of every tree of the Garden, (the tree of knowledge excepted) which trees *Moses* in the ninth verse saith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beastes to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beastes were neither in the third heaven, nor neere the circle of the Moone, nor beastes in imagination: for if all these things were enigmaticall or mysticall, the same might also bee said of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel* speaking of the glory of the *Affryan* Kings v<sup>th</sup> this speech. *All the trees of Eden, which were in the garden of God, enuied him*, which 10 proueth both *Eden*, and *Paradise* therein seated to bee terrestriall: for the Prophets made no imaginarie comparisōs. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, then in any other place of Scripture; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be apt to fabulous inuentions, and that if hee had not described both the region and the rivers, and how it stood from *Canaan*, many of the vnbeleeuing *Israelites*, and others after them, would haue misconstrued this storie of mankind. And is it likely, there would haue beene so often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had been an *Utopia*? For we finde that the valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* stood, (sometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the five principall Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their vnnaturall sinne purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the land of *Egypt* toward *Zoar*: In like manner was *Israel* resembled to the *Paradise* of God, before the *Babylonians* wasted it: which proueth plainly, that *Paradise* it selfe exceeded in beautie and fertilitie, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a seat and foyle of farre exceeding excellencie.

Besides, whence had *Homer* his inuention of *Alcinous* gardens, as *Iustin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise*? *Gene. 2.* and whence are their praises of the *Elisian* fieldes, but out of the *Storie* of *Paradise*: to which also appertaine those verses of the golden age in *Onid*.

*Ouid. Metam. 1.*

*Vcr erat aeternum, placidus, tepentibus auris  
Mulscentibus Zephyri natos sine fine sinis flores.*

The ioyfull Spring did euer last,  
And Zephyrus did breede  
Without the helpe of seede  
Sweete flowers by his gentle blast,

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pyndarus*, *Hesiodus* and *Homer*, and after him, *Onid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their sectatours, did greatly enrich their inuentions, by venting the stollen treasures of diuine letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poetically conuerfions, as if they had bene conceiued out of their owne speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if we finde what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if we proue the river that ranne out of it, and that the same afterwards was diuided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of *Hauila* and *Cush*, and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the desarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote, 50 And yet I doe not exclude the allegoricall sense of the Scripture; for aswell in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the *Storie* being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith *St. Augustine*)

*Tre*

*Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententiae: una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantum (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroq; modo Paradisum accipiunt, (that is) There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will haue it altogether corporall: a second of those which conceiue it altogether spiritual, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those, which take it in both senses; which third opinion St. Augustine approbeth; and of which *Sirias* giueth this allowable iudgement. Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simpliciter erat: sic & huius sanctissimum mentis, sensibilis simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est praeditum, (that is) As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible: 10 so was his holie groue or garden to be taken both waies, and endued with a double forme.*

*August. de ciuit.  
Dici. 13. c. 2.  
Sic ut in corpore  
Paradisus.*

### §. IIII.

why it should be needfull to intreate diligently of the place of *Paradise*.

**B**Ut it may be objected, that it is needlesse, and a kinde of curiositie to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no vse. To which I answere, that there is nothing written in the Scriptures, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the *Storie* be necessarie, then by the place proued, the same is a so made more apparent. For if we should conceiue that *Paradise* were not on the earth, but lifted vp as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the Ocean, and in no part of the knowne world, from whence *Adam* was said to wade through the Sea, and thence to haue come into *Iudea*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the world, that would giue any credit vnto it. For what could seeme more ridiculous then the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this seat of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Phisim* should be *Ganges*, which watereth the East *India*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*, and these two 30 Rivers so farre distant, as (except all the world were *Paradise*) these streames can no way be comprised therein?

Secondly, if the birth, and workes, and death of our Sauour, were said to haue bene in some such Countre, of which no man euer heard tell, and that his miracles had bene performed in the aire, or no place certainly knowne, I assure my selfe, that the Christian religion would haue taken but a slender roote in the minds of men: for times and places are approued witness of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should relie, or giue place to the iudgements of some writers vpon this place of *Genesis* (though otherwise for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reuerence) I say that there is no fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would beleue that there were a peece of the world so set by it selfe and separated, as to hang in the aire vnder the circle of the Moone? or who so doltish to conceiue, that from thence the foure rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, should fall downe, and runne vnder all the Ocean, and rise vp againe in this our habitable world, and in those places where they are now found. Which lest any man thinke, that I enforce or straine to the work, these are *Peter Comestors* owne wordes. *Est autem locus amantissimus longo terra & mari tractu a nostra habitabili zona secretus, adu eleuatus, ut vsque ad Lunarem globum attingat, &c.* (that is) It is a most pleasant place, seuered from our habitable zone by a long tract of land and Sea-landed, so that it reacheth to the globe of the Moone.

50 And *Moses Barcephaz* vpon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoque re- sponsum volumus, Paradisum multo sublimiore positum esse regione, atque hac nostris aetheribus, cog. fieri, ut illinc per precipitum delabantur flumini tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possumus; cog. impetu in pulsi pressi, sub Oceani vada rapiuntur, vnde rursum profusant ebulliant; in hoc a nobis culto orbe: which haue this sense: Furthermore*

(saith

(saith he) we giue this for an answer, that *Paradise* is set in a Region farre raised above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to passe, that from thence these riuers fall downe with such a headlong violence, as wordes cannot expresse; and with that force so impulsive and preit, they are carried vnder the deepe Ocean, and doe againe arise and boile vp in this our habitable world: and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this. *Ephram dicit Paradisum ambire terram, atq; ultra Oceanum ita positum esse, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumacta regione, non alter atq; Luna orbis Lunam cingit*, (which is) That *Paradise* doth compassse or embrace the whole earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it enuironeth the whole Orbe of the earth on every side, as the Orbe of the *Moone* doth embrace the *Moone*. To the end therefore that these ridiculous expolitions and opinions doe to not bring question vnto truth it selfe, or make the same subiect to doubts or disputes, it is necessarie to discouer the true place of *Paradise*, which *God* and his wisdome appointed in the very Nauell of this our world, and (as *Michaelston* saies) in *partem terrae meliorem, in the best part thereof*, that from thence, as from a Center, the *Viuerisill* might be filled with people, and planted; and by knowing this place, wee shall the better iudge of the beginning of Nations, and of the worlds inhabitation: for near vnto this did the Sonnes of *Noah* also disperse themselves after the flood, into all other remote Regions and Countries. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their owne forerethers haue come, and out of what Regions and Nations, it cannot be displeasing to vnderstand the place of our first Auncceler, from whence all the streames and branches of mankind haue followed and bene deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that such a place there was as *Paradise*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be vnprofitable, it followeth in order to examine the fuerrall opinions before remembered, by the Truth it selfe; and to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common reason, and afterward to proue directly, and to delineate the Region in which *God* first planted this delightful Garden.

## §. V.

That the flood hath not utterly defaced the markes of *Paradise*, nor caused hills in the earth.



And first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Chrysostomus*, that the flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can finde any marke or memorie thereof: (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the flood the cause of those high mountaines, which are found on all the earth ouer, with many other strange effects) for my owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot denie, but that the face of *Paradise* was after the flood withered, and growne old, in respect of the first beautie: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had bene no signe of any such place, or if the soile and seate had not remained, then would not *Moses*, who wrote of *Paradise* about 850. yeares after the flood, haue described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moses* would not haue made so often mention thereof. And though the very garden it selfe were not then to be found, but that the flood, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the land of *Eden*, yet the place is still the same, and the riuers still remaine the same riuers. By two of which (neuer doubted of) to wit, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, we are sure to finde in what longitude *Paradise* lay; and learning out one of these riuers, which afterward doth diuide it selfe into foure branches, we are sure that the partition is at the very border of the garden it selfe. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a riuer to water the garden, and from thence it was diuided and became into foure heads: Now whether the word in the Latine translation (*Indus*) from thence, be referred to *Eden* it selfe,

Gen. 2. 10.

selfe, or to *Paradise*, yet the diuision and branching of those riuers must be in the North or South side of the very garden (if the riuers runne as they doe, North and South) and therefore these riuers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifestly knowne, there could be no such defacing by the flood, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered as future ages know it not, so is there no probability, that either these riuers were turned out of their courses, or new riuers created by the flood which were not, or that the flood (as aforesaid) by a violent motion, when it beganne to decrease, was the cause of high hills, or deepe vallies. For what descent of waters could there bee in a Sphericall and round bodie, wherein there is not high nor low? seeing that all violent force of waters is either by the strength of winde, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebbe or flood of the Sea. But that there was any winde (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrarie is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a winde to passe vpon the earth, and the waters ceased*. So as it appeareth not, that vntill the waters ranke, there was any winde at all, but that *God* afterward, out of his goodnesse, caused the winde to blow, to drie vp the abundant slime and mudd of the earth, and make the land more firme, and to cleanse the aire of thicke vapours and vnwholesome mists; and this we know by experience, that all downe-right riues doe euermore disscuer the violence of outrageous winds, and beate downe, and leuell the swelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for any ebbs and flows there could be none, when the waters were equall and of one height ouer all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bayes, or Gulfs to receiue a flood, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the earth and waters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather stood in a quiet calme, then that they moued with any raging or ouerbearing violence. And for more direct proofe that the flood made no such destroying alteration, *Ioseph*. auoweth that one of those pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be seene in his dayes, which pillars were set vp about 1426. yeares before the flood, counting *Seth* to be an hundred yeares old at the erection of them, and *Ioseph*. himselfe, to haue liued some 40. or 50. yeares after Christ: of whom although there be no cause to beleue all that he wrote, yet that, which he auouched of his owne time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seene: Now that such pillars were raised by *Seth*, all Antiquitie hath auowed. It is also written in *Berosus* (to whom although I giue little credit, yet I cannot condemne him in all) that the Citie of *Enoch* built by *Cain*, about the mountaines of *Libanus*, was not defaced by length of time: yea the ruines thereof *Annius* (who commented vpon that inuented fragment) saith, were to be seene in his daies, who liued in the reigne of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Castile*; and if these his wordes be not true, then was he exceedingly impudent. For, speaking of this Citie of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this sort. *Cuius maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Cinis Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt, The foundation of which huge Masse is now to be seene, and the place is called by the people of that region, the Citie of Cain, as both our strangers and merchants report*. It is also auowed by *Pomponius Mela*, (to whom I giue more credit in these things) that the Citie of *Soppa* was built before the flood, ouer which brother *Cepha* was King: whose name with his brother *Phineas*, together with the grounds and principles of their religion, was found grauen vpon certaine Altars of stone; and it is not vnpossible, that the ruines of this other Citie, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be seene, though founded in the first age: but it could not be of the first Citie of the world, built by *Cain*, the place, rather then the time, denying it.

And to proue directly, that the flood was not the cause of mountaines, but that there were mountaines from the creation, it is written, that the waters of the flood ouerflowed by fiftene cubits the highest mountaines. And *Asius Damascenus* speaking of the

the flood, writeth in this manner. *Et supra Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confuentes multos sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos. And vpon Minyada there is an high mountaine, in Armenia (called Baris) vnto which (as it is said) that many fledde in the time of the deluge, and that they saved themselves thereon.* Now although it is contrarie to Gods word, that any more were saved then eight persons (which *Mafius* doth not auouch, but by report) yet it is a testimonie, that such mountaines were before the flood, which were afterwards, and euer since, knowne by the same names; and on which mountaines it is generally receiued that the *Arke* rested: but vntuly, as I shall proue hereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount *Syon* (though by another name) was knowne before the flood: on 10 which the *Thalmudists* report, that many *Giants* saved themselves also; but (as *Annius* saith) without all authoritie, either diuine or humane.

Lastly, it appeareth that the flood did not so turne vpside-downe the face of the earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this that *when Noah sent out the Dove the second time, shee returned with an Olive leafe in her mouth*, which shee had pluckt, and which (vntill the trees were discouered) shee found not: for otherwise shee might haue found them floating on the water; a manifest prooffe, that the trees were not torne vp by the rootes, nor swamme vpon the waters, for it is written, *solum Olive, rapum or decerpitum, a leafe pluckt*, (which is) to take from a tree, or to teare off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written 20 to the contrarie) that the flood made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of *Paradise* might be seene to succeeding ages, especially vnto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the worlds creation, and vnto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this discouerie.

## §. VI.

*That Paradise was not the whole earth, as some haue thought: making the Ocean to be the fountaine of those foure Riuer.*

**T**His conceit of *Aug. Chysamenis* being answered, who only giueth his opinion for reason, I will in a few wordes examine that of the *Manichies*, of *Nouiomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all those that vnderstood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many wordes, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembered, this vniuersalitie will appeare altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* allegeth, *bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the earth and subdue it, rule over euery creature, &c.* with this of the *Acts*, and *hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell on all the face of the earth*, doe no way proue such a generalitie: for the world was made for man, of which he was Lord and Gouernour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his vse: Now although all men were of one and the same fountaine of blood originally; and *Adams* posteritie inhabited in proceesse of time ouer all the face of the earth; yet it disproueth in nothing the particular garden, assigned to *Adam* to dresse and cultiue, in which he liued in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had beene no other choice, but that *Adam* had beene left to the vniuersall; *Moses* would not then haue said *Eastward in Eden*, seeing the world hath nor East nor West, but respectiue. And to what end had the Angell of God bene set to keepe the East-side, and entrance into *Paradise* after *Adams* expulsion, if the vniuersall had beene *Paradise*? for then must *Adam* haue beene chased also out of the world. For if all the earth were *Paradise*, that place can receiue no better construction then this, That *Adam* was driuen out of the world into the world, and out of *Paradise* into *Paradise*, except we should beleue with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite worlds. Which to denie; he thinks all one, as to as- 30 firme,

Gen. 8.11.

Gen. 1.18.  
Ald. 17.16.

Gen. 2.8.

3. 24.

firm, that in so large a field, as the vniuersall, there should grow but one thistle. Now 10 *MACVS* vpon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it was vnpossible for those three Riuer, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates*, (which water three portions of the world so farre dilant) to rise out of one fountaine, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the world for the Garden.

And it is true, that those four riuer, being so vnderstood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appeare, that *Pisnon* was falsely taken for *Ganges*, and *Gebon* falsely for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a riuer by *Himalab* in *India*, and *Nilus* runne through *Ethiopia*. The *Seuentic* write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and there- 10 by the errors of the *Manichies*, and the mistakings of *Nouiomagus*, *Goropius*, and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture farre more probable, then that of *Ephram*, *Cyrius*, and *Athanasius*: That *Paradise* was seated farre beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Countrey, in which hee was created, and was buried at *Mount Caluarie*, in *Iherusalem*. And certainly, though all those of the first age were of great stature, and so continued many yeares after the flood, yet *Adams* thinn-bones must haue contained a thousand sidome, and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

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## §. VII.

*Of their opinion, which make Paradise as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the aire.*

**H**irdly, where as *Beda* saith, and as the Schoole-men affirme, *Paradise* to be a place, altogether remoued from the knowledge of men (*locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Baſcepius* conceived, that *Paradise* was farre in the East, but mounted about the Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe of the Moone (which opinion, though the 30 Schoole-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Peterius* laies it off from *Beda* vpon *Strabus*, and his *Mr. Rabanus*;) and whereas *Rupertus* in his Geographic of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from thether, but finds it seated next or nearest heauen; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*; but neither of them (as I conceiue) well vnderstood: who (vndoubtedly) tooke this place for heauen it selfe, into which the soules of the blessed were carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the *Aeropagites*, (in this 40 and many other diuine apprehensions) set downe what they beleueed in plaine termes, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death, for acknowledging one only powerfull God; and therefore did the Deuill himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Iustine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and *St. Augustine* gaue this iudgement of him, as 50 his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Terullian* and *Ensebius* conceiue, that *Socrates*, by that place afore said, meant the celestiall *Paradise*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, vpon the top of *Mount Atho* (called *Aeroliones*) which being about all clouds of raine, or other inconvenience, the people (by reason of their many yeares) are called *Macrotioi* (that is) *Long-lined*. A further argument is vsed, for prooffe of the height of this 50 place, because therein was *Enoch* preferred from the violence of the flood: approved by *Isidore*, and *Peter Lombard*; in which place also *Terullian* conceiued, that the blessed soules were preferred till the last iudgement; which *Irenaeus*, and *Iustine Martyr* also beleueed. But this opinion was of all Catholike Diuines reproued, and in the *Florentine Councell* damned; of which *St. Augustine* more modestly gaue this iudgement.

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judgement. *Sicut certum est ENOCH & ELIAM nunc viuere : ita ubi nunc sunt, an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est :* (that is ) *As it is certaine that ENOCH and ELIAS doe now liue : so where they now liue, in Paradise or elsewhere, it is vncertaine.* But Barcephas giues a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessarie that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and heighth, because the foure Ri- uers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not haue had sufficient force to haue thrust themselves vnder the great Ocean, and afterwards haue forced their passage through the earth, and haue risen againe in the farre distant Regions of *India, Aegypt, and Armenia.*

These strange fancies and drames haue beene answered by diuers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins* and *Pererius* writing vpon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few : for to vse long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanitie in the Answerer, not much inferior to that of the Inuentour.

It is first therefore alleged, that such a place cannot be commodious to liue in : for being set so neare the Moone, it had beene too neare the Sunne, and other hea- venly bodies. Secondly, because it must haue beene too joynt a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the aire in that Region is so violently moued, and carried about with such swiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or haue aby- ding. Fourthly, because the place between the Earth and the Moone (according to *Ptolomie* and *Alfraganus*) is leuenteene times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes by a grosse account about one hundred and twentie thousand miles. Hereup- on it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this heighth, must haue the compasse of the whole earth for a Basis & foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eies of men : seeing, it would deprive vs of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell neare those fairs of waters, are deafe from their infancie, like those which dwell neare the *Catadupa*, or ouer-falls of *Nilus*. But this I hold as fained. For I haue scene in the *Indies*, farre greater water-falls, than those of *Nilus*, and yet the people dwel- ling neare them, are not deafe at all. *Tostatus* (the better to strengthen himselfe) ci- teth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together : to which *PERERIUS*, *Sed ego haec apud Basilium & Ambrosium in eorum scriptis quae nunc exstant, nusquam me legere memini ;* But I doe not remember (saith he) that I euer read those things, either in *Basil* or *Ambrose*.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdom. Their taking vp might be into the celestiall *Paradise* for ought we know. For although flesh and blood, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of Heaven, and the seede must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith *St. PAUL*) but all shall be changed : which change, in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was easie to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest that by the flood all perished on the earth, sauing eich persons, and therefore in the terrestriall *Paradise* they could not be.

For *Tostatus* his owne opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but be- lieued that *Paradise* was raised about the middle Region of the aire, and twentie cubits aboue all mountaines, that the flood did not therefore reach it : (which *Scotus* and other later Schoole-men also be- lieued ; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to ouerwhelme it) : this is also contrarie to the ex- press letter of the Scripture : which directly, & without admitting of any distinc- tion teacheth vs, that the waters ouerflowed all the mountaines vnder heauen. And were it otherwise, then might we aswell giue credit to *Malus Damasceus*, and the *Thalmu- dists*, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that saued themselves on the moun- taine *Baris*, and on *Syon*. But to helpe this, *Scotus*, being (as the rest of the Schoole- men are) full of distinctions, saith ; that the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at *Jordan* ; and as the flood was not naturall, so was *Paradise* saued by

Cicero Summ.  
Scip.

1. Cor. 15. 51, 52.  
1. Pet. 3. 10.

Gen 7. 19.

Gen. 1. 4. 11.

by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not beleued, that *Paradise* was so seated as *Beda* and others seeme to as- firme in wordes, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatiuely, for the delicacie and beautie fo- resembled. But this I dare aow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding wittie, yet they better teach all their followers to list, then to resolve, by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tos- tatus*, I confesse that it is written, that the Mountaines of *Olympus, Aitha*, and *Atlas*, o- uer-reach and surmount all windes and cloudes, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the hilles both springs and fruits ; and the Pagan Priests, sacri- ficing on these mountaine tops, doe not finde the ashes (remaining of their sacrifices) blowne thence, nor thence waite off by raines, when they returne : yet experience hath resolved vs, that these reports are fabulous, and *Plinius* himselfe (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) auoweth the contrarie. But were it granted, yet the heighth of these mountaines is farre vnder the supposed place of *Paradise*, and on these selfe hilles the aire is so thinn (saith *St. Augustine* whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to beare vp the body of a bird, hauing therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of aire to mount her selfe by.

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### §. VIII.

Of their opinion that seate *Paradise* vnder the *Aequinoctiall*: and of the pleasant habitation vnder those Climates.



Hose which come neare vnto reason finde *Paradise* vnder the *Aequino- ctiall line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonauenture*, and *Durandus* ; iudging that there- vnder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertilitie of soile : but against it *Thomas Aquinas* obiectioneth the disemperate heate, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly vnder the Sunne ; but this is  
30 (non causa pro causa) for although *Paradise* could not be vnder the line, because *Eden* is farre from it, in which *Paradise* was ; and because there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, or *Ganges* vnder it, (*Ganges* being one of the foure riuers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of disemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very vntrue, though for the coniecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this : that whereas it appeared, that every Countie, as it lay by degrees nearer the Tropick, and so toward the *Aequinoctiall*, did so much the more exceede in heate, It was therefore a reasonable coniecture, that those Coun- tries which were situated directly vnder it, were of a disemper vninhabitable : but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better, and so did *Auicenne*, for they both thought  
40 that men habitable enough ; and though (perchance) in those dayes it might be thought a fantasticall opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now finde, that if there be any place vpon the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight, that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed vninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and nearest to the line it selfe. For herof experience hath in- formed reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden, and could not by any contemplation be discouered. Indeece it hath so pleased God to provide for all liuing creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such incon- ueniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by triall and the witness of mens traualles, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or  
50 as a fruitlesse lump to falshon out the rest. For God himselfe (saith *ISAIAH*) that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be in- habited. Now we finde that these hottest regions of the world, seated vnder the *Aequinoctiall line*, or neare it, are so refreshed with a daylie gale of Easterly winde (which the Spaniards call the *Brize*, that doth euermore blow strongest in the heate of

159 45. 18.

of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sunne can not so much master it, that there is any inconuenience or dis temperate beate found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh and equal, by reason of the entire interpolation of the earth, as (for those places which my selfe haue seene, neere the Line and vnder it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equal temper. Onely there are some tracts, which by accident of high mountaines are barred from this ayre and fresh wind, and some few sandie parts without trees; which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest, and such difference of soyles wee finde also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those regions haue so many goodly riuers, fountaines, and little brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees casting shade, so many sorts of delicate fruites, euer bearing, and at all times beautified with blossome and fruit, both Greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts bee best compared to the *Paradise of Eden*: the boughes and branches are neuer vnclotted and left naked, their sappe creepeth not vnder ground into the roote, fearing the iniurie of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* at any times despit her withered husband *Verumnus*, in his Winter quarters and old age. There fore are these Countries called *Terra vitifera*, *Viti-ous Countries*: for nature being liberal to all without labour, necessitie imposing no industrie or trauell, idleness bringeth forth no other fruites then vaine thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion were not decciued in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliked this opinion, and followed a worke. And (to say the truth) all the Schoole-men were grosse in this particular.

## §. I X.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in *Celestria*, there is a Countrey in *Babylon*; once of this name as is proued out of *Esa. 37.* and *Ezech. 27.*

**T**Hese opinions answered, and the Region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginarie worlds, nor vnder *Torrida Zona*: it followeth that now we discouer and finde out the seat thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficultie of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations haue often changed names with their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembered, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers as well ancient as moderne.

Besides, we finde that the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, (*Cyrus* onely and few other excepted) sought to extinguishe the Hebrewes. The *Grazians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romanes* despised once to remember them in any of their stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transforme the names of all those principall places and Cities in the East: and after them, the *Turke* hath sought (what hee could) to extinguishe in all things, the ancient memorie of those people; which he hath subiected and inthrall'd.

Now besides those notable marks, *Euphrates* & *Tigris*, the better to find the way, which leadeth to the Countrey of *Eden*, we are to take for guides the two considerations: (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* and *Iudea*; and that it was of all other the most beautifull and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Countrey to *Iudea* Eastward was *Arabia Petraea*; but in this Region was *Moses* himselfe when hee wrote: and the next vnto it Eastward also was *Arabia the Desert*, both which in respect of the infertility could not be *Eden*, neither haue any of the *Arabians* any such riuers, as are exprest to runne out of it: So as it followeth of necessitie, that *Eden* must be Eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petraea*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it selfe, and by the fertility, and the riuers onely described, we must

seeke it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better described. In the Prophet *Isai* I finde it coupled and accompanied with other adiacent Countries, in these wordes spoken in the person of *Sennacherib* by *Rabshakeh*, *Haue the Gods of the Nations deliuered them, which my Fathers haue destroyed*, as *GOSAN*, and *HARAN*, and *RESEPH*, and the children of *EDEN*, which were at *Telaasar*: and in *Ezechiel*, where he prophesieth against the *Tyrians*: They of *HARAN* and *CANNES*, and *EDEN*, the Merchants of *SHEBA*, *ASHUR*, and *CHILMAD*, were thy Merchants, &c.

But to auoide confusion, we must vnderstand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he diuideth *Syria* into three Prouinces, whereof, the first he maketh *Syria Damascene*, or *Decapolis*: the second part is that Valley called *Auenia*, otherwise *Connathis*, or the Tract of *Chamath*, where *Assyria* is ioyned to *Arabia the Desert*, and where *Protonie* placeth the Cittie of *Aueria*: and the third is knowne by the name of *Domus Edenia*, or *Celestria*, otherwise *Vallis canus*, or the hollow Valley, because the Mountaines of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Coele* in Greeke is *Cana* in Latine. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seeke: neither doth this Prouince lie East from *Canaan*, but North, and so ioyneth vnto it, as it could not be vnknowne to the Hebrewes. Yet, because there is a little Cittie therein called *Paradise*, the *Jewes* beleued this *Celestria* to be the same which *Moses* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his Treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradise*: though to giue *Beroaldus* his right, I conceiue that he ledde the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other latter writers, saying, that he failed in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that hee altogether misvnderstood two of the foure Riuers (to wit) *Pison* and *Gehon*, as shall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out *Eden*, which (as *Moses* teacheth vs) lay Eastward from the Deserts, where hee wrote after hee had passed theredde Sea; we must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Isai* and *Ezechiel* ioyneth with it. For (saith *ESAIAS*) *Gosan*, *Haran*, and *Reseph*, and the children of *Eden*, which were at *Telaasar*. Also *Ezechiel* ioyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who, together with those of *Sheba*, *Abur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the Cittie of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *EZECHIEL*) the Mart of the people for many Isles. And it hath euer beene the custome, that the *Persians* conueyed their merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those Citties vpon *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterranean* Sea: as in ancient times to the Cittie of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripolie*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the Bay of *Isscus*, now *Laisa*. *Ezechiel* in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the only Mart-towne of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities euery Countrey yeelded: and hauing counted the seuerall people and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised. They were thy Merchants (saith the Prophet) in all sorts of things, in rayments of blew silke, and of brodered workes, fine linnen, corral and pearle: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and what kindes they traded, he hath these wordes. The Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah* were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Faures, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all pretious stones and gold. Now these be indeed the riches which *Persia* and *Arabia Felix* yeeld: and because *Sheba* and *Raamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Persian Gulfe*, therefore did those Nations both vent such spice, sweet gummes, and pearles, as their owne Countries yeelded, and (withall) hauing trade with their neighbours of *India*, had from them also all sorts of spices, and plentie of gold. The better to conuey these commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebans* or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tigris*, and from the Cittie of *Teredon* (built or enlarged by *Nabuchodonozor*, now called *Bassara*) thence

thence sent vp all these rich merchandises by boate to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as farre as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three daies journey of *Aleppo*, and then our land they pait to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripolie* (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforesaid. Now the Merchants of *Canneb*, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth with *Eden*, inhabited farre vp the riuier, and receiued this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, besides those proper commodities which themselves had, and which they receiued out of *Persia*, which bordered them. St. Hierome vnderstandeth by *Canneb*, *Selencia*, which is seated vpon *Euphrates*, where it breaketh into foure heads, and which tooke that name from *Selencus*, who made thereof a magnificent Cittie. Hieroglymitanus thinkes it to be *Ctesiphon*, but *Ctesiphon* is seated downe low vpon *Tigris*, and *Canneb* cannot be on that side, I meane on the East-side of *Tigris*, for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. Plinie placeth the *Schenite* vpon *Euphrates*, where the same beginneth to be fourdable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaueth to be the bound of *Arabia* the Desert, and where the riuier of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the Desert of *Palmirena*: for these people of *Canneb* (afterward *Schenite*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves from their owne Cittie of *Canneb* in *Shinar* Westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as farre as the Cittie of *Thapsacus*, where *Ptolomie* appointed the Forde of *Euphrates*: which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenite* by *Strabo*, whose wordes are these; *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam cunibus iter est per Schenitas, The Merchants which traueile from Syria to Selencia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites.* Therefore those which take *Canneb* for *Charran* doe much mistake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*, not vpon *Euphrates* it selfe, but vpon the riuier of *Chaboras*, which filleth into *Euphrates*: and the Merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneb* in *Ezechiel* (as they of *Haran*, and *Canneb*, and *Eden*, the Merchants of *Sheba*, *Albur*, and *Chilmad* were thy Merchants. Wherefore *Charran* which is sometime called *Charre*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the region of *Mesopotamia*: or *Arian fluuiorum*, the Greeke word (*Mesopotamia*) importing, a Countrie betweene Riueres: for *Mesos* in Greeke, is *Medius* in Latine, and *Potamos*, fluuius; and when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the Cittie it selfe, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforesaid.) For *Strabo* in the description of *Arabia*, giueth that Tract of land from the borders of *Calesyria*, to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Schenite*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*, and were in after-ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabite *Batanea*, and the North part of the Deserts, stretching themselves toward the vnhabited Solitude of *Palmirena*, which lyeth betwene *Syria*, and *Arabia* the Desert. So as these of *Canneb* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran* and to *Eden*: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, they of *Haran*, and *Canneb*, and *Eden*, &c. But St. Hierome made a good interpretation of *Canneb*, or *Chalne*; for *Selencia* was anciently called *Chalonne* (witnesseth *Appian*;) and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries vpon *Genesis*; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from *Chalne* or *Canneb*, to *Chalonne*: of which name there are two other Citties, standing in Triangle with *Selencia*, and almost the next vnto it, (as) *Thelbe-canne*, and *Mann-canne*; the one a little to the West of *Selencia*, and the other opposit vnto it, where these riuers of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are ready to ioyn. Therefore, which of these the ancient *Canneb* was, (being all three within the bound of the Valley *Shinar*) it is vncertaine: but it is a note aswell of the importance of the place, as of the certaine feate thereof, that so many other Citties did retaine a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it vnlike, that these additions of *Thelbe* and *Mann* to the word *Canneb*, were but to make difference betwene the East and the West, or the greater and the lesse *Canneb*, or betwene *Canneb* the old, and the new: which additions to distinguish Citties by, are ordinarie in all the Regions of the world.

Now

Now of the other Cittie ioyned with *Eden*, as *Haran* or *Charran*, St. Hierome on the Judges speaketh thereof in these words: *Cumq; reuerterentur, perueniunt ad Jud. x. Charran, qua est in medio itinere contra Ninium, Undecimo die, when they returned, they came to Charran, (which is the mid-way against Ninine) the eleventh day.*

This Cittie is by the Martyr *Stephen* named *Charran* (speaking to the high Priest: *Tecum, brethren, and fathers hearken: The God of glorie appeared to our father Abraham, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* But the feate of this Cittie is not doubted of: for it is not only remembered in many Scriptures, but, with- all, exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Craffus* the Roman, who for his vnassatiabie greedinesse was called *Gorgus auaritie*, the gulfe of auarice. Whereof *Lucan*:

*Assyrias Latio maculauit sanguine Carras,*

*Lucan. l. 105.*

With Roman blood th' Assyrian Carre he defild.

But this Cittie *Canneb* or *Chalne* is made manifest by *Moses* himselfe, where it is written of *Nimrod*. *And the beginning of his Kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and 20 Acad, and Chalne, in the land of Sinar, or Shinar: where Moses sheweth the first composition of the Babylonian Empire, and what Citties and people were subiect vnto Nimrod, all which lay in the said Valley of Shinar or neare it; and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract, afterwards called Babylonia and Chaldea, into which also Eden stretcheth it selfe. Chaldea, Babylonia, Sinar, idem sunt (saith COMESTOR.) Three names of one Countrie: which Region of Babylonia tooke name of the Tower Babel, and the Tower, of the confusion of tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proued in the eleventh Chapter of *Genesis*, in these wordes: And as they went from the East, they found a Plaine in the land of Shinar, and there they abode: in which Plaine Babylon was built (as aforesaid.)*

Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia*, and *Canneb*, in the first beginning of *Nimrod*s greatness, and before he had subdued any strange, or farre-off nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in *Shinar*, it proueth, that *Canneb* ioyneth to *Babylonia*; which also *Ezechiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth, that those of *Eden* were also the Merchants, which traded with the *Tyrians*: as and *Esaie* in the threats of *Senacharib* against *Hierusalem* (with other Nations that *Senacharib* vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of *Eden* which were at *Telaassar*. But before I conclude where *Eden* it selfe lyeth, it is necessarie to describe those other Countries, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth therewith in the places before remembered, as, those of *Sheba* and *Raamah*. It is written in *Genesis* the tenth. *Moroccoy 12. 40 the sonnes of Ham were Cush, &c. And the sonnes of Cush were Seba, and Hauilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, &c. And the sonnes of Raamah were Seba, &c. and anon after Cush began Nimrod: so as Seba was the grand-child of Cush and Nimrod the sonne of Cush, whose elder brother was Sebah: though some there are that conceiue to the contrary, that Nimrod was the elder in valour and vnderstanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His brother Raamah or Regma tooke that part adioyning to Shinar, toward the Sea-side and Persian Gulfe (called afterward Raamia and Sheba, by the Father and his Sonnes, which possessed it.) For (saith Ezechiel) the Merchants of Raamah and Seba were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Faies with the chief 50 of all spices, and all precious stones, and gold. So as Seba was that Tract of Countrie, which parteth Arabia deserta from Arabia Felix, and which ioyneth to the Sea where Tigris and Euphrates fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrie Strabo calleth Catabaria, where the best Myrrhe and Frankincense is gathered; which people haue an interchange or trade with Elana, lying on the*

*Strabo. l. 16.*

F

the

the East side of the *Persian Gulfe*. By this it appeareth who were the *Shebans*, spoken of by *Ezechiel*, and said to haue bene the Merchants of *Tyre*, for gold, spices, and pretious stones: of which they had not only plenty of their owne, but were also furnished from that part of *India* (called *Elana* according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromaticques and other proper commodities. For as *Strabo* reporteth out of *ERATOSTHENES*. *In Persia ore initio insula est, in qua multi & pretiosi unioes gignantur: in alijs vero, clari & perlucidi lapilli.* *ERATOSTHENES* (saith *STRABO*) affirmeth, that in the beginning of the *Persian Gulfe* there is an Island, in which there are many pretious pearles bred: and in other, very cleare and shining stones. Now the difference between *Sheba*, the sonne of *Raamah*, and *Seba*, the sonne of *Cush*, is but this, 10 That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*,) and *Sheba* with (*Schin*;) in what soeuer the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthographic, their Countries and habitations are diuers. For *Sheba* is that part which bordereth the *Persian Sea*; and *Saba* (whence the *Queene of Saba*) neighboured the *redde Sea*; and so that place of the 72. *Psalm*, expounded. *Reges Arabum & Saba*, hath in the Hebrew this sense: *Reges Shebe & Saba*.

The *Shebans* *Ezechiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, because they inhabited vpon the Out-let of the same riuier, vpon which the *Edenites* were seated: and so those of *Sheba*, towards the Sea-coast and vpon it, past vp the Countrey, by *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, being ioyned in one maine streame, and so through the Region of *Eden* which 20 *Tigris* boundeth, thereby the better to conuey their merchandise toward *Tyre*. And as the Cities of *Charran*, and *Canneb*, border *Eden* on the West and North-west: so doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chilmad* on the North-east. *Chilmad* being a Region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldean Paraphrast*, which Countrey by the Geographers is called *Coremitena*. (L) placed by exchange for (R:) which change the Hebrewes also often vse.

This much of those Countries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chiefe were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telassar*: for these *Senacharib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of *Telassar* 30 lay most conuenient, both to receiue the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and also to conuey it ouer into *Syria*, and to *Tyrrus*. Now to make these things the more plaine, we must remember, that before the death of *Senacharib*, many parts of the *Babyloni- an Empire* fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were vtterly dilloyed.

For it appeareth both in *Esaï* the 37. and in the second of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabshakeh*, the while the Armie of *Affria* lay before *Hierusalem*, that the Cities of *Gofan*, *Haran*, *Reseph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telassar*, had resisted the *Affrians*, though by them (in a sort) maiestered and recovered. Haue the Gods of the Nations deliuered them, whom my Fathers haue deuiroyed, as *Gofan*, and *Haran*, *Reseph*, and the children of *Eden*, which were at *Telassar*. But it appeared manifestly after *Senacharib*'s death, that 45 these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subiection: for *Ezar-Haddon* held *Affria*, and *Meroдах* *Badan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Armie of *Senacharib*, commanded by *Rabshakeh*, which lay before *Hierusalem* (*Ezechias* then reigning) while *Senacharib* was in *Egypt*, was by the Angell of God destroyed: the King of *Babel* sent to *Ezechias*, both to congregate the recouerie of his health, and his victorie obtained ouer the *Affrians*. After which overthrow *Senacharib* himselfe was slaine by his owne fons in the Temple of his Idols, *Ezar-Haddon* succeeding him in *Affria*. To the *Babylonian Embassadors* sent by *Meroдах*, *Ezechias* shewed all his treasures, as well proper as consecrate, which inuited the Kings of *Babylonia* afterward to undertake their conquest and subuersion. So as, the supulsion of 50 warre encreasing betwene *Babylon* and *Affria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Affria*, were employed to beare off the incursions of the *Affrians*; and their Garrison-place was at *Telassar*: and the very word (*Telassar*) saith *Iunius*, signifying as much, as a Bulwarke against the *Affrians*.

*rians*. This place *Hieropolymitanus* takes for *Resem*, others for *Solencia*: but this *Telassar* is the same, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the Historie of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprise of *Persia*) calleth *Thilutha* in stead of *Telassar*, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Booke: It is seated in an Island of *Euphrates* vpon a steepe and vnassailable Rocke, in so much as the Emperour *Julian* durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a conuenient place for a Garrison against the *Affrians*, being also a passage out of *Mesopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the Countre adioyning were lodged to defend the same. This place *Ptoleme* calleth *Teridata*, hauing *Reseph* (which he calleth *Resepha*) on the left hand, and *Canneb*, 10 (which he calleth *Thelbe-canne*) on the right hand, not far from whence is also found the Cittie of *Mann-canne* vpon *Tigris*, and all these seated together, as *Esaï* and *Ezechiel* haue sorted them. But the vnderstanding of these places is the more difficult, because *Affria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Atturia*) and *Mesopotamia*, were so often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. *Affria & Mesopotamia* in *Babylonic nomen transiunt* (saith *NIGER*) *Affria* and *Mesopotamia* sooke the name of *Babylonia*. Lastly, it appeareth by those adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the world *Eden* is seated, as, by *Charran* or *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*: also by *Canneb* and *Reseph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in these wordes translateth this place: *Plantauerat autem Iehouah Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente*, The Lord God planted a garden in *Eden*, Eastward: that is (saith 20 he in his Annotations) *Iusserat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabia & Mesopotamia*, He commanded trees to grow in *Eden*, an Easterne Region in the borders of *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*.

## p. X.

Of diuers other testimonies of the land of *Eden*; and that this is the *Eden* of *Paradise*.



And for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it seemes by the two Epistles of the *Nestorian Christians*, that inhabite *Mesopotamia*, which Epistles in the yeare 1552. they sent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and *Andreas Masius* hath published them, translated out of *Syriac* into *Latine*. By these Epistles (I say) it seemes we may haue some farther light for the prooue of that, which we haue said about the Region of *Eden* in those parts. For in them both there is mention of the Island of *Eden* in the 30 *Riuier Tigris*, or at least, *Tigris* in both these Epistles is called the *Riuier of Eden*. This Island as *Masius* in his Preface to these Epistles saith, is commonly called *Gozaria* (as it were, the Island, by an eminence) It hath (saith he) tenne miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island *Eden* may (doubtlesse) remaine to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called this name be fallow- 40 ed vp, with the same of those flourishing Kingdomes of *Mesopotamia*, *Affria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This Island of *Eden* hath vp the *Riuier*, and not farre beyond it, the Cittie of *Hafan-Cepha*, otherwise *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Mofal* or *Mofel*, from which (asin that which followeth it) shall appeare out of *Masius*) it is not about twelue miles distant. Neither is it to trouble vs, that *Mofal* or *Mofel* by *Marius Niger* is remembered among the Cities higher vp *Tigris*, in these wordes. *Iuxta autem 50 Tigrim, Civitates sunt Dorbata prope Taurum montem, qua nunc Mofel dicitur, magna sane, &c.* (that is) By *Tigris* are these Cities, *Dorbata* neare vnto mount *Taurus* (which is now called *Mofel*) which is a great one, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, displacing *Mofel*, and making it to be *Dorbata* (I say) needes not here to trouble vs: seeing for this matter, the testimonie of *Masius* informed by the *Christians* that dwelt there (the Seat of whose Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, auowing that this *Mofal* (or *Mozal*) is in the confines of *Mesopotamia* and *Affria*, seated vpon *Tigris*, and in the neighbour- hood

hood of *Ninive*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The *Neſtorian Chriſtians* in their former epistle call it *Attur* in these words: *Ex omnibus Civitatibus & pagis que sunt circum Civitatem Moſal (hoc eſt) Attur in vicina Ninivæ*; Of all the Cities and townes which are about the Citie of *Moſal* (that is) *Attur* in the neighbourhood of *Ninive*. As also *Niger* acknowledgeth *Cteſphon*, a Citie thereabout to be called *Aſſur* (which is the ſame as *Attur*, after the *Dialect* of thoſe Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*). Neither is it much that he ſhould miſtake *Cteſphon* (which is not farre off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Aſſur*. By this then we may come ſomewhat neere the end of our purpoſe. For the Ile of *Eden*, which lyeth in the breaſt of *Tigriſ*, is but twelve miles from *Moſal*, and that ancient Citie, which *Ptolomie* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, 10 and the Scriptures (*Ninive*, *Phileſtratus*, and *Simcon Sethi*, *Moſula*, and *Iohn Leon Moſal*, others *Moſſe*, (though it be not the ſame with *Moſal*) is ſet but a little higher vpon the ſame river of *Tigriſ*, neere *Moſal*: ſo that we are like to finde this Ile of *Eden* heere about. For the ſame *Andreas Maſius* which placeth it about *Moſal*, makes it to be belowe *Haſan-chepha*, which is vpon the ſame river of *Tigriſ*.

The onely difficultie is this, that ſome perhaps may thinke, that the words of the *Neſtorians* in both their epistles ſpeak not of any Ile in *Tigriſ*, called the Ile of *Eden*, but of an Ile in *Tigriſ*, a river of *Eden*. But this ſenſe of their words in my opinion ſeemeth the more vnp probable. And yet if this were the meaning heere, we have a teſtimonie from the learned of thoſe parts, that not onely *Euphrates*, but alſo *Tigriſ* was a river of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in thoſe parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath beene ſubiect to the ſame change, that all other kingdomes of the world have beene, and hath by conqueſt, and corruption of other languages, receiv'd new and differing names. For the South part of *Eden*, which stretcheth our *Euphrates*, was after the flood called *Shinar*, and then of the tower of *Babel*, *Babylonis*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mefopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tigriſ*, betweene Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region *Eden* that ancient *Aethicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Aethicus* diſciple of *Callinicus*, otherwiſe by *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* called *Iſtrius*, who lived in *Aegypt* in the raigne of *Philaſtratus*, 30 but of another of a farre higher and remore time) the ſame being made Latine out of Greeke by *S. Hierome*. And though by corruption of the ancient copie it be written in *Aethicus* *Adonis*, for *Edenis*, yet *Adonis* being a river of *Phenicia*, cannot be vnderſtood to be the region named by *Aethicus*. For *Aethicus* makes it a Countrey, and nota river, and ioyneth it with *Mefopotamia* and *Aethiopia*, calling the land of *Chus* *Aethiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And laſtly, the river which watereth the Regions (ſayth *Aethicus*) falleth into the Gulfe of *Perſia*: which river he calleth *Armodius*, for *Tigriſ*; *Tigriſ* being but a name impoſed for the ſwiftnesse thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigriſ* and *Euphrates* have their originall: for out of *Eden* came a river, or rivers, to water the garden, both which rivers (to wit) *Tigriſ* and *Euphrates* come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traueſe *Mefopotamia*, Regions firſt of all knowne by the name of *Eden* for their beautie and fertilitye. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained alſo ſome part of *Armenia*, and the excellent fertilitye thereof in diuers places is not unworthie the name of *Eden*. For in ſome part thereof (ſayth *Strabo*) the leaues are alwayes greene, and therefore therein a perpetuall Spring. Alſo *Stephanus de urbis* mentioneth the Citie of *Adana* vpon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in vſe in *Amos* time, though he ſpeake not of *Eden* in the Eaſt, but of *Eden in Caſſyria*. But to the end I may not burden the readers patience with too long a diſcourſe, it may ſuffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigriſ* (once ioyned together, and afterward ſeparate) are two of thoſe foure heads, into which theſe rivers which are ſayd to water the garden of *Paradiſe*, were diuided: whoſe courſes being knowne, *Eden*, (out of which they are ſayd to come) cannot be vnkowne. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigriſ* and *Euphrates* it is agreed by all: for the *ſcuentie* and all others

others conuert *Perath* by *Euphrates*, & *Hiddekel* *Tigriſ* omnes exponunt: and all men vnderſtand *Hiddekel* by *Tigriſ* (ſayth *Vatable*). And becauſe that which I have ſayd of the Ile of *Eden*, ſhall not be ſubiect to the cenſure of Miſinformation, I haue heere vnder ſet downe the words out of the two general epistles of the *Neſtorians*, as *Maſius* (ad verbum) hath conuerted them into Latine. The occaſion of thoſe letters and ſupplifications to the Pope were, that the *Neſtorian Chriſtians* which inhabit *Mefopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, and *Babylonia*, and hae to this day (at leaſt in *Queene Maries* time they had) ſeuerall Churches in one Citie, called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Moſel* vpon the river of *Tigriſ*, hauing no ſufficient authority to chooſe themſelves 10 a Patriarch (which cannot be done without ſower or three Metropolitan Biſhops at leaſt ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome* in the year of Chriſt 1552 (as aforeſaid) a Petition to obtaine allowance vnto ſuch an election as themſelves had made: hauing three hundred year before that vpon the like deſect, ſent one *Marans* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they make knowne to the Biſhop of *Rome* the ſtate of the Chriſtian Church in thoſe parts: for vpon the death of their Patriarch (who of a couetous deſire to enrich himſelf had forborne to inſtitute Metropolitan Biſhops, when the places fell void) they all aſſembled themſelves together to conſult of the Church-gouernment. And becauſe all the Patriarchs for 100 years had been of one houſe and familie to the preiudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Biſhop of the ſame ſtock and kindred, who aſpired to the ſame dignitie, which his Predeceſſours had held, the reſt of the Profeſſours reſuſed to allow him. Vpon which occaſion, and for the choiſe of a Governour more ſufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches aſſembled themſelves. The words of the general epistle to the Pope are theſe, about the middle of the ſayd epistle. *Verum nos non acceptauimus neque proclamauimus ipſum, ſed ſubito conuenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & pagis que ſunt circum Civitatem Moſel (hoc eſt) Attur, in vicina Ninivæ, ex Babylonia, ex Charrha, ex Arbella, ex Inſula que eſt in medio Tigriſ, fluminis, Eden, ex Tauris Perſia, ex Niſibi, &c.* which is, But we did neither accept of him, neither pronounc'd him: but ſuddenly we aſſembled our ſelves out of all parts of the Eaſt, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about *Moſel* (or *Attur*) neighbouring *Ninive*, and out of *Babylon*, *Charrha*, *Arbella*, and out of the land which lyeth in the middle of *Tigriſ*, a river of *Eden*, or rather, out of the Ile of *Eden*, which lyeth in the river *Tigriſ*. And in a ſecond epistle at the ſame time ſent, they viſe theſe words: *Neque ſuper ſunt apud nos Metropolitanæ, quorum eſt ordinare Catholicum, ſed ſoli pauci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbela, Episcopus Salmaſi, Episcopus Adurbeigan, &c. veltigio conuenimus in Inſulam, que eſt intra Tigriſ flumen, Eden, ſecumque compatiunt inter nos &c.* (which is) Neither are there remaining among vs any Metropolitan Biſhops to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but onely a few Biſhops, as, the Biſhop of *Arbela*, the Biſhop of *Salmaſus*, and the Biſhop of *Adurbeigan*: but we aſſembled ſpecially in the land *Eden*, which 40 is in *Tigriſ*, and agreed betwene our ſelves &c.

Now this land of *Eden* *Maſius* deſcribeth with other places; which being well conceiv'd, the *Neſtorian* epistles, and the ſtate of the Church may be in thoſe parts (ſayth he) the better vnderſtood. And after he hath diſtinguiſhed the ſlower ſorts of Chriſtians in thoſe parts of the world, and in the South part of *Africa*, which hee calleth *Neſtorians*, *Jacobites*, *Maronites*, and *Cophis*, he goeth on in theſe words: *Mox audita illius morte, concurſiſſe aiebant tumultuario in illam quam modo dixi Tigriſ inſulam, que duodecim circiter paſſuum milibus ſupra Moſal poſita, decem ſerè millia poſſuum ſuo ambitu continet, muris vndiq, cincta, & a paucis alijs quam Chriſtianis hominibus habitata*: which is, Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch (as thoſe that came to *Rome* reported) they ran tumultuouſly together into that land of *Tigriſ* or *Eden* before ſpoken of, which land is ſituated about 12 miles above *Moſel*, containing very neere ten miles in compaſſe, and euery where inſtrowed with a wall, inhabited by a few other men than Chriſtians. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Chriſtian Churches; among the reſt he addeth the Ile of *Eden* by the name of *Geſerta*, *Inſula Tigriſ*: ſive *Geſerta*. Further-

Furthermore, describing the Citie of *Hofan-cepia*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra predictam Tigris Insulam rupi aspera impositam, above the foresaid Island of Tigris, being seated on a steep rock*. Of this Island of *Geferta* *Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his tenth booke of his generall Cosmographie in these words: *Geferta ou Gessire est au milieu de la riuiniere du Tigre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie. Geferta or Gessire is in the middle of Tigris, the soile the most fertile of all Asia.*

By this we see that the ancient name of *Eden* lieth, and of that *Eden*, which lieth Eastward from *Arabia Petrea*, and the Desert where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the assertion of the said Prophet, and ioyned with those Nations of *Reseph*, *Canneh*, and *Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Assyria* and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garifond to resist the *Assyrians*, whose displantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above written) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tigris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the knowne riuers of those foure, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise*.

¶ XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which seemeth to make the foure riuers to rise from one streame.

**B**Vt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, *That a River went out of Eden*, and not *Riuers*, in the Plurall, which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his *Chronologie*: The Latine Translation (sayth he) hath these words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde diuidebatur in quatuor capita: Que verba melius consentiunt cum rei narratione, & eiusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur. Et fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc est) fluvius procedebat ex Edene regione ad irrigandum pomarium. Et inde diuidebatur. Et erat in quatuor capita: which is, And a River went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was divided into foure heads: which words (sayth *Beroaldus*) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: And a river was going forth of Eden (that is) *Riuers* went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard, and from thence it was divided, and they became foure heads. The *Tigurine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine, for it conuerts it thus: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de delicijs. And a River went out of pleasure in stead of Eden; and the Latine addeth the word locus, or place, Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis. And a River went out of the place of pleasure, and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to Eden, which was (of all other) a Region most delightfull and fertile; and so also the word (inde) and thence was diuided, hath reference to the Countie of Eden, and not to the garden it selfe.**

And for the word (*riuers*) for riuers, it is vsuall among the Hebrewes: for it is written. *Let the earth bud forth the bud of the hearbe, that seedeth seede, the fruitfull tree, &c.* Heere the Hebrew vseth the Singular for the Plurall, *hearbe* and *tree* for *hearb*s and *tree*s; and againe, we eat of the fruit of the tree, in stead of (trees): And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God. In medio ligni Paradisi, in the middle of the tree of the garden, for (trees).* And of this opinion is *David Kimbi*, and *Ratablus*, who vpon this place of *Genesis* say, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as *illud, for unumquodq, illorum*, and he giueth an instance in this question it selfe, as *A riuier (for riuers) went out of Eden.*

And this answere out of diuers of the learned, may, not without good reason, be giuen to the objection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one riuier, from which the heads should diuide themselves. Howbeit I denie not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason we may expound the foure heads, to be foure notable passages into fa-

mous

mous Countries. And so we may take the word (*riuier*) verse the tenth for one riuier (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this Riuier, after he is past the place, where we suppose *Paradise* to haue beene, diuides it selfe, and ere long yeeldeth foure notable passages into seuerall Countries, though not all the way downe streame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the riuier downward, there is conuoyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to *Assyria*, were vp *Tigris*.

To this end the Text speaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riseth from the Riuier of *Eden*, doth not say it compasseth or waltheth the whole Region of *Assyria*, (as it had vseth this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth toward *Assyria*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nahar-malecha*, (by interpretation) *Basilius*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tigris* vnder *Apamia*, whence ariseth the name of *Pasitigris*, (as it were) *Piso-tigris*. This leadeth to the land of *Hamila* or *Susana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in Historians is *Nahar-fares*, or *Narrigis*, for *Nahar-ragas*: both which names signifie *flumen derivatum* (a riuier deriued) also *Acracanus*, quasi *Ranofus*, by reason of the froggie finnes which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the first ferte of *Chusi*, about the borders of *Chaldaea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of *Chaldaea*. The third branch, *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the vpper streame of *Pison*, or *Basilius*, which runneth into *Hiddekel* properly so called (that is, into *Tigris*) about *Selucia*, where it sheweth a passage vp *Tigris* into *Assyria*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel*, or *Tigris*, having before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath* or *Euphrates*, so called *per excellentiam*, being the Bodie of the Riuier *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otrus*. But, be it a riuier, or riuers, that come out of *Eden*, seeing that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not farre from these Riuers: for that *Perath* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeede) as plaine it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (sayth *Moses*) Eastwards towards *Assur*, as we finde, that *Tigris* is the Riuier of *Assyria* proprie dicta, whose chiefe Cittie was *Ninive*, as in *Genesis* the tenth it is written: That out of that land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Assur*, and builded *Ninive*, which was the chiefe Cittie of *Assyria*.

And as for the kinde of speech here vfed in the Text, speaking of foure heads; though the heads of Riuers be (properly) their fountaines, yet here are they to be vnderstood, to be spoken of the beginning of their diuision from the first streame. *Caput aque* (sayth *VLPRIANVS*) *illud est, vnde aque nascitur; si ex fonte nascitur fons; si ex flumine, vel ex lacu prima initia, &c.* If the beginning of the water be out of a fountaine, then is the fountaine taken for the head: if out of a lake, then the lake; and if from a maine riuier any branch be separate and diuided, then where that branch doth first bound it selfe with new bankes, there is that part of the riuier, where the branch for, taketh the maine streame, called the head of the riuier.

¶ XII.

Of the strange fertilitie and happinesse of the Babylonian soile, as it is certaine that Eden was such.

**I**T may also be demanded, whether this region of *Eden*, by vs describ'd, be of such fertilitie and beautie, as *Eden* the seat of *Paradise* was: which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the earth, that retained that fertilitie and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the earth, nor the same vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before

before

Herod. clix. §. 1.

before the flood; and therefore this Region of *Eden* may be now no such flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I finde written of it: First in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the very place it selfe, that the *syle* of *Eden* is but twelve miles or thereabout from *Ninive*, and so from *Mosul*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, iuxta quod Vrbis Ninus sita erat, Hac regio, omnium quae nos vidimus, optima est, &c.* Where *Euphrates* runneth out into *Tigris*, not farre from the place where *Ninus* is seated, This Region, of all that we haue seene, is most excellent; and he addeth afterward. *Cereris autem fructu procerbo adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat, &c.* (that is) It is so fruitful in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeldeth two hundred fold: The leaves of *Wheate* and *Barley* being almost four fingers broad: As for the height of *Millet* and *Sesame*, they are even in length like unto trees, which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speake hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seeme very incredible to those, which neuer were in the Countrey of *Babylon*. They haue commonly in all the Countrey *Palme-trees* growing of their owne accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both meats, and wine, and a homnie, ordering them as the *Fig-trees*. Thus farre *Herodotus*.

To this *Palme-tree* so much admired in the East *India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* adde a fourth excellencie, which is, that it yeeldeth bread, *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*, of which the people make bread, wine, homnie, and vineger. But *Antonius* the *Eremite* findeth a fifth commoditie, not inferior to any of those foure, which is, that from this selfe-same Tree there is drawne a kind of fine flaxe, of which people make their garments, and with which in East *India* they prepare the cordage for their ships; and that this is true *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the *Eremite* confesseth, saying: That he received a garment made thereof from the *Eremite* himselfe, which he brought with him out of this Region. So therefore those trees, which the East *Indies* so highly esteeme and so much admire (as indeede the Earth yeeldeth no plant comparable to this) those trees (I say) are in this upper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any trees of the field. *Sunt etiam* (saith *STRABO*) *palmis per omnem regionem Palma sua sponte nascentes*, There are of *Palmes* ouer all the whole Region, growing of their owne accord. Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report. *Eunibus a parte leua Arabia odorum fertilitate nobilis, regio campestris inter Tigrim & Euphratem, iacens tam vberè & pingui solo, ut à pastu repellit pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat*, (that is) As you trauell on the left hand of *Arabia* (famous for plentie of sweet odours) there lyeth a champaigne Countrey placed betwene *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and so fruitful and fat a soile, that they are faine to drue their cattell from the pasture, lest they should perishe by satietie. Bis in anno segetes *Babylonij* fecant, The *Babylonians* cut their corne twice a year (saith *Niger*). And as Countreys generally are more fruitful to the Southward, then in the Northern parts: so we may iudge the excellencie of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South part of *Armenia*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof; his wordes be these in the Latine, *Tota enim hac regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemq. semper virentibus*, This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and trees alwaies greene: which witnesseth a perpetual Spring, not found elsewhere but in the *Indies* only, by reason of the Sunnes neighbour hood, the life and stirrer vp of nature in a perpetual actiuite. In briefe so great is the fertilitie of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow downe their cornefields, and a third time to eate them vp with sheep: which husbandrie the Spaniards wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the first fortie years, could not make our kinde of *Wheate* beare seede, but it grew vp as high as the trees, and was fruitlesse. Besides, those fields are altogether without weedes (saith *Plinie*) who addeth this singulartie to that soile, That the second yeare the very stubble (or rather falling downe of the feedes againe) yeeldeth them a harvest of Corne without any further labour: his wordes are these: *Ubertatis tanta sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restitulis sat seget.*

Plin. lib. viij. c. 17.

## §. XIII.

Of the River *Pison*, and the land of *Hauilah*.

FTER the discouerie of *Eden*, and the testimonies of the fertilitie thereof, it resteth to proue that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*. For that the knowledge and certaintie of these two riuers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessitie it selfe (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being knowne) hindeth them out: for *Euphrates* or *Tigris*, or both be that riuers or riuers of *Eden*, which water *Paradise*, which riuers or riuers *Moses* witnesseth afterward, diuided into foure heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon*, &c. Could there be a stranger fancie in the world, then when we find both these (namely) *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, to seeke the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two riuers as farre distant, as any of fame knowne or discouered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plaine, that these riuers were diuided into foure branches; and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason and Experience bearing witness. There is no error, which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some appearance of probabilitie resembling truth, which when men (who studie to be singular) finde out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention, and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds to finde some partakers or sectatours; the better by their helpe to nurse and cherishe such weake babes, as their owne inuentions haue begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the riuers of *Pison*) seemeth to haue growne out of the not distinguishing of that Region in *India*, called *Hauilah*, from *Hauilah*, which adioyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward knowne by the name of *Susiana*. For *Hauilah* vpon *Tigris* tooke name from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Cush*; and *Hauilah* in *India* from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Iochan*, the one remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*, the other where *Moses* setteth downe the generations of *Noah* and his sonnes after the flood. For the sonnes of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Ramath*; and the sonnes of *Iochan* were *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*, &c. of which later (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the sonnes of *Iochan*, that land of *Ophir*, (whence *Salomon* had gold) and *Hauilah* adioyning had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous riuers of the East *India*, and *Hauilah* a Countrey of the same, and is situated vpon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pison*, which riuers is said by *Moses* to water the land of *Hauilah*. Or perhaps it was supposed that those foure riuers, named by *Moses*, must of necessitie be foure of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous riuers after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, they chose out this riuers to make one of the foure. And yet certainly there is an other riuers, whome in these respects they should rather haue chosen then *Ganges*; for the riuers *Indus* on this side *India*, for beautie, for earnestness, and for abilitie, giueth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceiue, that *Ganges* can be one of the foure heads: seeing *Indus* commeth betweene it and *Tigris*, and betwene *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther toward the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India* intra *Gangem*, which lie betwene those two proud riuers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdome of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* bee not accounted for any of the foure, because it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much lesse *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little lesse then fortie degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely whosoever readeth the Storie of *Alexander* shall finde, that there is no riuers in *Asia*, that can exceede *Indus*. For *Hydaspes* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great Gallies transported himselfe; and the greatest part of his armie, and in saying downe that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his

his whole Fleet, which was ready to be swallowed vp therein: *Hydaspis* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, hauing beides this, the Riuer of *Coas*, of *Sinaitus*, *Acetines*, *Adris*, (otherwise *Hirotis*) *Hispalus*, and *Zaradrus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are swallowed vp with all their children and companions, which being all incorporate and made one streame, it crosseth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambaia* visiteth the Ocean Sea.

Gen. 2. 15.

But because *Pison*, which compasseth *Hauilah*, as also *Gehon*, which watereth *Cush*, must somewhere beioyned with the rest in one bodie, or at least be found to proceed out of the same Countie of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads doe proceed, out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riseth in the vtremost of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterranean* Sea; and the Riuer *Ganges* tiseth out of the mountaine *Imaus*, or (as others will haue it) *Caucasus*, which diuides the Northern *Seythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, neere *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other not farre off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Gordiean* mountaines, so as *Ganges* who onely traueleth in her owne *India*, and *Nilus* through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, neuer law the land of *Eden*, or ioyned themselves in one Channell, either with themselves, or with either of the others; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or diuided into fower heads or branches, according to 20 *Moses*.

Gen. 2. 11, 12.

Therefore the Riuer *Pison*, which enricheth *Hauilah*, is the same which by ioyning it selfe with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Piso-tigris*, or *Piso-gigris*, of *Pison* and *Tigris*, which riuer watereth that *Hauilah*, which *Hauilah* the sonne of *Cush* gaue name vnto, and not *Hauilah* of *India*, so called of *Hauilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the East. And this *Hauilah* of the *Cushites* hath also Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx stone. This Bdellium is a tree, of the bignesse of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine gumme, sweet to smell to, but bitter in taste, called also Bdellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-stone for Bdellium. *Berosus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in Hebrew signifieth Pearle: so doth *Eugubinus*; and *Hierome* calls it *Oleaster*: be it what it will, a tree bearing gumme, or pearle: *Hauilah*, or *Susana* hath plenty of both. Now this Countie of *Susana* or *Hauilah* stretcheth it selfe toward the North, as farre as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence embraceth all that T raēt of land Southward, as farre as the *Persian Gulfe*, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the *Shebans* (which traded with the Citie of *Tyre*, according to *Ezechiel*) their great plenty of gold, which *Strabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

Stench.  
Hoyde Par.

The Greekes had a conceipt, that *Pison* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbines* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-esra* (sayth *Hoptens*) out of *Rabbi Saadia* tranlateth *Pison* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Hellepont* and all *Asia* the lesse, betwene it and *Tigris*. Now *Pison* which runneth through *Hauilah* or *Susana*, doth to this day retaine some signe of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embrace each other vnder the Citie of *Apamia*, there doe they agree of a ioynēt and compounded name, and are called *Piso-tigris*. And it is strange vnto me, that from so great antiquitie there should be found remanying any resembling found of the first name: for *Babylon* it selfe, which dwelleth so neere these riuers, is by some writers knowne by the name of *Bandas*, as, by *Poitellus*, by *Caistalus*, of *Baldach*: by *Baris*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Boughedor*, by *Andrew Theuet*; and yet all those that haue lately seene it, call it *Bagdet*. To this riuer of *Pison*, *Ptolomie* indeed with many others giue the name of *Basilus*, or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they terme *Mahar-jares* and *Marsias*, and *Bar-jares*. So is *Euphrates*, neere the Spring and fountain, by *Strabo* and *Plinie* called *Pixirates*: by *Iunius*, *Puckperath*, out of the Hebrew, (that is) The profusion, or comming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the mountaine *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omrya*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the

Pest. Colnos.  
Theuet. Colnos.  
Abe. Lab. A.

Plin. lib. 5. c. 24.

ds: the Hebrewes *Parath*, (sayth *Ar. Montanus*;) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Iosephus*, *Phorab*; *Eusebius*, *Zozimus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalypticus*: *Gisilanus* and *Colinatus* terme it *Cobar*: which *Ezechiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Assyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar* or *Naher Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The same confusion of names hath *Tigris*, as, *Diglito*, and *Diglat*, *Seilax*, and *Solax*: of the Hebrewes it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* vpon *Genesis* conceiueth rightly of these riuers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (sayth he) streame into fower branches, two of which keepe their ancient names, and the other two are called *Pison* and *Gehon*. The reason, why these two riuers ioyned in one (below *Apamia*) looke their names, and are called *Piso-tigris*, and the memorie of *Euphrates* extinguished, is, because the best part of *Euphrates* running through the channell of *Gehon*, linketh into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, not furre from *Pr*, the Citie of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Persian* Sea, as *Tigris* accompanied with *Pison* doth.

This error that *Pison* was *Ganges*, was first broched by *Iosephus*, (whose fields though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authoritie to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For 20 *Epiphanius*, *Augutine*, and *Hierome*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Pison* was transported into the East *India*, to find out *Hauilah*: so was *Gehon* drawne into *Africa*, to compass *Ethiopia*. But if *Hauilah*, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of *Paradise*, be found to be a Region, adioyning to *Babylon* on the side, and *Cush* (which is filly interpreted *Ethiopia*) fastned to it on the other side, wee shall not neede then to worke wonders (that is) to impose vpon men the transportation of riuers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other vses) were made to transport men. Now it was in the valley of *Shinar*, where *Cush* the sonne of *Ham* first face downe with his sonnes, *Sheba*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Hauilah*, the sonnes of *Cush*, did that Region take name, which *Pison* 30 compasseth; and the land (called *Cush*) which *Gehon* watereth, tooke name of *Cush* him selfe. For as the sonnes of *ioctan*, *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*, seated themselves as neare together as they could in *India*, so did the sonnes of *Cush* and *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Hauilah* or *Chanilah* was first *Chusea* of *Cush*; then *Chusa*, *Susa*, and *Susana*.

From this *Hauilah* vnto the Desarts of *Sur*, did the *Israelites* and *Amalechites* possesse all the interciunt Countries: for *Saul* smote the *Amalechites* from *Hauilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur* the *Chaldean Paraphrast* conuerteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the redde Sea; but this was not meant from *Sur* vpon the redde Sea, to *Hauilah* in the East *India*, for *Saul* was no such traualer or Conquerour, and therefore *Hauilah* must 40 be found nearer home, where the sonnes of *Ismael* inhabited, and which Countie *Saul* wanted: for *Amalek* and the *Amalechites* posselt that necke of Countie, between the *Persian* Sea, and the redde Sea; *Hauilah* being the extreme of the one towards the East, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the West, leauing that great body of *Arabia felix* towards the South; and they spread themselves with the *Madianites* and *Edomians*, from the East part, or backe-side of the Holie Land, to the banks of *Euphrates*, comprising the best parts of *Arabia Petraea*, and *Deserta*.

1 Sam. 15. 7.

## ð. XIII.

Of the River Gehon and the land of Cush: and of the ill translating of the *Ethiopia* for *Cush*. 2. Chron. 21. 16.



OW, as *Haulah* in the East *India* drew *Pison* so farre out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the Scuentie translated *Ethiopia* for *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cush* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the Greekes, whom the Latins followed, *Gehon* consequently was esteemed for *Nilus*. But *Ethiopian* are, as much as blacke or burnt faces, whose proper Countreie is called *Thebaides*, lying to the Southward of all *Egypt*. And although there be many other regions of *Ethiopian*, and far South in *Africa*, yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembred in the *Egyptian* Stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopian* are very neare, or else directly under the *Aequinoctiall* line, which is very farre from that land inhabited by the *Chusites*, who are neither blacke of colour, nor in any fort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this Translation of the *Septuagint*. *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner. There are (saith he) two *Ethiopia's*, the East, and the West: and this diuision he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make *Chus* *Ethiopian* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Chus* and the land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia* the happy, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the East *Ethiopia*.

Now if it be graunted, that *Cush* and the land of the *Chusites*, be that Tract from *Gen*. 25. 18. *Sur* to *Haulah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitauit* *Ismael* ab *Haulah* usque *Sur*, *que respicit* *Egyptum* introeuntibus *Affryis*, *Ismael* dwelt from *Haulah* unto *Sur*, that is toward *Egypt*, as thou goest toward *Affria*; The same sufficeth to proue that *Gehon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a river which watereth *Cush*, and not *Ethiopia*. But this place of Scripture *Habitauit* *Ismael*, &c. hath this sense. *Ismael* dwelt from *Haulah*, which is the way of *Affria*, or the Countreie bordering *Affria*; and *Sur*, which lyeth toward *Egypt*, which is as much to say, as The issues of *Ismael* (whereof there were twelue Princes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those regions betwene the border of *Egypt* and *Affria*. And that they were (according to the word of God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when *Zerah* the *Chusite*, which others call *Tharabitha*, brought an Armie of ten hundred thousand against *Assa* King of *Juda*. Which Armie came not out of *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt*; for that had bene a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, hauing fo mighty a King as the King of *Egypt*, betwene *Palestina* and *Ethiopia*. But these were the *Chusites*, *Amalechites*, *Madianites*, *Ismaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Assa* (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victorie tooke some of the Cities of King *Zerah* round about, as *Gerar*. Now that *Gerar* is a Cittie of the *Ethiopian*, it cannot be suspected: for these be the wordes of the Scripture disproving it: And *Abraham* departed thence toward the South Countreie, and dwelt betwene *Cadeh* and *Sur*, and sojourned in *Gerar*; Now *Sur* is that part, vpon which *Moses* and the *Israelites* first set their feete after they passed the redde Sea, where the *Amalechites* in *Rephidim* set on them, supposing that they had bene weary, and vnable to resist. Again, in the Story of *Isaac* it is written. Wherefore *Isaac* went to *Abimelech*, and the *Philistines* unto *Gerar*: and I am sure *Abimelech* and the *Philistines* were no *Ethiopian*. And lastly, *Moses* himselfe, where he describeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath these words: Then the border of the *Canaanites* was from *Sidon*, as thou comest to *Gerar*: for *Sidon* was the Frontier of *Canaan* towards the North, and *Gerar* by *Gazab* towards the South. But indeede, how soeuer *Pererius* doth with an honest excuse: saue his Translation of *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint*. and *Iosephus* did altogether misvnderstand this place. And first, for *Homer's* East and West *Ethiopia*, they

they are both found elsewhere. For *Plinie* in his first Booke and eighth Chapter, citheth *Homer* for an Author, of these two *Ethiopia's*. But the East *Ethiopia* is that which compasseth *Nilus* to the South of *Egypt*, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the *Abyssines*, vnder *Prefter Iohn*. And the West *Ethiopia* is that, which joyneth it selfe with the river *Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambria*: for therabouts are these *Ethiopian*, called *Pereris*, *Daraites*, with diuers other names, which *Plinie* numbred. But all these are in *Africa*, and beyond the *Desarts* thereof, saith *Plinie* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa*, and *Iuba*; which Regions indeede (I mean that of *Niger*, and that of *Prefter Iohn*, and the *Tragodytes*) lie due East and West. But as for *Cush*, and the Region of the *Ismaelites*, &c. they are extended directly North from that *Ethiopia*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Iosephus* was exceeding grosse herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which he hath of *Moses* when he serued *Pharao*, in the warres against the *Ethiopian*: for in that (to make *Chus*, *Ethiopia*) hee transporteth *Madian* by miracle ouer the Red Sea, and beyond all *Egypt*, and setteth it in *Ethiopia*, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the worlds plantation. Again, that *Gehon* was improperly translated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confesseth, and laeth it rather to the corruption of the Greeke copie, than otherwise. And whereas the *Septuagint* haue conuerted this place of the Prophet *Hieremie*. And what hast thou now to doe in the way of *Egypt*, to drinke the water of *Nilus*? *Quid tibi vis in via* *Egypti*, *ut bibas aquam* *Gehon*? to this saith *Pererius*, *profecto* *Hebraice* *tibi non est* *vox* *Gehon*, sed *Sichor*, *que significat* *nigrum* & *turbidum*; Truly (saith *PERERIVS*) the word *Gehon* in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but *Sichor*, which signifieth black and troubleth water.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and vnanswerable argument, that *Chus* was ill taken for *Ethiopia*. *Moses* married the daughter of *Iethro*, Prince and Priest of *Madian*, whom both the Greeke and Latin call a *Madianite*, and not *Ethiopian*, as (with *Iosephus*) the *Geneu* conuert it, though it helpe it a little with a marginal note. Now it is without dispute, that *Zipporah* was of the Countreie of *Madian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petraea*, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the second of *Exodus*, that *Moses* fled from *Pharao* into the land of *Madian*, and sat downe by a Well, &c. and againe, in the third of *Exodus*; When *Moses* kept the sheepe of *Iethro* v. 2. his father in Law, Priest of *Madian*, &c. Indeed, these four Nations are eury where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Ismaelites*, the *Amalechites*, and the *Chusites*, which were all in one general word, *Arabians*, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of those names, and sometimes by another, as in *Gen*. 37. v. 25. 27. & 28. that *Ioseph* was sold to the *Ismaelites*; and in the same chapter, v. 36. it is written, that the *Madianites* sold *Ioseph* to *Putiphar*, *Pharao's* steward. The *Geneuans*, in a marginal note (to auoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that *Moses* wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the *Madianites* and *Ismaelites* to be all one. But *Moses* wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth, and these were all *Arabians*, and so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought *Ioseph*: for their *Cammells* were laden with spicerie, and Balm, & Myrrhe, which are the trades of *Arabia felix*: from whence chiefly, and from the East *India*, all the world is serued with Myrrhe and Frankincense; and their spices they received from the East side of the *Arabian Gulfe*, as aforesaid: And in the 39. Chapter it is said: That *Putiphar* bought *Ioseph* of the *Ismaelites*, which the *Chaldaean Paraphrast* in the same place calleth *Arabians*. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written in the 6. of *Judges*. That when *Israel* had fowen, then came vp the *Madianites*, and the *Amalechites*, &c. of the East, and came vpon them: they of the East, were *Arabians* of the Desert, so as where before in the buying of *Ioseph*, the *Madianites* and the *Ismaelites* were confused, here the *Madianites* and *Amalechites* are made one Nation. For in the prosecution of the storie of *Geddon*, the *Madianites* only are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the eight Chapter, v. 24. these Nations are all called *Ismaelites*.

and neither *Madianites* nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gedeon* desired, that every man would give him the golden ear-rings, which they had taken, after the victorie against *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of *Arabia*, amounting to 1700. shickles of gold, it is written: For they had golden ear-rings, because they were *Ismaelites*. And these *Ismaelites* were a great and valiant Nation, and cuer in action of warre. *Manus eius contra omnes, et manus omni-um contra eum; his hand* (saith *GOD* of *ISRAEL*) *shall be against all men, and every mans hand against him*. Of these *Ismaelites* came the *Mahometan Arabians*, though some writers thinke *Mahomet* to be of the *Schemita*. And these *Ismaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the *Desarts of Sur* and *Pharan* (saith *Iosephus*) use poison vpon their arrows, as the *Indians* doe. Towards the South-east are the *Madianites*, and *Chusites*; and beyond them, towards the *Desarts of Arabia*, the *Amalekites*; and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

Lastly, the ill translation of *Aethiopia* for *Chus*, is, among other places, made most apparent, in the second of *Chronicles*, in these words: So the Lord stirred up against *IOHORAM*, the spirit of the *Philistines*, and the *Arabians*; which confine the *Aethiopian*; so the same reads it: the *Geneva* translation hath it, which were besides the *Aethiopians*. Now, how farre it is off betweene the *Philistines*, and the *Negro's*, or the *Aethiopians*, every man that looketh in a Map, may judge. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, doe mixe and joyne with the land of the *Chusites*, and are distant from their next Neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the *Desarts of Sur* and *Pharan*, are betweene them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should haue beene translated in these words: So the Lord stirred up against *IOHORAM*, the spirits of the *Philistines*, and the *Arabians*, which confine and border vpon the *Chusites*, who indeed are their next neighbours. \* *Nulla superest dubitatio quin Aethiopia in sacris literis sit Arabia propinqua; there remaineth no doubt* (saith *STEVCHVS*) *but Aethiopia in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey, which lieth to Arabia*.

Now may we thinke it is probable, or possible, that *Moses* could be ignorant of *Nilus*? No, he knew it, no liuing man so wel, and therefore would neuer haue named *Gehon*, for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gehon*. Surely if *Moses* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gehon* he would haue called the Riuer (into which he was cast vpon reeds, and preferred by God, working compassion in the Daughter of *Pharae*) a Riuer of *Egypt*, wherein hee was borne and bred, and wrought so many miracles. Besides the riuer of *Nilus* is often named in the Scriptures, but neuer by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moses* had told the *Israelites*, that *Nilus* had beene a Riuer of *Paradise*, they might justly haue thought, that he had derided them: for they had liued there all daies of their liues, and found no such *Paradise* at all, nor any memorie, or speech thereof; except we shall beleue the *Paradise* of *Hesperides*, where (saith *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wild *Oliues* in stead of golden apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Egypt*, and once in the Prophet *theremie*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a riuer of *Aethiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Israelites* had neuer any communion or affaires with the *Aethiopians*, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond *Egypt*, to the South; but the enemies, which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Machinites*: who being often governed by many little Kings, or *Reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers and Heads of those Nations; but in one generall name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Canaanites*, with the *Mogogians*, *Tubalines*, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest Cities vpon the Sea-coast (as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many so others: yea, *Hiersusalem* it selfe was with-held from *Israell* (from the daies of *Moses* euen vnto the time of *Dauid*) by the *Iebusites*.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia* the stonie, which the *Chusites* inhabit

ted in the times of the Kings of *Israell*: and in this *Desart* it was that *Matt. Berouldus* lost himselfe in seeking out *Paradise*: for he was driuen (to my vnderstanding), to create two riuers, and call them *Gehon*, and *Pison*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Hauilah*, for I finde none such in *rerum natura*, as he hath described: by which Riuers hee also includeth within *Paradise*, euen *Arabia* the *Desart*.

And as he well proued that *Pison* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gehon*, *Nilus*: so where to finde them else, where it seemeth he knew not. Certainly this riuer of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterran* at *Gaza*, and whose springs he findeth farre East in *Arabia*, is but imaginarie: for the Current by *Gaza* is but a small streame, rising betweene it and the red Sea, whose head from *Gaza* it selfe is little more then twenty English miles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionlesse, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israell* stood, and when it flourished, being then their neere neighbours, and neuer looked back to the first scates and plantation of *CHVS*. For after the flood, *CHVS* and his children neuer rested, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and neere which himselfe with his sonnes first inhabited. *HAVILAH* tooke the riuer-side of *Tigris* chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called *HAVILAH*, (now *Susiana*): *Raamah* and *Sheba* farther downe the riuer, in the entrance of *Arabia felix*. *NIMROD* seated himselfe in the best of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *CHVS* himselfe and his brother *MIZRAIM* first kept vpon *Gehon*, which felleth into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, and in proceesse of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more Westerly towards the red or *Arabian* Sea: from whence *MIZRAIM* past ouer into *Egypt*, in which Tract the *Chusites* remayned for many yeares after. Now because there could be no such riuer found in *Arabia* the stonie, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus Aethiopia*, and *Gehon, Nilus*. And if we doe examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceiue it as it was. For let vs suppose, that *BRVTE*, or whosoever else that first peopled this Island, had arriued vpon the Riuer of *Thames*, and calling the Island after his name *BRITANNIA*, it might be said that *Thames* or *Tems* was a riuer, that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards in proceesse of time, the same *BRVTE* had also discouered and conquered *Scotland*, which he also entituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, because the riuer of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let vs suppose that *EVROPA*, the daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*, gaue the name to *Europe*, according to *Hierodotus*, and that the first discouersers thereof arriued in the mouth of some riuer in *Crete*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as he first discouered, shall we in like sort resolve, that *France*, *Spain*, and *Italie*, &c. are no parts of *Europe*, because that Riuer is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner it is layd by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole land of *Chus*; but not the whole land which the *Chusites* should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, seeing in after ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) haue beene Maisters in time, (as the *Saracens* which came of them were) of a great part of the world. For (though the *Babylonian Empire*, which tooke beginning in *NIMROD* the sonne of *CHVS*, consisted at the first but of fewer Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*, yet we finde, that his Successors within a few yeares after commanded all the whole world in effect: and the fame of *Babel* consumed the memorie of *Chus*. For of this Tower of Confusion did all that land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatnesse of that Empire founded by *NIMROD* a younger sonne, obscured the name and nation of his father *CHVS* in those parts, vntill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the *Babylonian Empire*, where the *Chusites* retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soile and Territories by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke,

that CHVS or any of his could in haile creepe through those desert Regions, which the length of 130 yeares after the flood had (as it were) fortified with thickets, and permitted euery bush and briar, reede and tree to ioyne themselues (as it were) into one maine body and Forrest. For if we looke with iudgement and reason into the worlds plantation, we shall finde, that euery familie seated themselues as nere together as possible they could; and though necessitie enforced them, after they grew full of people, to spread themselues, and creepe out of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, yet did they it with this aduise, as that they might at a l times resort, and succour one another by riuer, the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So NIMROD, who out of wit and strength vsurped dominion ouer the rest, fate downe in the very confluence of all those riuers, which watered *Paradise*: for thither it was to which the greatest troupes of NOAHs children repaired; and from the same place whence Mankinde had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increase. The first Father of men ADAM, had therein his former habitation. The second Father of Mankinde NOAH, began from thence his dispersion.

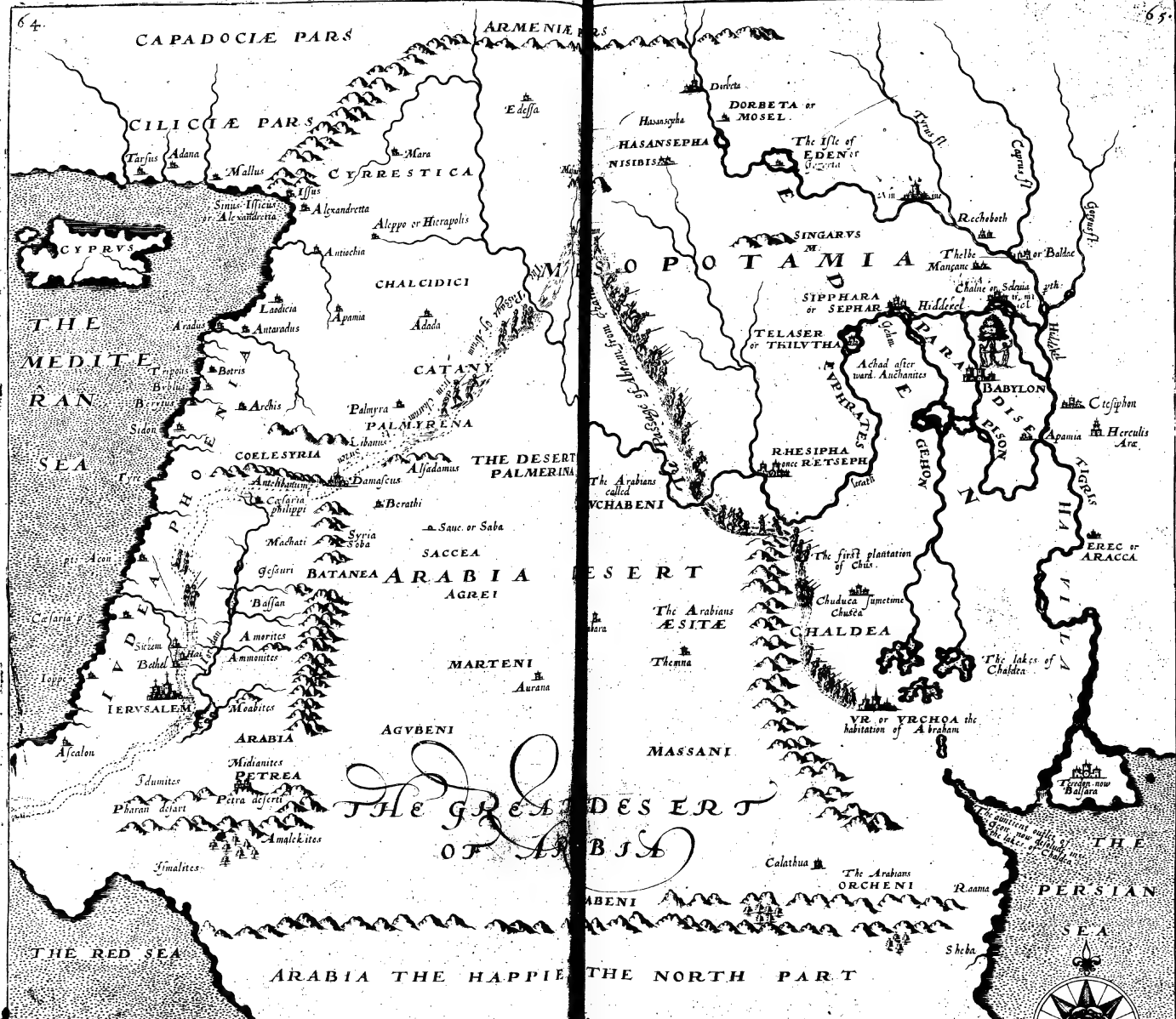
Now as NIMROD the yongest, yet strongest, made his choice of *Babel* (as aforesaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleansed and enriched; so did HAVILAH place himselfe vpon *Piso-tigris*: RAAMAH and his sonne SHERA farther downe vpon the same riuer, on the Sea-coast of *Arabia*: CHVS himselfe vpon *Gchon*, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselues farther off, yet they alwaies fastened themselues to the riuers sides: for *Ninieue*, *Charran*, *Reseph*, *Cannich*, &c in *Chaldea*, and the other first-peopled Cities were all founded vpon these nauigable riuers, or their branches, by which the one might giue succour and assistance to the other, as is already often remembred.

§. XV.

*A conclusion by way of repetition of some things spoken of before.*

**B**Vt now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to me by the testimonies of the Scriptures, that *Paradise* was a place created by God, and a part of this our earth and habitable world, seated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram fluminum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35 degrees from the *Aequinoctiall*, and 55 from the North pole: in which Climate the most excellent wines, fruites, oyle, graine of all sorts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proueth the excellencie of this sayd soile and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein fouer the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can most vaunt, that they haue excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their works: this tree alone giueth vnto man what fouer his life bogeth at Natures hand. And though it may be sayd, that these trees are found both in the East and West *Indies*, which Countie is also blessed with a perpetuall Spring and Summer, yet lay downe by those pleasures and benefits the fearefull and dangerous thunders and lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous beasts and wormes, with other inconueniences, and then there will be found no comparifon betwene the one and the other.

What other excellencies this garden of *Paradise* had, before God, (for mans ingratitude and crueltie, cursed the earth) we cannot iudge; but I may safely thinke, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all liuing men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular garden exceede all parts of the Vniuersall world, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow



grow the trees, of Life, of Knowledge; Plants only proper, and becoming the *Paradise*, and Garden of so great a Lord.

The summe of all this is, That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture haue beene dimme-lighted (some of them finding *Paradise* beyond our knowne world: some, about the middle Région of the aire: some, eleuated neare the Moone: others, as farre South as the Line, or as farre North, as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the aire, and in mens fancies, vainely imagined. For it was Eastward in *Eden* (saith *Moses*) Eastward, in respect of *Indea*, that God planted this garden, which *Eden* we finde in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A Riuer went out of *Eden* to water this garden, and from thence diuided it selfe into foure branches; and we finde that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* swimming through *Eden* doe ioine in one, and afterward taking wayes apart doe water *Chus* and *Hauilah*, according to *Moses*: the true seates of *Chus* and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reason, and experience teach the contrarie: for that which was neuer ioined cannot be diuided. *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the Riuers of *Eden*; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibilitie, and this Riuer is a greater stranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, then *Ganges* is: for although there are betweene *Tigris* and *Ganges* about foure thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the world; but *Nilus* is begotten in the mountaines of the Moone, almost as farre off as the Cape of good hope, and falleth into the *Mediterran* Sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the mountaines of *Armenia*, and falleth into the *Gulfe* of *Persia*: the one riseth in the South, and trauaileth North: the other riseth in the North, and runneth South; three score and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following I haue added a *Choreographical* description of this terrestriall *Paradise*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceiue the preceding discourse; and this is the reward I look for, that my labours may but receiue an allowance suspended, vntill such time as this description of mine be reprinted by a better.

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## CHAP. IIIII.

## Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

p. I.

That the tree of Life was a material tree : and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made subject to death.



OR eating the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was *Adam* driven out of *Paradis*, *in exitum vite temporalis*, into the banishment of temporal life, saith *Beda*. That these trees of Life and Knowledge were material trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospell) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned writers : as nothing by the wis of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fixe them, and so slippery, as nothing can fasten them, haue in this also deliuered to the world an imaginarie doctrine.

The tree of Life (say the Hebrewes) hath a plurall construction, and is to be vnderstood, *Lignum vitarum*, The tree of liues, because the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preserve both the growing, sensitiue, and ratioll life of man; and not only (but for *Adams* transgression) had prolonged his owne dayes, but also giuen a durefull continuance to all posteritie; and that, so long, as a bodie compounded of Elements could last.

And although it is hard to thinke, that flesh and bloud could be immortal, but that it must once perish and rot, by the vnchanged law of God imposed on his creatures, Man (notwithstanding) should haue enioyed thereby a long, healthfull, and vngriued life : after which (according to the opinion of most Diuines) he should haue bene translated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the flood, the daies of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and soon after the flood of two hundred years and upwards euen to hie hundred : so if *Adam* had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandment, the liues of men on earth might haue continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men haue conceiued. *Chrysostome*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of beliefe, that (but for *Adams* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his posteritie had bene immortal. But such is the infinite wilddome of God, as he fore saw that the Earth could not haue contained mankind; or else, that Millions of soules must haue bene vngenerated, and haue had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for euer : and therefore that of *Chrysostome* must be vnderstood of immortalitie of bodies, which should haue bene translated and glorified.

But of what kinde or *Species* this tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach : in which respect many haue conceiued, that the same was not material, but a meere *Allegorie*, taking their strength out of *Salomon*, where Wisdom is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life, and out of the *Apocalypsis*, *I will giue to him that ouercometh, to eat of the Tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God*. But to this place *S<sup>t</sup>. Augustines* answer may suffice, (whiche is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a

Barth. Sept. 2. l. 1.  
374.

Apocal. 2. 7.

terrestriall *Paradis*, so there was a celestiall. For although *Agar* and *Sara* were Figures of the Old, and *New Testament*, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the maide and wife of *Abraham*, were meere foolishnesse. And so in this place the sense of the Scripture is manifest. For God brought out of the earth euery tree faire to sight, and sweet to taste; the tree also of life in the midst of the garden : which sheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandment produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets : for as from the indigested matter or *Chaos*, *Hesiodus*, *Homer*, *Ouid*, and others steale the inuention of the created world; so from the Garden of *Paradis*, they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Hesperides* : and from the tree of Life, their *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth making young, and *Ambrosia*, immortalitie; and therefore said to be the meate and drinke of the Gods.

p. II.

Of *Becanus* his opinion that the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*.



OW for the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, some men haue presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giueth himselfe the honour to haue found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could euer ghesse at, wherat *Goropius* much maruaileth. But as he had an inuentiue braine, so there neuer liued any man, that beleued better thereof, and of himselfe. Surely how soeuer his opinion may be valued, yet he vsurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the inuention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Barcephus* fastened on this coniecture aboute fixe hundred yeares before *Becanus* was borne; and *Barcephus* himselfe referreth the inuention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Authour *Philoxenus* *Abahurgensis*, and others, whose very wordes *Goropius* vseth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that beliefe. For *Moses Barcephus* in his Treatise of *Paradis* (the first Part and fol. 49.) saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*, the Indian Fig-tree, of which the greatest plentie (saith *Becanus*) are found vpon the banks of *Acemes*, one of the Riues which filleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies in, or neare the Kingdome of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bignesse of a great peaze, or (as *Plinius* reporteth) somewhat bigger, and that it is a tree *se semper serens, auides plantis in se*; that it spreadeth it selfe so farre abroad, as that a troupe of horsemen may hide themselves vnder it. *Strabo* saith, that it hath branches bending downwards, and leaues no lesse then a shield. *Aristobulus* affirmeth that fittie horsemen may shadow themselves vnder one of these trees. *Onesivritus* raiseth this number to foure hundred. This tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceedeth all other in bignesse, which also *Plinius* and *Onesivritus* confirme: to the trunk of which these Authours giue such a magnitude as I shame to repeat. But it may be, they all speake by an ill-vnderstood report. For this *Indian* Fig-tree is not so rare a Plant, as *Becanus* conceiueth, who because he found it no where else, would needs draw the garden of *Paradis* to the Tree, and set it by the riuer *Acemes*. But many parts of the world haue them, and I my selfe haue seene twentie thousand of them in one Valley, not farre from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner. After they are first shot vp some twentie or thirtie foote in length, (some more, some lesse, according to the soile) they spread a very large topp, hauing no bough nor twigge in the trunk or stemme : for from the vtmost end of the head branches there issueth out a gummiue iuyce, which hangeth downward like a cord or sinnew, and within a few Moneths reacheth the ground;

Plin. l. 15. c. 5.  
Lib. 1. c. 23.

ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the toppe boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this corde maketh it selfe a Tree exceeding hastily. From the vtmost boughes of these young trees there fall againe the like cordes, which in one yeare and selfe (in that world of a perpetuall spring) become also trees of the bignesse of the nether part of a launce, and as straight, as art or nature can make anything, casting such a shade, and making such a kinde of groue, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now one of these trees considered with all his young ones may (indeede) throwe foure hundred or foure thousand horsemen, if they please; for they couer whole vallies of ground where these Trees grow neare the Sea-banke, as they doe by thousands in the inner part of *Trinidado*. The cordes which fall downe ouer the bankes into the Sea, shooting alway downward to finde roote vnder water, are in those Seas of the *Indies*, where Oysters breed, intangled in their beddes, so as by pulling vp one of these cordes out of the Sea, I haue seene fise hundred Oysters hanging in a heape thereon; whereof the report came, that Oysters grew on trees in India. But that they beare any such huge leaues, or any such delicate fruit I could neuer finde, and yet I haue trauailed a dozen miles together vnder them: but to returne to *Goropius Becanus*. This tree (saith he) was good for meate and pleasing to the sight, as the tree of Knowledge of good and euill is described to be.

Secondly, this tree hauing so huge a truncke (as the former Authours report, and *Becanus* beleue) it was in this tree that *Adam* and *Eue* hidde themselves from the presence of God, for no other tree (saith he) could containe them. But first it is certaine, that this Tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the truncke or stemme, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger then the rest, and these are all but of a meane life. Secondly, the wordes of *Moses* translated in *medio ligni*, are by all the interpreters vnderstood in the plural number, (that is) in the midst of the trees. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses Bar-cephas*, word for word) is, that when *Adam* and *Eue* found themselves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaues; which proueth (indeede) that either the tree it selfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: because *Adam* being posselt with shame did not runne vp and downe the garden to secke out leaues to couer him, but found them in the place it selfe; and these leaues of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse, which *Plinie* auoweth in these wordes; *Latitudo foliorum pelte effigiem Amazonie habet*, The breadth of the leaues hath the shape of an Amazonian shield: which also *Theophrast* confirmeth; the forme of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Gen. 3. 7.

Pl. l. 13. c. 5.

Verg. Ene. l. 1.  
454.

*Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis  
Penthesilea furcis.*

The Amazons with Crescent-formed shield  
Penthesilea leades into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be beleueed, or rather threatneth vs all that reade him, to giue credit to this his borrowed discouerie, vling this confident (or rather chollerick) speech. *Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hac à nobis de ficu hac ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Mosis narratione comparat, ut audeat dicere aliam arborem inueniri posse, quæ cum illa magis quadret, Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things which we haue reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of Moses, as to dare to auow, that any other tree can be found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith.* But for my selfe, because I neither find this tree, sorting in body, in largenesse of leaues, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: That the Earth neuer brought forth any of these trees neither before nor after; but I leaue euery man to his owne beleefe, for the matter is of

no great weight as touching his kinde: only thereby, and by the easie Commandement by God giuen to *Adam*, to forbear to feede thereon, it pleased God to make triall of his obedience: *Prohibita, non propter aliud, quàm ad conueniendum pure de simplici Obedientia bonum*, Being forbidden, not for any other respect, then thereby to commend the goodnesse of pure and simple Obedience.

## ¶ III.

Of *Becanus* his not vniuersally allegorizing of the Storie of his *Ficus Indica*.

**B**Vt in this I must doe *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I haue gathered in these few wordes. As this Tree (saith he) so did Man, grow straight and vpriight towards God, vntill such time as hee had transgressed and broken the Commandement of his Creator; and then like vnto the boughes of this tree, hee beganne to bend downward, and stooped toward the earth, which all the rest of *Adams* posteritie after him haue done, rooting themselves therein, and fastning themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding vmbraiousnesse of this tree hee compareth to the darke and shadowed life of man, through which the Sunne of iustice being not able to pierce, we haue all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased *Christ* to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to finde among so many large leaues, may be compared (saith he) to the little vertue, and vpercieued knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shadow it ouer. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate, so are the delights and pleasures of the world, most pleasing while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into chollic and bitternesse: so are our vanities and pleasures conuerted into the bitterest sorrowes and repentances. That the leaues are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaues) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shewes, and publike ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we secke for the fruit, which ought to be their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bignesse of the smallest pease; glorie, to all the world apparent; goodnesse, to all the world inuisible. And furthermore, as the leaues, bodie, and boughes of this tree, by so much exceede all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie surpass the meane: so is the little fruit of such men, and such trees, rather fitting and becoming the vnwortheiest shrubbe, and humblest bryar, or the poorest and basest man, then such a flourishing statelynesse, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after he had disobeyed God, and beheld his owne nakednesse and shame, fought for leaues to couer himselfe withall, this may serue to put vs in minde of his and our sinnes, as often as we put on our garments, to couer and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintaine which wee vse so many vncharitable and cruell practises in this world.

## ¶ IIII.

Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and euill: with some other notes touching the Storie of *Adams* sinne.

**N**OW, as touching the sense of this tree of Knowledge of good and euill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the properties of the Tree it selfe, *Moses Bar-cephas* an ancient Syrian Doctor (translated by *Masius*) giueth this iudgement: That the fruit of this tree had no such vertue or qualitie, as that by the tasting thereof, there

was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Innus* also noteth, *Arbor scientia boni & mali (ideſt) experientia boni & mali ab even- tu, The Tree of Knowledge of good and euill (that is) the experience of good and euill by the euent.* For thus much we may conceiue, that *Adam* being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanſhip of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection then euer any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created plant, out of whose ſeede all men liuing haue growne vp; and hauing receiued immortali- tie from the breath or ſpirit of God, he could not (for theſe reſpects) be ignorant, that the diſobaying of Gods commandment was the fearfullſt euill, and the obser- uation of his precepts the happieſt good. But as men in perfect health doe (not- withſtanding) conceiue, that ſickeſſe is grieuous, and yet in no ſuch degree of tor- ment, as by the ſuffering and experience in themſelues they afterwards witneſſe: ſo was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the puniſhments, due to neglect and diſobedience; and yet felt by the prooffe thereof in himſelfe another terror then he had forethought, or could imagine. For looking into the glaſſe of his owne guiltie ſoule, he beheld therein the horreur of Gods iudgements, ſo as he then knew, he feel- ingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchaſed euill, which could not be expreſt. He then ſaw himſelfe naked both in bodie and minde; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicitie: and there- fore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, and not becauſe the fruit thereof had 25 any ſuch operation, by any ſelfe qualitie or effect: for the ſame phraſe is vſed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are giuen to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In ſuch ſort as this tree was called the tree of Know- ledge, by cauſe of the euent (as is aforeſaid) ſo was the Well of contention therefore called *Eſek*, and the Well of hatred *Sitnath*, becauſe the Heardsmen of *Iſaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the heape of ſtones, called the heape of witneſſe, betwene *Jacob* and *Laban*, not that the ſtones bare witneſſe, but for a memorie of the couenant. So *Jacob* called the houſe of God *Bethel*: and *Hagar*, the Well in the *Deſart*, *Vientis*, & *videntis*.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and maiſtered by his affections, ambitious of a 30 farther knowledge then he had perceiued in himſelfe, and looking but ſlightly (as all his iſſues doe) into the miſeries and ſorrowes incident, and greatly affecting the ſup- poſed glorie which he might obtaine by taſting the fruit forbidden, he was transpor- ted and blowne forward by the gentle winde of pleaſing perſuaſions vnwares; his progreſſion being ſtrengthened by the ſubtile arguments of *Sathan*, who laboured to poiſon mankind in the very roote, which he moiſtened with the liquor of the ſame ambition, by which himſelfe periſhed for euer.

But what meanes did the Deuill finde out, or what instruments did his owne ſub- tile preſent him, as fitteſt and apteſt to worke this miſchiefe by? euen the vnquiet vanitie of the woman; ſo as by *Adams* hearkening to the voice of his wife, contrarie 40 to the expreſſe commandment of the liuing God, Mankind by that her incantation became the ſubiect of labour, ſorrow, and death: the woman being giuen to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a Counſellour. But becauſe thou haſt obeyed the voice of thy wife, &c. (ſaid God himſelfe) Cursed is the earth for thy ſake, in ſor- row ſhalt thou eate of it all thy life. It is alſo to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; euen by the moſt vgly and vnworthy of all beaſts, into whom the Deuill entred and perſwaded.

Secondly, what was the motiue of her diſobedience: euen a deſire to know what was moſt vniſhing her knowledge, an affection which hath euer ſince remained in all the poſteritie of her Sexe. Thirdly, what was it that moued the man to yeeld to her perſuaſions? euen the ſame cauſe which hath moued all men ſince to the like conſent, namely an vnwillingneſſe to grieue her and make her ſadde, leaſt ſhe ſhould pine and be overcome with ſorrow. But if *Adam* in the ſtate of perfection, and *Sa- 50 lomons* the ſonne of *Dauid* Gods choſen ſervant, and himſelfe a man endued with the greateſt

greateſt wiſedome, did both of them diſobay their Creatour, by the perſwaſion and for the loue they bare to a woman, it is not ſo wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in ſucceeding ages haue beene allured to ſo many inconuenient and wicked pra- ctices by the perſuaſions of their wiues, or other beloued Darlings, who couer ouer and ſhadow many malicious purpoſes with a counterſait paſſion of diſſimulate ſor- row and vnquietneſſe.

## CHAP. V.

Of diuers memorable things betwene the fall of  
ADAM, and the flood of  
NOAH.

## §. I.

Of the cauſe and the reuenge of CAINS ſinne: and of his gaine win-  
from God.



HE ſame pride and ambition which begane in An- gels, and afterward poſſeſt *Adam*, *Cain* alſo inherited: for *Cain* (enuious of the acceptation of his brothers prayer and ſacrifice) ſlew him, making himſelfe the firſt man-ſlayer, and his brother the firſt Martyr: the reuenge of which vnnatural murder, although it pleaſed God to mitigate, when *Cain* cryed out that his puniſhment was greater then he could beare. For the ſame offence chiefly (wherewith the ſonnes of *Adam*, as it were, vrged and prouoked God) he deſtroyed all mankind, but *Noah* and his familie: for it is written.

The earth alſo was corrupt before God: of which in the ſame place *Moses* giueth a rea- ſon, for ſaith he, The earth was filled with crueltie: and anon after God himſelfe made the cauſe knowne vnto *Noah*, ſaying; An end of all fleſh is come before me, for the 40 earth is filled with crueltie through them, and behold, I will deſtroy them with the earth, or from the earth: Neither was this crueltie meant to haue bene in taking away the liues of men only, but in all ſorts of iniuriſſe and oppreſſion. After this murder of ABEL, *Cain* went out from the preſence of the Lord; and dwelt in the land of *No- 50 towards the Eaſt ſide of Eden*: in which wordes The going out of *Cain* from the pre- ſence of the Lord, is not to be vnderſtood after the literal ſenſe; God being wholly in all parts of the world. Totus in celo eſt, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, ſed Aug. de ciuitat. eternum ſimul, God (ſaith St. AUGUSTINE) is wholly in heauen, and wholly in earth, not by interchanged times, but all at once; and that this is true *Dauid* witneſſeth. If I 1 ſol. 139. 8. bein heauen (ſaith *DAVID*) thou art there, if in hell, thou art there alſo: but whatis meant thereby? Exijt à facie Dei (ſaith CHRYſOſTOME) *Cain* went out from 50 the preſence of the Lord, (that is) he was left of God, diſauowed and bereaued of his protection.

## §. II.

## §. II.

of CAÏN dwelling in the land of NOD : and of his Cittie Enoch.

Hieron. rad.  
Hier.

Joseph. l. 1. c. 3.

Gen. 4. 14.

Gen. 4. 16.

17.

17. 23.

24.

**H**is word *Nod* or *Naid* St. Hierome and many others vnderstand to signifie wandering, or incertaine habitation: vexation or agitation, faith Iunius; but the Seuentie conuert it otherwise, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a Countrey, and so doth Iosephus. But it seemeth to me, that *Caïn* was rather a vagabond or wanderer in his cogitations, then any thing else, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the murder committed, iustly fearing (by his owne words) the like violence: And whoeuer findeth me (saith CAÏN) shall slay me. Now that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherein *Caïn* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelt*) for dwelling signifieth an abiding: and we call those people wanderers and vagabonds that haue no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, *Moses* teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East side of *Eden*. Secondly, it is said by *Moses*, that after *Caïn* departed from the presence or fauour of God, he built a Citty, and called it by the name of his first borne, *Enoch*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortifie himselfe against reuenge. *Cyrillus* saith, that *Caïn* and *Abel* were figures of *Christ* 40 and of the *Iewes*; and that as *Caïn*, after that he had slaine *Abel* vniuilly, had thenceforth no certaine abiding in the world: so the *Iewes*, after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnegates: and it is true, that the *Iewes* had neuer since any certaine Estate, Commonweale, or Prince of their owne vpon the earth. Now this land of *Nod*, Iunius taketh to be in *Arabia Deserta*, a Region of *Nomades*; but *Arabia* the Desert is not Eastward, or on the East part of *Eden*, neither are these *Nomades* any particular people or Nation. For all these, in what part of the world soeuer, which in old time liued by pastorage, and fedde (as we call it in *Ireland*) vpon white meate without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greekes *Nomades*, and by the Latines *Pastores vagi*, as the Northern *Tartarians*, the *Getulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Britains*, and the Northern *Irish*: yea such were the inhabitants of *Italie* it selfe, till such time as *Italus* (who gaue them that name) taught them the husbandrie of tillage vsed at this day. But the Region Eastward from *Eden* is that part of *Affrye*, called by *Ptolomie*, *Calena*, which also might be deriued of *Carena*, the Countrey of *Caïn*. And that *Caïn* inhabited in those parts it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written Gen. 3. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of *Eden* to till the earth whence he was taken: and in the Verse following: Thus he cast out man, &c. and at the East side of the garden of *Eden* he set the Cherubims: which sheweth that the entrie into *Paradise* was from the East, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of *Paradise* which was Eastward, according to the Text. *Caïn* also in the same Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* doe signifie *profugus*, that is, a fugitive, wee can giue no longer time to this vncertaine habitation of *Caïn*, then till hee built the Citty of *Enoch*, the first of the world, which he inclosed either for his owne defence, or (as Iosephus writeth) to oppress other thereby. So as for mine owne opinion I am resolu'd with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (vagabond) which *Caïn* vsed of himselfe, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse, that (vagabond) is therein vnderstood for such an one as traualleth in feare of reuengement: for whoeuer findeth me (saith CAÏN) shall slay me; or else (vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the fauour of God.

And because these *Henochians*, so called of the Citty *Enoch*, were the first societic and ciuill assemblie of all other, it is likely that the same of these people (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) liued in the memorie of *Noah* and his sonnes; so that

that after the flood (as there were of all sorts of natures, some virtuously, some impiously disposed, and euery actiue minde setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in cruelty and oppression tooke on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Henochians* were not the least. Perchance the place it selfe where *Henoch* stood before the flood, and whereof the monuments might remaine (as the pillars or the foundation of *Ioppe* did) gaue occasion to the planters of that place to call themselves by the same names: for of those *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Segdiana*, and *Bactria*, and of the same name many mountaines, as those to which are otherwise called *Coracici*. And seeing that it is hard to finde out the truth of these things, which the most aged time hath couered ouer or defaced, wee may (according to the counsaile of *Plato*) exceedingly reioyce, and therewith faspise our selues, if of so great and almost worne-out antiquitie, if of the eldest peoples names, and nations there remaine any print or footsteps to posteritie.

In \* *Plinie*, \* *P. Mela*, \* *Strabo*, \* *Valerius Flaccus*, \* *Lucan*, \* *Stephanus*, we finde those *Henochi* described, though diuersly written, as in *Plinie*, sometimes *Henochi*, in *Mela* *Eniochi*, in *Flaccus* *Heniochi*, in *Lucan* *Enochi*, all which inhabit vpon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of these are on the East side of *Eden*, or (according to *Moses* words) Eastward from *Eden*. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precise, as sometime he vseth the word East or South without borrowing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, or towards the East or South. In the place of *Genesis* the eleuenth he writeth the word (East) simply and directly. And as they went from the East; they found a *Plaine* in the land of *Shinar*, but in this of *Caïn* he addeth the word (towards) as, in the land of *Nod* towards the East side of *Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the North or to the South, of the East.

But as we may coniecture that these Nations tooke name of *Enoch*, the Citty of *Caïn*, or of the Region wherein it stood; when the same was repeopled after the flood: so it is probable that these *Henochi* of *Colchis*, and other parts adioyning, were 30 not the first of that name, after the sonnes of *Noah* beganne to fill the world againe; because, had this *Henoch* the Citty of *Caïn* stood in any of these parts, it had then bene seated North, and not East or Eastward from *Eden*. But as *Plinie* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he tracke them or trace them out to their originall. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now *Adengetin*) 40 *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolomie* *Zani*; beyond which an hundred and fiftie mile Eastward he findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond these againe he discouereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest tooke beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the mountaines of *Pardopansius*, between them and the great river of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North side; and these *Henochi* are due East from the Region of *Eden*; and Eastward from the very garden it selfe.

And although we cannot be assured, that these *Henochi* tooke name from the memorie of the Citty of *Enoch* directly, yet because they inhabited due East from *Paradise*, and afterwards spread themselves Westward (as all *Noahs* sonnes did that came into *Shinar*) the coniecture is farre more probable, than that of *Iunius* the Fryar, who sets *Henoch* in *Phenicia*, quite contrarie to *Moses* word: *Phenicia* from all parts of *Eden* being directly West.

And besides these euerrall Nations of the *Henochi*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the same also in the East, with diuers mountaines about *Bactria* and 50 *Segdiana* of the same name. Only the *Grecians* (according to their fabulous inuentions of all things selfe) out of the word (*Henochi*) which signifieth Carts or Coachmen, make these Nations to haue sprung from the Waggoners of *Cassir* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterprise of *Iason* into *Colchis*. And though I do not denie, but that *Iason* with other Greekes ranged the coastes

Quotidie aliquid  
in hoc magno or-  
be mutatur, noua  
urbium funda-  
mentis auctur,  
noua Gentium  
nomina (exten-  
sionibus orien-  
tur. Seneca ad  
Albium.

\* *Plin.* l. 6. c. 9.  
11. c. 16.  
\* *Mel.* l. 2. c. vii.  
\* *Strabo.* l. 11.  
\* *Val. Flacc.* l. 6.  
\* *Lucan.* l. 3. v. 316

v. 2.

\* *Plin.* l. 6. c. 5.  
\* *Ptol.* lib. 5.

\* *Steph.* de Urb.

\* *Nat. Comes* cal-  
leth them *Rhe-  
tes*.  
\* *Nat. Comes* l. 8. c. 9.

Strabo. l. x. i.  
\* In the second booke of this first Part.  
Cap. 13. S. 5.

coastes of *Asia* the lesse, in an open Boate or kinde of small Galley, \* of whom I shall speake in his owne time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the golden Fleece was for the most part Poeticall; and withall that in such an open Boate, which could hardly carry their owne Rowers, being foure and fiftie, there was no place and lesse vse of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

§. III.

Of MOSES his omitting sundry things concerning CAINS generation.

**B**Vt of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the Cittie of *Enoch* in prophane storie, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answere some few objections against certain particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for *Cain* (having no other assistance then his sonne *Enoch*) to performe such a worke as the building of a Cittie, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a masse of all sorts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are firsit to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious race) *Moses* vscth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his diuine reason, seeing that he containeth the whole storie of the first race, 20 which wasteth by the least account 1656. yeares, in fise short Chapters. Yet thus much may euery man borrow of his owne weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens liues so long a measure, as 800. and 900. yeares, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leasure and meanes to build many such Citties as *Enoch*, be the capacite answering to what other of the world fouer: for in what age of *Cains* life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whole times, and the times of this issue *Moses* had the least care. And as it was said of *Cain*, that he built a Cittie: so was it said of *Noah*, that his three sonnes peopled all the world; but in both the proccesse of time required to be vnderstood: which aduise seeing *Moses* vscth where the space lesse requireth it, as knowing that hee write the Scriptures to reasonable men, we may easily vnderstand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the birth of *Abel*, and oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort; *Fuit autem post dies multos or a fine dierum* (that is) in proccesse of time it came to passe that *CAIN* brought an oblation. And therefore it is in like sort to be vnderstood of *Cain*, that many yeares fore-gone, and when his people were increased he built the Cittie of *Enoch* or *Enoch*.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, so of *Salomon*, that he built the Temple of *Hiersusalem*; yet it is well knowne of *Salomon*; that he employed in that worke 150000. labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selues to say, The King inuaded; when he caused an inualion to be made: and he built, when he commanded such a building. And therefore seeing we finde, that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cains* issues, it is not to be marualed at, why he also passeth ouer in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this manner: *CAIN also knew his wife, who conceived and bare HENOCK, and he built a Cittie, and called the name of the Cittie after the name of his sonne HENOCK. And to HENOCK was borne IRAD, and IRAD begat MEHVIAEL, and MEHVIAEL begat METHVSAAEL, and METHVSAAEL LAMECH.*

Now of *Seth*, *Moses* writeth ffire otherwise, and in this manner. *And Seth lived 105. yeares, and begat ENOCH, and SETH lived after he begat ENOCH 807. yeares, and begat SONNES and DAUGHTERS: so as all the daies of SETH were 912. yeares, and he died:* as for the yeares and times of the wicked they were not numbered, in libro vniuersitatis, saith *Cyril*. But in *Seth* was the Church of God established, from whom *Christ* descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke *Moses*

ses walked in, and finished it with care, passing ouer the reprobate generation (as afore said.) Of the line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moses* remembreth but eight generations, reckoning *Adam* for one, and of the line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* also therein, as followeth:

¶ I. ADAM.

- |                                                        |                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 2. <i>Cain.</i>                                        | 2. <i>Seth.</i>        |
| 3. <i>Enoch.</i>                                       | 3. <i>Enosh.</i>       |
| 4. <i>Irada.</i>                                       | 4. <i>Cainan.</i>      |
| 5. <i>Mahuiel.</i>                                     | 5. <i>Mahaleel.</i>    |
| 6. <i>Mathusael.</i>                                   | 6. <i>Irada.</i>       |
| 7. <i>Lamech</i> , who by <i>Ada</i> had               | 7. <i>Henoch.</i>      |
| 8. <i>Tubal</i> and <i>Tubal</i> , and by <i>Silla</i> | 8. <i>Mathusalem.</i>  |
| <i>Tubalcain</i> , and <i>Neema.</i>                   | 9. <i>Lamech</i> , and |
|                                                        | 10. <i>Noah.</i>       |

These be the generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Iosephus* giueth vnto *Lamech* three score and fowerteen Sonnes and Daughters, by his two wiues *Ada*, and *Silla*: and to these three sonnes of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth 20 the inuention of Palkorage, of Musicke, and the working in metall; for it seemeth that *Tubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were vntamed, and brought them into herds and droues: *Tubal* inuented Musicke, and *Tubalcain* the working in bras and yron: the one being addicted to husbandrie, the other was Mechanicall, the third giuen to idleness and pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees of Sheep-herds, handy-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the issues of *Seth* began the seruices of God, *Divinitie*, Prophecie, and *Astronomic*: the children of the one beheld the Heauens, the other the Earth.

§. IIII.

Of the diuersities in the ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their children.



Second scruple hath bene made, How it came to passe that the *Patriarchs* begat their children at so diuers ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at seuentie yeares, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at three score and fise yeares, whereas *Irada* begat not any of his vntill he was 162. yeares old: *Mathusalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. yeares. Now this difference hath bene the more enforced, because it cannot be coniectured, that either *Irada*, *Mathusalem*, or *Lamech* abstained from marriage out of the religion of abstinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular sanctities, begat children before he was three score and ten yeares old.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the generations before the flood precisely, according to the first begotten and eldest sonnes of the *Patriarchs*, but he drew downe the line of *Noah* from *Seth* and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Ancestors were they elder or younger as he found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldest of *Irada*, nor *Lamech* the first borne of *Mathusalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing knowne to the contrary, but that *Noah* might haue had many sonnes before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, though these three were only named, and furiuing, and which by God were referred to be 50 the Fathers of mankind after the flood; and therefore when we finde *Mahaleel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at three score and ten yeares who was the first sonne of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Mathusalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. yeare of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Moses* reiecteth all the other sonnes of *Mathusalem* but *Lamech* only, because he was the Father of *Noah* as afore said.

forefaid. Of this *St. Auguftine* hath fomewhat elfe in his 20. and 21. Chapters, *De Cinitate Dei.*

But as *Mofes* counted the generations of the firft age, and fo to *Abraham*, and the children of the promife after him, fo doth *St. Matthew* recite the Genealogie of *Chrift*, not by the eldeft fonnes, but from thofe whom God had choſen and bleſſed, without reſpect of the firft borne, who haue hereby the prerogative in Eftates, worldly and tranſitorie only; and therefore the *Euangelift* nameth *Iſaac*, and not *Iſmael*, though *Iſmael* were firſt in time: fo doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Eſau* the elder; neither is *Chrift* deriued from any of the three eldeſt *Patriarchs*, *Reuben*, *Simcon*, or *Leui*, but from *Iuda* a fourth brother, and fo from *Dauid* a younger ſonne of *Ieſus*; 10 and laſtly we finde, that the Kingdom it ſelfe of *Iuda* was not giuen to the Heire in nature, but to the Heire of grace, namely *Salomon*.

¶ V.

Of the long liues of the Patriarchs: and ſome of late memorie.



He third obiection is, that the great difference of yeares betweene thoſe of the firſt age, whereof ſome of them had well neare ſene a thouſand yeares, makes it diſputable, whether the account of times were of the ſame meſure as in after-ages, ſeing that ſoone after the flood men liued not a third part of that time, and in ſucceeding ages and to this day not the tenth.

They that haue hereon reſolued that thoſe yeares were but *Lunarie* yeares, (to wit) of a Moneth or thereabouts, or *Egyptian* yeares, are eaſily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enoſh* in the year of his life 105, if thoſe yeares bee taken but for Moneths, then had *Enoſh* liued but eight yeares and one Moneth when he begat *Enoſh*; and if the time of *Enoſh* haue the ſame allowance, when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enoſh* at that time haue bene but ſix yeares and fortie eight weekes old; and ſo it may be gathered of the reſt; excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kinde, as were the trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and ſeede. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to giue an abilitie of generation at 6. 7. or 8. yeares, agreeth with the ſhort liues of the *Pigmies*, and not with the conſtitutions of our firſt Fathers, who being deſcended from *Adam*, the workmanſhip of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the ſtrong youth of the world, had length of daies and abilitie of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the *Lunarie* yeares, then there would follow this extremitie, that thoſe which liued longeſt, and vpwards of nine hundred yeares, had by that account but the time of foure ſcore and ten and odde yeares, which were not only leſſe by farre then the *Patriarchs* liued after the flood, but ſhort of many mens liues in this decrepit age of the world, wherein many excede foure ſcore, and ſome hundred yeares. Further (if neede be) to diſproue this reckoning, whereas it is written *Gen. 25.* That *Abraham* died in a good age, an old man, and of great yeares: all which (if the former account were of *Lunarie* yeares) makes but ſeuentene and an halfe of our yeares.

And if we ſecke for a cauſe of this long life in nature, then is it reaſonable, that the firſt man, created in higheſt perfection, ſhould alſo beget children of equall ſtrength or little differing: for of the firſt and pureſt ſeede there muſt of neceſſitie ſpring vp the faireſt and fruitfullſt Plants. Secondly, the earth it ſelfe was then much leſſe corrupt, which yielded her increaſe, and brought forth fruit and foode for man, without any ſuch mixture of harmefull qualitie, as ſince that time the curſe of God for the crueltie of mans heart brought on it and mankind: Neither had the waters of the flood infuſed ſuch an impuritie, as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Hearbes, and fruits vpon the earth receiued a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things vnder the Sunne haue one time of ſtrength, and another

of weakeneſſe, a youth and beautie, and then age and deformitie: ſo Time it ſelfe (vnder the deathfull ſhade of whoſe wings all things decay and wither) hath waſted and worne out that liuely vertue of Nature in Man, and Beaſts, and Plants; yea the Heauens themſelues being of a moſt pure and cleaſed matter ſhall waxe old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferior Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receiue operative vertue from the ſuperiour.

But beſides the old age of the world, how ſure doth our education and ſimplicie of liuing differ from that old time? the tender bringing vp of children, firſt fedde and nourished with the milke of a ſtrange Dugge; an vnaturall curioſitie hauing taught all women (but the begger) to finde out Nurſes, which neceſſitie only ought to commend vnto them: The hallow marriages in tender yeares, wherein Nature being but yet greene and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her ſelfe hath not yet any roote ſufficient to maintaine her owne toppes; and ſuch halfe-ripe feedes (for the moſt part) in their growing vp wither in the budde, and waxe old euen in their infancie. But about all things the exceeding luxurioſitie of this gluttonous age, wherein we preſſe nature with ouerwaightie burdens, and finding her ſtrength defectiue we take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of ſtrong waters, hot ſpices, and prouoking ſauces; of which *Lucan* hath theſe elegant Verſes:

O prodigærum

*Luxuries, nunquam paruo contenta paratu:*

*Et quaſitorum terra pelagoſq; ciborum*

*Ambitiſq; fames, & tanta gloria menſæ,*

*Diſcite quàm paruo liceat producere vitam:*

*Et quantum Natura petat.*

*Non auro myrrhæque bibunt: ſed gurgite puro.*

*Vita redit: ſatis eſt populus fluuijſq; Cereſq;.*

O waſtfull Riot, neuer vvell content  
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious  
Of cates by land and ſea farre fetch and ſent;  
Vaine glorie of a table ſumptuous,  
Learne vvith how little life may be preferred.  
In Gold and Myrrhe they neede not to carrouk;  
But vvith the brooke the peoples thirſt is ſured:  
Who fedde vvith bread and vvater are not ſterued.

The *Egyptians* affirme, that the longeſt time of mans life is a hundred yeares, becauſe the heart in a perfect bodie vvaxeth and groweth to ſtrength ſiftie yeares, and afterwards by the ſame degree deciaeth and vvithereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philoſophie, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twentie yeares and *Beroſus* to a hundred and ſcouteen yeares. Theſe opinions *Plinie* repeateth and reprocheth, producing many examples to the contrarie. In the laſt taxation, number and renew of the eighth Region of *Italie*, there vvere found in the roll (ſaith *Plinie*) foure and ſiftie perſons of an hundred yeares of age: ſcuen and ſiftie of an hundred and ten; two, of an hundred and ſiue and twentie; foure, of an hundred and thirtie; as many that vvere hundred and ſiue and thirtie, or hundred and ſcuen and thirtie yeares old; and laſt of all three men of an hundred and fortie: and this ſearch was made in the times of *Vepaſian* the Father and the Sonne.

The ſimple diet and temperate life of the *Eſſians* gaue them long account of many yeares: ſo did it to the Secretaries of *Egyptian* ceremonies, to the *Perſians*, *Arabians*, and *Indian Brachmans*. The Greeks affirme out of *Homer*, that *Nekuſtor* liued three ages, and *Tireſius* ſixe, *Sybilla* three hundred yeares, *Endymion* of the leſſe *Aſia*



Hebr. 11. 5.

denie; how they were deliuered to posteritie I know not, whether by the *Iewes Cabals*, or by what other means, the same is but mans coniecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the heavens, and of the natures and coniunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to some of his sonnes, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had scene and might preferue this booke. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly inuented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath bene said before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* liued with *Methusalem*, who liued with *Adam*, and *Abraham* liued with *Noah*, it is not strange (I say) to conceiue how *Moses* 19 came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* and Tradition, had the vndoubted word of God neede of any other prooffe then selfe-authoritie.

## §. VII.

Of the men of renowne before the flood.

**N**OW let vs consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seuen descents of *Cains* children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being giuen by God in stead of *Abel*; and of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to professe Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publike. For although *Adam* instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creatour, as appeared by the sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enosh* men beganne publicly to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they serued and praised God by Communion and in publike manner, or calling vpon the name of the Lord, and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the sonne of *Seth* to the time of *Henoch* the sonne of *Iared* there is nothing remembered by *Moses*, but their owne births, the births of their sonnes, the length of their liues, and deaths. But of *Henoch* it is written, *that he walked with God, and he was no more scene*: for God tooke him away. By that, *that he walked with God*, was meant, that he was a iust and vpright man, and that he feared, loued, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* vseth of *Noah*. *NOAH was a iust and vpright man in his time, and NOAH walked with God*. The Sequence conuert it, *ENOCH placuit Deo: HENOCHE pleased God*. And although *Aben-Ezra* and others vnderstand this place, (*tulit eum Deus: scilicet, mortuus est, God tooke him away*) that is, he died, which (indeede) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tooke him away, when he died; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh betwene the pietie of *Henoch* and the rest of the *Patriarchs*, and by omitting the word (death) which he yseth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Henoch* was not disloosed as the rest. For to all the rest of the *Patriarchs*, *Moses* vseth these wordes, *And he died*; but of *Henoch* he spake otherwise, saying only, *he was missing, or he was not scene*. *Etenim inueniebatur* (saith the Epistle to the Hebrewes) *quia Deus eum transiulit, And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away*. In the same place it is expressly added, that *he saw not death*.

1. Cor. 15. 51.

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the same kinde of changing, which *St. Paul* promisseth when he saith, that *when the end shall come, we shall not all die, but all shall be changed*, I leaue it to the learned Diuines.

Gen. 5. 29.

After *Henoch*, *Moses* passeth ouer to *Methusalem* and *Lamech*, remembering (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: sauing that *Lamech* prophesied of his sonne *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort vs concerning our worke, and sorrow of our 50 hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed*. Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply, then of any of the rest of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his familie) preferred, because he was an vpright man in his time, and feared God.

But

But of the warre, peace, gouernement, and pollicie of these strong and mightie men, so able both in bodie and wit, there is no memorie remaining: whose Stories if they had bene preferred, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the world, there could nothing of more delight haue bene left to posteritie. For the exceeding long liues of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wits had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeares) how much of necessity must the same adde of wisdom and vndertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatsoever can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old age of the world, when we no sooner beginne to know, but we beginne to die; according to *Hippocrates*. 10 *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus praecepti, (which is) Life is short, Art is long, and Time is* *Aspori* heading. And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*. *These were mighty men, Gen. 5. 41 which in old time were men of renowne*. But these men of renowne (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of bodie and crueltie of minde) trusted so much to their owne abilities, as they forgot altogether the pietie of *Seth*, and the waies wherein *Henoch* walked: for all the imaginations of their hearts were euill, only 15 *euill, and continually euill*. And this wickednesse was nor only found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then vniuersall, when the children and sonnes of God, (or of the godly) were corrupted and misled by their idolatrous wiues, the Daughters of *Cain*, or 20 of those other men louing themselves and the world only.

That these *sonnes of God* were Angels, which being taken with the beautie of women accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* mislead by *Iosephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers haue taken great aduantage, and haue troubled themselves with large answers and very needlesse: the question being vncapable of dispute; especially since *St. Chrysostome* and *St. Augustine* haue answered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth euery where appeare in the Scripture; and on the contrarie, to thinke that Angels, who (as *Christ* 30 witnesse) behold the face of God, (that is) alwaies attend his commandements, should after a separation from the rest which fell with *Lucifer* forsake the glorious presence of their Creatour, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrarie both to nature and grace, were more then madnesse to imagine.

## §. VIII.

That the Giants by *Moses* so called were indeede men of huge bodies: as also diuers in latter times.

**I**F these Giants which *Moses* calleth mightie men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall then the bodies of *Nimrod* or *Hercules*) hath written a large discourse, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and strained his braines to proue, that there were neuer any such men: his reasons (whosoever desires to looke time) he may finde them in the Treatises before named. It is true that *Cyrius* reproues the *Gracian* Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirme shamelesly, That the Giants haue in elder times not only cast vp mountaines vpon mountaines, but remoued 50 *Islands* out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that inuention of casting vp hills, and making warre with the Gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the storie of *Nimrod*, as before remembered; and euen out of this Scripture, That the Sonnes of God saw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*, That Giants were the sonnes of the Heauen and the Earth; meaning by the Heauens the sonnes of God, and by the

the Earth the daughters of men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *Iohn Cassian* (who hath written a wittie discourse of this subiect) thus changed into Latine.

*Nomine caelestes illos dixere Gigantes  
Orit quod terræ fuerint & sanguine celi.*

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, O heauen, they came,  
Whome thereupon the Gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and selfe-belceuing men dispute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceiue that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there haue beene in all times since? Seeing the Scriptures auow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlatiue straining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was giuen to oppressours and Tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them oppressours because they were Giants, and therefore had abilitie to oppress, then say, That they were called Giants onely, because oppressours. For first *Moses* himselfe calleth them mightie men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards, men of renowne, (that is) of great vnder-taking and aduenturous action. And if the same stature of body, and abilitie had not bene found among diuers Nations after the generall flood, then might this place of *Moses* haue more willingly hearkned to a dispute, and yeelded to interpretation.

But besides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will reserve to accompanie the Giants of *Albion* in the Storie of *Britanie*) the Scriptures doe clearly and without all allegorical construction auow, That, besides *Nimrod*, there were found of these Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Isaia*, and of *Dauid*; namely the *Rephaims* in *Asteroth*; the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims* in *Han*, and of *Emims*, which dwelt anciently in the land of *Moab*: whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the *Anakims*, which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they also were taken for Giants as the *Anakims*: Likewise where *Moses* speaketh of the land of *Ammon*, he vseth these words. *That also was taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein aforetimes: and, whome the Ammonites call Zanzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.* And these Giants called *Rephaims* in *Asteroth* and *Karnaim*, and the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims*, *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* ouerthrew, assisted by other Kings his associates. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites* men of Giant-like stature, whome he compareth to the Cedar, and whose strength to the Oakes; and the Prophet *Baruch*, *These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in warre.* Particularly it is written of *Og*, King of *Basan*, that his bedde of yron was nine cubits long, and four cubits broad: for only *Og* King of *Basan* remained of the remnants of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdom of *Basan*, four hundred yeares after the expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Morouer those discouersers and searchers of the Land of promise (sent by *Moses* from *Cadesbarre* in *Paran*) made report at their returne of the great stature of those people in generall, and especially of the sonnes of *Anak*, in these wordes. *All the people which we saw in it are men of great stature: for there we saw Giants, the sonnes of Anak, which come of the Giants, so that we seemed in our sights like grassie-hoppers, and so we were in their sight,* (that is) the searchers found in their owne iudgements a meruallous difference betweene the *Anakims* and themselves: in so much that the *Israelites* were so stricken with feare, as they rather sought and desired to returne againe into *Egypt*, and were more willing to endure their former slaueerie, then to fall by the strokes of those fearful Nations. Furthermore the Scriptures put vs out of doubt, that *Goliath* the *Philistine* of *Gath* was a Giant of sixe cubits and a spanne long: the armour which he wore waighed five thousand shickles of brasse: the shaft of his spear

was like a weauers beame, and his speare head waighed fixe hundred shickles of yron. Also in *Sammel* there is mention of another *Goliath* surnamed *Gethur*, because he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants; of which the first was slaine by *Iehonathan*, *Dauid* Nephew, who had twelue fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by sixes, euen foure and twentie.

Also that *Sampson* was of surpassing strength no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had bene a Kidde; and after slew thirtie of the *Philistines*, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a jawbone of an Ass: And lastly he tooke the gates of *Azazah*, and the two posts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them vpon his shoulders, and carried them to the toppe of the Mountaine before *Ebron*. If then it be approved by euery iudgement, that both Nature and the Heauens waxe old, and that the great age of time hath (with it selfe) infiebled and almost worne out the vertue of all things, then I say, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her young ones more strong and beautifull then it did in after-ages: so also those Giants, those mightie men, and men of renowne as farre exceeded the proportion, nature and strength of those Giants remembered by *Moses* of his owne time, and after him their successours, as the ordinarie proportion of all men in generall, soone after the flood and in times farre off, exceeded the buikes and bodies of men which are now borne in the withered quarter and Winter of the world: If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newnesse of the world.

But the wickednesse (especially in crueltie and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the flood gaue end to all flesh, but to the iust *Noah* and his familie. And God repented him that he had made man, which *S. Augustine* thus expoundeth: *Neque enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui panitit, cuius est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa presentia. Sed si non statim Scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiaris insinuat omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consilium: ut & perterreat superbie, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & dat intelligentes, God (saith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done: (as men use to doe) but if the Scripture did not use those wordes or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it selfe familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, stirre up the negligent, exercise the searchers of truth, and nourish those that vnderstand.*

## CHAP. VI.

*Of idolatrons corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length  
vanishing in the world : and of the Reliques of Truth  
touching these ancient times, obscurely ap-  
pearing in fables and old  
Legends.*

## p. I.

*That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ancient truth.*



**H**ERE before we proceede any further, the occasion of-  
fereth it selfe for vs to consider, how the Greekes and  
other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inuentions, 10  
and by breaking into parts the Storie of the Creation,  
and by deliuering it ouer in a mysticall sense, wrapping  
it vp mixed with other their owne trumperie, haue  
sought to obscure the truth thereof; and haue hoped,  
that after-ages, being thereby brought into many  
doubts, might receiue those intermixt discourses of  
God and Nature for the inuentions of Poets and Phi-  
losophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolne  
out of the bookes of God. But as a skilfull and learned *Chymist* can aswell by sepa-  
ration of visible elements draw helpfull medicines out of poyson, as poyson out of 20  
the most healthfull hearbs and plants (all things hauing in themselves both life and  
death) so, contrarie to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those which  
seeker after God and Truth finde out euery where, and in all the ancient Poets and  
Philosophers, the Storie of the first Age, with all the workes and maruailes thereof,  
amply and liuely exprest.

## p. II.

*That the corruptions themselves were very ancient : as in the familie of Noah,  
and in the old Egyptians.*



**B**UT this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in  
Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one hauing erred but once, the  
other euery) as concerning mankind it tooke such effect, that thereby  
(the liberall grace of God being withdrawne) all the posteritie of our  
first Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, suffering a  
perpetuall Eclipse of spirituall light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such  
imperfection and harmefull qualitie, as the waters of the generall flood could not so  
wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very  
generation and nature of mankind. Yea, euen among the few sonnes of *Noah* there  
were found strong effects of the former poyson. For as the children of *Sem* did inhe-  
rit the vertues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the sonnes of *Cham* did possesse the vices  
of the sonnes of *Cain*, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the *Chal-*  
*deans* beganne soone after the flood to ascribe diuine power and honour to the crea-  
ture,

ture, which was only due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and  
then the fire. So the *Egyptians* and *Phanicians* did not only learne to leaue the true  
God, but created twelue seuerall Gods, and diuine powers, whom they worshipped;  
and vnto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* saith, *duodecim Deo-*  
*rum nomina primos Aegyptios in usu habuisse, atque Græcos ab illis cepisse mutatos, cosq;*  
*prius aras, & imagines, & templa dijs suis erexisse.* The *Egyptians* (saith he) first deu-  
ised the names of the twelue Gods, which the *Greekes* receiued from them, who first erected  
vnto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples for the Gods.

## p. III.

*That in proceesse of time these lesser errors drew on greater : as ap-  
peareth in the grosse superstitions of the  
Egyptians.*



**B**UT as men once fallen away from vndoubted truth, doe then after  
wander for euermore in vices vnknewe, and daylie trauaile towards  
their eternall perdition : so did these grosse and blinde Idolaters euery  
age after other descend lower and lower, and shrinke and slide downe-  
wards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not  
thereby erre in worshipping mortall men only, but they gaue diuine reuerence, and  
had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowles, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayre,  
Fire, to the Morning, to the Euening, to Plants, Trees and Rootes, to Passions and  
Affections of the minde, to Palenefie, Sicknesse, Sorrowes, yea to the most vnwor-  
thy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemie *Rhodus Anaxandrides* de-  
rideth in this manner.

*Bonem colis, ego Deis mactō bonem.*

*Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas : ego*

*Obsoniorum credidi suauissimum.*

*Carnes suillas tu canes, et gaudeo*

*Hijis maxime : canem colis, quem verbero*

*Edentem ubi deprehendo forte obsonium.*

I sacrifice to God the Beeffe, which you adore.  
I broile the *Egyptian* Eccles, which you (as God) implore:  
You feare to eate the flesh of Swine, I finde it sweet.  
You worship Dogs, to beate them I thinke meete,  
When they my store deuoure.

## And in this manner I VVENAL.

*Porrum aut cape nefas violare aut frangere morsu :*

*O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis*

*Numina !*

*Sat. 15. 3. 9.*

The *Egyptians* thinke it sinne to roote vp, or to bite  
Their Leekes or Onyons, which they serue with holy rite :  
O happie Nations, which of their owne sowing  
Haue store of Gods in euery garden growing.

## §. II. III.

That from the reliques of ancient records among the Egyptians and others, the first  
Idols and fables were invented: and that the first IUPITER was  
CAIN, VULCAN, TYBALCAIN, &c.

**B**Vt in so great a confusion of vanities, where among the Heathens  
themselves there is no agreement or certaintie, it was hard to find out  
from what example the beginnings of these inuentions were borrowed  
or after what ancient patternne they erected their building, were it not  
certaine, that the Egyptians had knowledge of the first Age, and of  
what foucer was done therein, partly from some inscriptions vpon stone or mettall  
remaining after the flood, and partly from Mizraim the sonne of Cham, who had  
learnt the same of Cham, and Cham of his father Noah. For all that the Egyptians  
write of their ancient Kings and date of times cannot be faied. And though other  
Nations after them had by imitation their Iupiters also, their Saturnes, Vulcans, and  
Mercuries with the rest which St. Augustine out of Varro; Eusebius out of many pro-  
phane Historians; Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Arnobius, and many more haue obserued,  
to wit, the Phœnicians, Phrygians, Cretians, Greekes, and other Nations; yet was Cain  
the sonne of Adam (as some very learned men conceiue) called and reputed for the  
first and ancient Iupiter; and Adam for the first Saturne: for Iupiter was said to haue  
inuented the founding of Cities; and the first Citie of the world was built by Cain,  
which he called Enoch, of whom were the Enochij before remembred. And so much  
may be gathered out of Plato in Protagoras, which also Higinius in his 275. chapter  
confirmeth. For besides that, many Cities were founded by diuers men, *Tamen  
primam latissimam à primo et antiquissimo Ioue edificatam. yet the first and largest was built  
by the first and most ancient IUPITER*, seated in the East parts, or in India, according to  
that of Moses: And Cain dwelt towards the East side of Eden &c. where also the Eno-  
chij were found after the flood. And therefore was Iupiter by the Athenians called  
Polieus, a Founder of Cities, and Herceios, an Incloser or strengthener of Cities; (say  
Phœnicians and Pausanias) and that to Iupiter Herceios there were in very many places  
Altars and Temples erected. And that there were Cities built before the flood.  
Plato also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soone after man-  
kind began to increase, they built many Cities; which as his meaning he deliuereth  
in termes, in his third booke of Lawes: for hee saith, that Cities were built an  
exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great flood.

This first Iupiter, of the Ethnickes was then the same Cain, the sonne of Adam,  
who marrying his owne sister (as also Iupiter is said to haue done) inhabited the  
East, where Stephanus de urbibus placeth the Citie Henochia. And besides this Citie  
of Henoch, Philo Iudeus conceiueh that Cain built fixe others, as Maich, Jared, Tebe,  
Iesca, Selet, and Gebat: but where Philo had this I know not. Now as Cain was the first  
Iupiter, and from whom also the Ethnickes had the inuention of sacrifice: so were  
Iubal, Tubal, and Tubalcain (inuentors of pastorage, smiths-craft, and musick) the same,  
which were called by the ancient prophane writers Mercurius, Vulcan, and Apollo;  
and as there is a likelihood of name betwene Tubalcain and Vulcan: so doth Augu-  
stine expound the name of Noëma or Naamath, the sister of Tubalcain, to signifie Pe-  
nitha, or beautifull Voluptas, or pleasure; as the wife of Vulcan is said to be Venus,  
the Lady of pleasure and beautie. And as Adam was the ancient and first Saturne,  
Cain the diuiding Iupiter, Eua Rheia, and Noëma or Naamath the first Venus: so did the fable  
of the cucking of the world betwene the three brethren the sonnes of Saturne arise,  
from the true story of the diuiding of the earth betwene the three brethren the  
sonnes of Noah: so also was the fiction of those golden apples kept by a dragon ta-  
ken from the Serpent, which tempted Eua: so was Paradise it selfe transported out  
of Asia into Africa, and made the garden of the Hesperides: the prophecies, that  
Christ

Aug. l. 19. c. 22.  
De Ciuit. Dei.  
Euseb. l. 1. Prep.  
Evang. c. 7. & l.  
2. c. 23.  
C. 13. de nat.  
Dionum.  
Arnob. 4. cont.  
Gent.

Gen. 4. 16.

Phœn. L. de na-  
tur. Deorum.  
Pausan. l. 4. §. 6.  
Joan. Protago.

Gen. 4. 20. 21. 22.

Eccl. l. 4. c. 27.

Christ should breake the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned  
the fables of Hercules killing the Serpent of Hesperides, and descending into Hell, and  
captiuating Cerberus: so out of the taking vp of Henoch by God was borrowed the  
conuention of their Heroes (the Inuentors of Religion and such artes as the life of  
man had profit by) into Iarres and heavenly signes, and (withall) that leauing of  
the world, and ascension of Astræus, of which Ouid,

*Vltima celsissim terras Assyæa reliquit*

Astræa last of heavenly wights the earth did leaue.

Ouid. Met. l. 8.

- 10 For although thereby the Ethnickes would vnderstand Iustice it selfe to haue  
faied, as it is a vertue abstract, and may be considered without a person; yet as it is  
vissual among the ancient Poets to describe vertues and vices by the persons of men  
and women as desire by Cupid, valour by Mars, beautie or luit by Venus, so  
doe they also the persons of men by like vertues and vices; and therefore by Iustice  
and Astræa, Enoch: the Iustice and pietie of Enoch being in the same manner ex-  
prest, as that of Noah was by Moses for Noah was said to be a iust man; And  
Noah walked with God. And of Enoch it is written, that he walked with God, and he  
was no more scene: for God tooke him away.
- 20 From this storie also of the first Age, and from that part where Moses remem-  
breth the Giants begotten by the sonnes of good men vpon the daughters of the  
wicked (whome Moses calleth mightie men, and men of renowne) did they steale  
those wondrous great actes of their ancient Kings, and powerful Giants; and againe  
their warre vnder taken against the Gods, from the building of the Tower of Babel  
by the Giant Nimrod, as St. Augustine termeth him. Which warre of their Gi-  
ants Cornelius Seuerus thus describeth.

Nat. Com. l. 2.

v. 1.

Gen. 7.

Gen. 5. 22. 24.

L. de Ciuit. Dei.

*Tentauræ (neas) olim detrudere mundo  
Sydera, captiuum Iouis transfere Gigantes:  
Imperium, & cuncto leges imponere cælo.*

30

The Giants did aduance their wicked hand  
Against the Starres, to thrust them headlong downe  
And robbing IOVE of his Imperiall crowne  
On conquered Heauens to lay their proude command.

- Whereby was meant that Nimrod purposed to raise the building of Babel to that  
height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any coniunction  
of the Starres, should burie them vnder the moysture of a second flood, but that by  
this building (if they had bene herein victorious) they would haue giuen the Law  
to Heauen it selfe. Also the making of leagues, peace and couenants among Hea-  
then nations and Kings, confirmed by sacrifice, whereof Virgil both in the eight and  
twelfth of his Æneides hath a touch, was as it seemeth borrowed from Moses, Exod.  
24. Who when he read the Booke of the couenant sprinkled the people with blood,  
We finde also many remembrances of Seth, the paternall Ancestor of Henoch and  
Noah: for Amenophis, the same King of Egypt, which reigned at such time as Moses  
carried thence the children of Israel, (as of late some learned men mistaking his time  
supposed) called his sonne and successeur Setho, of Seth, and of the same Seth (as  
many men of good iudgement haue graunted) were the Princes of Thraee called  
Scuthe, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memorie of  
Seth most manifestly preferred, that the Egyptians worshipped Seth, as their most  
ancient parent, and of the first tradition: in honour of whome they called a princi-  
pall Prouince Sethetica. We also find in Bithynia the Citie of Sethia, and others of  
the same name elsewhere. And sure from the Egyptians did the Grecians borrow,

Joseph. l. 3. cont.  
Igyptum.

Plut. in Iffid.

Strabo. l. 17.

this kind of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquitie preceeding their owne; and that they might not seeme to learne elsewhere, they gaue the same names to their owne Idoles which the Egyptians did to theirs.

§. V

Of the three chiefest IVPITERs; and the strange storie of the third.

**B**Vt of all those Armies of Iupiters remembred by the Ancients, Cicero maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other writers haue also done, who fought out, and laboured in their 10 originals.

The first was Iupiter, the sonne of *Ether* and *Dies*, so called, because the one had reference to his celestiall conditions (for *ether* is as much as shining or pure fire) the other discovered his naturall vertues, which daies and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to be the sonne of *Coelum* or Heauen, for the same former respect, and this Iupiter was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The third of whom all the Græcian fables were deuiled, was of *Crete* (now *Candia*) the sonne of *Saturne* and *Ops*. The name deriued from the Latine is taken of *stans* Pater, from the Greeke word *Zeus*, it signifieth life, but somewhat strayed. 20 *Boccos* in his genealogie of the Gods conceiue, that his name was borrowed from Iupiter the Planet; but whether that starr had such a name, before the same was giuen to men, I know not. Iupiter is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, aduenturous, liberall, mercifull, louing, and faithfull, (that is) giuing these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions might be called there after Iupiter; but howsoeuer they were, or were not with those vertues enriched, yet, by imitation, all Kings in the eldest times assumed those titles and surnames: great Princes affecting as high titles of honour and reputation in the world, (howsoeuer deserued) as the worthiest, that euer were, acquired by their well deseruings. *Ioues omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui*, The Ancients called all Kings IVPITERs as 30 TIZETTES in his *Varia historia* confirmeth: *Reges olim Ioues vocarunt omnes*: In old times all Nations called their Kings IVPITERs. But where this last and most remembred Iupiter was borne it is vncertaine. Some there are that make him of *Crete*: others, that he was but sent thither by his mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to be fostered and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his vnde: because it was conditioned betwene *Saturne* and *Titan*, that *Saturne* being a yonger brother, and raigning (for his owne life) by *Titan*s permission, he should put to death all his male children, least the *Titans* might be interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement because *Saturne* performed in his first borne, it is said that *Saturne* deuoured his owne children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine. 40

*Haud sit pinguior,  
Crudis sepulchrum quod sit ipse filij.*

SATVRNE to be the fatter is not knowne  
By being the graue and buriall of his owne.

This composition betwene *Titan* and *Saturne*, *Syllilla* also witnesseth in these, *Conceptis verbis*; *TITAN iurare coegit SATVRNUM, de se natum ne nutriat ullum, Quo possint regnare sensu post fata Nepotes.* 50

Things thus agreed: *TITAN* made *SATVRNE* sweare  
No Sonne to nourish; which by raigning might  
Vsurp the right of *TITAN*s lawfull Heire.

But

But *Opis*, the mother of *Iupiter*, being deliuered at once both of *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, conceived *Iupiter* (first called *Lyfania*) into *Crete*, as shee did afterwards his two brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where hee was brought vp in *Gnosus*, the chiefe Citie of that *Island*, by *Cressa* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof. 246. in 1. temp.

Others challenge him to be of *Thebes*, and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Messena*. The like contention is found among the Greekes touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme, that he was fed by honie-bees in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and skines into yellow; a reward well fitting such a God: others, that he was nourished by Beares: others, by Goats: and of all these the idle Greekes haue many prettie tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturne* had broken his faith, he set on him, and tooke him and his wife prisoners, whom *Iupiter* againe rescued and deliuered.

But lastly, the Father and the Sonne equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturne* being the lesse powerful fled into *Italie*, and left his Kingdomes in Greece to his sonne. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many vertues the name of *Iupiter* was giuen him; yet, after he was once sciled and became potent, he gaue himselfe ouer wholly to palliarize and adulterie, without all respect of honour, law, or religion. And it is reported by such, as doe ascribe the actions of many to one *Iupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, he was afterwards knowne to offend in the sinne of *Sodome* with *Ganimedes* and others; and did not only begin with incest, marrying his owne sister *Iuno*, but he rauished, betrayed, stole away, and tooke by strong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame, *Niohe*, *Laodemia*, and *Alemena* the wife of *Amphitryon*, by whom he had *Pelagius*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the mountaine *Taygetus* tooke name, with another sonne called *Saon*, of whom *Sauona*: by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Leda*, *Castor* & *Pellux*, *Helen* & *Clytemnestra*: by *Danaë* *Perseus*: by *Jordana* *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*, by *Protegenia* he had *Abdulus* the father of *Endymion*; and by *Io* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the Founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Lybia*, of whom that Countie tooke name, for so the Greekes afterward called *Africa*. He rauished *Aegina*, the daughter of *Aesopus*, and carried her into the *Island* *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Asacus*: by *Torthebia* he had *Archebius* and *Carbius*: by *Ora Colaxes*: he had also *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanum*, afterward *Ilium* and *Troy*. Hee begat the brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis* *Hiarbas*. Hee had besides these (if they belieue not their chiefe God) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inuents of Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that hee could not bee father to all these, who were borne in ages so farre differing. And of these his seuerall rauishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens 40 wiues, daughters and sonnes, buying of virgins, and the like came in all those ancient fables of his transformations into showers of gold, Eagles, Buis, birds, and beasts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of Græcian forgeries. And yet did not the Greekes and Romanes feare to entitle this monster, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his second booke *de natura Deorum* affirme, that hee deserued nothing lesse, and in his Oration *pro domo sua* reproareth *Clodius* for his incest, by the name of *Iupiter*. His buriall was in *Crete* (saith *Lucian*) *Cretenses non solum natum apud se & sepulchrum Iouem testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum eius ostendunt*. The *Cretians* or *Candians* doe not onely auow that *IVPITER* was borne and buried among them, but they shew his grave and sepulcher: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth, for in his time there remained the monuments of his tombe in the mountaine *Iafus*. This *Callimachus* in his hymnes also witnesseth, but as offended therat saith thus.

The *Cretians* euer liars were, they care not what they say:  
For they a tombe haue built for thee, O King, that liu' it away.

I 3

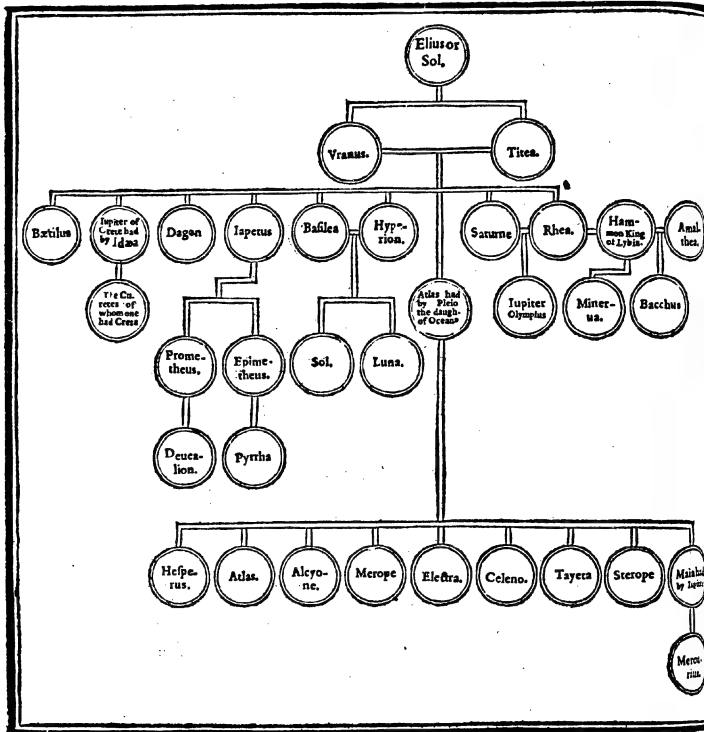
*Diadormis*

Diod. l. 2. c. 5.

*Diodorus Siculus* tells by way of report from the *Lybian* fables, confirmed (as he saith) by some *Greek* writers, that the original of these Gods was from the western parts of *Africk*. For there among the *Atlantida* reigned one *Vranus* (which significth heaven) called so for his great skill in *Astrologie*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many wives 45. sonnes; but by his principall wife *Tites* he had 17. sonnes and two daughters, all which were called after their mothers name the *Titanes*. Of *Tites* likewise it is said, that shee for her goodnesse was canonized as a Goddesse, being dead, and called the Earth, as her husband was stiled Heauen. But of all the children of *Tites*, her daughter *Basilis* (which name founding as *Queene* in English, shee is by the Latine translator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as far in vertues as in yeeres, was by generall consent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as *Queene* after her fathers death, being as yet a virgin. Shee tooke to husband her brother *Hyperion*, to whom shee bare a sonne and a daughter, called *Sun* and *Moone*. The beautie and towardlinesse of these children moued her brethren to enuie, and bred in them a feare of being excluded from the succession: wherefore they tooke the boy and drowned him in the riuer *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The losse of this child caused his sister to breake her owne neck; and the losse of both her children made the mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wilde fashion, in sight of all the people, before whom shee is said to haue vanished away. Ere shee 10 died, her sonne (as the fable hath it) signified vnto her in a dreame, that he and his sister by the prouidence of God should become immortal, that also the *Sun* and *Moone* should be called by their names, and that their death should be reuenged vpon the murderers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two Planets, and withall held her selfe as a Goddesse, and tearmed her the great mother, which name they had formerly giuen to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren whilst they were yong. *Hyperion* and his race being extinguished, the other sonnes of *Vranus* diuided the kingdome. Of these *Atlas* and *Saturne* were chiefe. *Atlas* reigned ouer the Countreys lying about the mountaines, which afterward bare his name; a iust and wise Prince, deeply skillfull in *Astrologie*, 30 and for inuention of the *Sphere* said to haue supported Heauen. He had many sonnes; but the principall of them called *Hesperus*, being of his fathers qualities and studies, was said to haue bene carried away by the winde, from the top of an high hill in the midit of his contemplations, and his name in honour of him, imposed by the people vpon the morning starre. The seuen daughters of *Atlas* were also said to haue bene excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be deified, or registered among the Worthies, brought forth children, answerable in qualitie to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seuen starres called *Pleides* tooke name. *Saturne* the brother of *Atlas* reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk* and *Italie*. *Iupiter* another of the sonnes of *Vranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had tenne sonnes which he called *Curetes*; he called that land after his wiues name *Idea*; in which he died, and was buried. But this *Iupiter* must not haue bene that great one, but vncle to the great *Iupiter*, if these fables of the *Lybians* were true. *Saturne* (as these *Lybians* tell the tale) was a great tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keepe his people in subiection. His sister *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of *Africk*. *Hammon* louing others as well as his wife, or better, got a daughter, called *Minerua*, neere to the riuer *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. Hee also begat on *Amalthea* a sonne called *Bacchus*, whom he caused secretly for feare of his life to be brought vp at *Nysa*, an island in the riuer *Triton*, vnder the tuition of his daughter *Minerua*, and certaine *Nymphes*. To *Amalthea* he gaue in reward a goodly 50 Countrey, that lay on the Sea coast, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the tale of *Amaltheas* plentifull horne, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these newes, she fled from her husband to her brother *Saturne*, who not onely entertained her as a sister, but tooke her to wife, and at her instigation made warre vpon

Hammon

*Hammon*, vanquished him by assistance of the *Titanes*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Iupiters* children before mentioned, held the land at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Crete* the Kings daughter, whom he tooke to wife, and had with her (women as may seeme being very gracious in those times) the kingdome. *Bacchus* was growne a proper yong man, had found out the making of wine, the art of planting trees, and many things else commodious for mankind, before the flight of his mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had happened, and that *Saturne* was coming against him with the *Titanes*; he leuied an Armie, to which the *Amazons* liuing not farr from 10 *Nysa*, added great forces, in loue of *Minerua*, who was entred into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerua* the women, they set forward against *Saturne*, met him, ouerthrew him, and taking many of the *Titanes* prisoners, returned to *Nysa*; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second expedition. In the second expedition he behaued himselfe so well, that he wanne the loue of all the people by whom he passed; inso- much that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturnes* rigorous gouernment, he was greatly strengthened, and the enimie as much enfeebled by daily reuoltes. Comming to the Cittie of *Hammon*, he wanne a battaile of *Saturne*, before the very wals: After which *Saturne* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, setting 20 the Towne on fire to despight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturne* had a yong sonne by *Rhea*, called *Iupiter*. This child *Bacchus* tooke with him in a great expedition that he made into the East countreys; and comming into *Aegypt*, he left this *Iupiter*, being then a boy, gouernour of the Countrey; but appointed vnto him as an Ouerseer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Iupiter* grew to be called *Olympius*. Whilst *Bacchus* traualled through all nations, as far as into *India*, dooing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titanes* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to warre vpon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*; with whom *Iupiter* from *Aegypt*, and his sister *Minerua*, together with the rest that afterwards were held 30 as Gods, ioining all their forces, went into *Crete*, ouerthrew the *Titanes*, chafed them, tooke, and slew them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Iupiter* the sonne of *Saturne* succeeding them, reigned Lord alone ouer all the world, hauing none of the *Titanes* left aliue, nor any other to disturbe him. Betweene this tale of the *Lybian* Gods, and the *Aegyptian* fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked images of some one true historie. For the expeditions of *Osiris*, and of *Bacchus*; the warres of the Giants in the one storie, of the *Titanes* in the other; the kingdome of *Aegypt* giuen by *Hercules* *Lybius* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Iupiter*, the rattles of *Isis*, and the Cymbals of *Basilis*, with many pettie circumstances, nearly enough resemble each other, howsoever not alike fitted to the right persons. *Sanchoiatio* (as *Engelbius* cites him) would haue all these to be *Phenicians*, 40 and is earnest in saying; that it is a true storie, and no Allegorie. Yet he makes it seeme the more allegoricall, by giuing to *Vranus* or Heauen for daughters, *Fate* and *Beautie*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* haue enough. To the genealogie he addes *Elus* or the *Sun*, as father of *Vranus*; and among the children of *Vranus*, *Tapetus*, *Betulus*, and *Dagon*, (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giuing withall to *Vranus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *Indigena*, and of *Ilus* to *Saturne*, but omitting *Iupiter* of *Crete*, The Pedegree of them is this.



## §. VI.

of CHAM, and other wicked ones, whereof some gat, some affected  
the name of Gods.



**F** Iupiter Belus, the sonne of Saturnus Babylonius, otherwise Nimrod, it seemeth that Cicero had not heard, (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembered : for long after these times were the Greeks but Salvages, if they seek no farther off for their Gods.

But the Egyptians, even after the flood, began (somewhat before this Chaldean Iupiter) to intitle Cham, the parent of their owne Noxram, Iupiter Chamman, or Hammon. For the Etymologie of this word (Hammon) which the Greeks deduce ab arenis, from the sandes, is ridiculous (saith Pencer) ; neither yet is his owne much better,

Pencer de G.  
gausl.

better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which signifieth heate : because the said Temple of *Iupiter Hammon* was seated in *Lybia*, where the ayre is exceeding hote and scorching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter *Iupiter* (among the Greekes and Romans the most renowned) it is certain that he was borne not long before the war of *Troy*, as by many of his sonnes is made manifest ; namely, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that age of *Priamus*, vnder whom, and with whom *Troy* was destroyed.

Now seeing that mortall men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortall among the Heathen ; it was not to be wondered at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and others sought to be numbered among them, who were as deformed monstres as the rest : For by what reason could the same *Deitie* be denied vnto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was giuen to *Venus* ; seeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as she was.

## §. VII.

That the wiser of the ancient Heathen had farre better  
opinions of God.

**B** Ut that euer *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, believed in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (ouer busily) haue mixed their owne inuentions with the Scriptures : for, in punishment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiodus* in Hell, where hee faired that they were perpetually stung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read ouer all the bookes of *Moses*, as by places stolne thence, almost word for word, may appeare ; of which *Iustine Martyr* remembereth many in that Treatise conuerted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though he dissembled in some things, for feare of the inquisition of the *Acrepagites*, yet St *Augustine* hath already answered for him (as before remembered) *Et mirifice ijs delectatus est, quæ de vno Deo tradita fuerant*, And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God, saith *Iustine Martyr*. Now howsoeuer *Lactantius* pleased to reprehend *Plato*, because (saith he) *Plato* sought knowledge from the Egyptians, and the Chaldeans, neglecting the Iewes, and the bookes of *Moses* : *Eusebius*, *Cyrrillus*, and *Origen*, finde reason to beleue the contrarie, thinking that from thence he tooke the grounds of all by him written of God, or fauouring of Diuinitie : and the same opinion had St *Ambrose* of *Pythagoras*.

But whether it were out of the same vanitie, which possesse all those learned Philosophers and Poets, that *Plato* also published (not vnder the right Authors names) those things which he had read in the Scriptures ; or fearing the seueritie of the *Acrepagites*, and the example of his Master *Socrates*, by them put to death by poison, I cannot iudge. *Iustine Martyr* (as it seemeth) ascribeth it wholly to *Plato's* feare, whose wordes among many other of the same effect, are these ; *PLATO MOSIS mentionem facere, ob id, quod vnum solumq; Deum docuerat, sibi apud Athenienses tutum non putauit, veritus Acrepagum*. *PLATO* fearing the *Acrepagites* thought it not safe for him among the Athenians to make mention of *MOSES*, that he taught that there is but one God. But for that Diuinitie which he hath written in *TIMEO* ; *id ipsam de Deo disseruit quod & MOSES, he discoursed and taught the same of God* (saith *Iustine Martyr*) which *MOSES* did. For where it pleased God by his Angell to answer *MOSES*, *Ego sum exciens (which is) I am ; and exciens misit me ad vos*. I am hath sent me vnto you, herein did *Plato* (saith *Iustine Martyr*) no otherwise differ then that *Moses* vsed the word (qui) and *Plato* the word quod : *MOSES enim qui exciuit (inquit) PLATO quod exciuit*. For *MOSES* saith, He who is ; *PLATO*, That which is. Now of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the difficultie either to conceiue, or expresse the same, he

Euseb. prep. e.  
ang. li. i.  
Cyril. cont. Ju.  
liæ.  
Origen. cont.  
Celsum.  
Ambros. ad Iren.  
p. 6. l. 3.

Acrepagus, or  
domus seu mons  
Martyr. 26. 73  
his hill his house  
wherein capitall  
matters  
were tried : so  
called at first :  
because Mars  
therein first  
pleaded his  
cause for the  
murder of Hu-  
lrothos.

Paulinus in Attie.  
Nat. Com. li. 3.  
p. 7.  
PLATO  
fals. stat. adm.  
gent. fol. 8.  
14. v. l. sup.  
Exod. 3. 14.

In Times,

he giue this testimonie: *Genitorum Vniuersitatis tam difficile est inuenire, quam inuentum impossibile digne profari, it is as hard to finde out the Creator of the Vniuersall, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speake of him worthily.* And what can be more agreeable to the Maieſtie of Gods nature, then this propertie by Plato acknowledged? *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa, God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is euill he is no cause at all: and againe, Charitas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum, The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the originall of all things.*

De Legib. 1. 10.

*Apuleius the Platonist. Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione sed etiam naturæ dignitate: Et nihil est Deo similis & gratius, quam vir animo perfectio bonus, The most high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignitie of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God then a man of a perfect heart.* *Thales* affirmed that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient, *quia nunquam esse cepit, because hee neuer had any beginning: Zeno*, that God beheld euen the thoughts of men: *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be careful in the actions of their life, because God was eury where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moses* storie of the creation, then this opinion and description of the worldes beginning in *Euripides*, Scholler of *Anaxagoras*?

Lactius.

*Cælum terraq; unius forma fuit:  
Sed cum fuissent abiuncta amplexu mutuo,  
Emergit omnis in lucem res progenita,  
Arbores, aues, ferae, quæq; affert mare,  
Genusq; mortalium.*

Heauen and Earth one forme did beare:  
But when disioyned once they were  
From mutuall embraces,  
All things to light appeared then,  
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men  
The still-remayning races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: so we finde the same excellent vnderstanding in *Orpheus*, who eury where exprest the infinite and sole power of one God, though hee vse the name of *Jupiter*, thereby to auoide the enuie and danger of the time; but that he could attribute those things to the Sonnes of men and mortal creatures, which he doth to this *Jupiter*, there is no man who hath euer heard of God, that can imagine.

*Æmina Deorum* (saith *Mirandula*) *quos ORPHEVS canit, non decipitium demonum, a quibus malum & non bonum promenit; sed naturalium virtutum diuinarumq; sunt nomina, The names of those Gods whom ORPHEVS doth sing, are not of deceiuing Demits, from whom euill comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of natural and diuine vertues.* Yea that he yet reacheth higher, and speake of God himselfe, this his instruction to *Musæus*, and the Hymne following teach vs. *Respicens verò ad diuinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum aduerte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi Regem. Vnus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse vero in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Antogenes.

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truly lend  
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,  
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one  
Begotten of himselfe, from whom is borne alone

All else; in which hee's still, nor could it ere befall  
A mortall eye to see him once, yet hee's all.

And againe the same Authour.

*IUPITER omnipotens, & primus, & ultimus idem:  
IUPITER est caput & medium: IOVIS omnia manus.  
IUPITER est fundamen humi & stellaris Olympi.  
IUPITER & mas est, & femina vestigia moris.  
Spiritus est cunctis, validus est IUPITER igitur.  
Et Pelagi radix, SOL, LVNA est IUPITER ipse.  
Rex, & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.  
Nam prius ocululis, magno post, numine, sacrum  
Cor referans bonus in dalcem dedit omnia lucem.*

10

The first of all is God, and the last is he.  
God is the head and midle, yea from him all things be;  
God is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie.  
He is the male and female too, shall neuer die.  
The spirit of all is God, the Sunne, the Moone, and what is higher,  
The King, th'originall of all, of all the end.  
For close in holie brest he all did comprehend,  
Whence all to blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

20

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the *Ægyptians*, *Grecians*, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leaue the Reader to those large and learned Collections of *Iustine Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Eugenius*, *Peucer*, *Pleſtus*, *Danæus*, and others. For *Cleantes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and properties. *Bonus, iustus, sanctus, seipsum possident, citilis, speciosus, optimus, seuerus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c. Good, iust, holy, possessing himselfe, praisable, beautifull, best, seuer, free, alwaies doing good, safe without feare, glorious, and selfe-charitie.* *Epicharmus* affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced euery nature, was only and euery where powerfull: agreeing with *Democritus*. *Rex omnium ipse solus, He is the only King of all Kings; and with Pindarus the Poet; Deus vnus, Pater, creator summus, atque optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diuersos secundum merita præbet, One God, the Father, the most high creator, and best artificer, who giueth to euery thing diuers proceedings according to their deserts. This God (saith ANTISTHENES) cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not else where knowne, Nisi in patria perenni, cuius imaginem nullam habes, Sæue only in that euerlasting countrey, whose image thou hast none at all. Hereof also XENOPHANES COLOPHONIUS.*

30

*Vnus Deus inter Deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis, There is one God among Gods and men most powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals; and XENOPHON, Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensq; quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui lucē suā omnia perfruat, God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mightie, as is manifest to all: but of what forme he is, it is manifest to none, save only to himselfe, who illuminateth all things with his owne light. Finally, Plato saith, Totius rerum naturæ causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, æternus animantium sopiator, æstidus mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neque tempore villo comprehensus, cogitabilis, nemini effabilis, God is the cause, ground, and originall of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soule, the eternal preseruer of liuing creatures, the continuall framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can expresse what he is.*

There-

Hieron. in Com.  
in Dan. in prae-  
cip.

Therefore was it said by St. Hierome, *Si enim cum tot Philosophorum reuoluas li-  
bros, necesse est ut in eis reperias aliquam partem visorum Dei, ut apud PLATONEM, fa-  
bricator em mundi, Deum: apud ZENONEM Stoicorum Principem, inferas & immorta-  
les animas, &c. If thou consider all the bookes of the Philosophers, thou canst not but finde  
in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in PLATO, God the creatour of the world: in  
ZENO Prince of the Stoicks, liell and immortal soules, &c. And this is certaine, that  
if we looke into the wisdom of all ages, wee shall finde that there neuer was man  
of solid vnderstanding or excellent iudgement: neuer any man whose minde the art  
of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward  
blinded; whose apprehensions are fober, and by a peniue inspection aduised; but  
that he hath found by an vnrerifiable necessitie, one true God, and euertlasting being,  
all for euer causing, and all for euer sustaining, which no man among the Heathen  
hath with more reuerence acknowledged, or more learnedly exprest, then that e-  
gyptian Hermes, howsoeuer it failed afterward in his posteritie: all being at length by  
deuillish pollicie of the Egyptian Priests purposely obscured; who inuented new  
Gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Deuill perswaded them) with  
vulgar capacities, and fittest to keepe in awe and order their common people.*

## §. VIII.

That Heathenisme and Iudaisme, after many wayes were as length about the same  
time vnder IVLIAN miraculously confounded.

**B**Ut all these are againe vanished: for the inventions of mortall men  
are no lesse mortall then themselves. The Fire, which the Chaldeans  
worshipped for a God, is crept into euery mans chimney, which  
the lacke of fewell staueth, water queneth, and want of aire suffoca-  
teth: *Iupiter* is no more vexed with *Iuno*s ielousies; Death hath per-  
swaded him to chastitie, and her to patience; and that Time which hath deuoured  
it selfe, hath also eaten vp both the bodies and images of him and his: yea, their  
starely Temples of stone and duredull Marble: The houses and sumptuous build-  
ings erected to *Baal*, can no where bee found vpon the earth; nor any monument  
of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phoenicia*,  
that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Lybia*, *Creta*, *Thessalia*, or elsewhere,  
that can aske counsaile or helpe from *Iupiter*: The great God *Pan* hath broken his  
Pipes, *Apolloes* Priests are become speechlesse; and the Trade of riddles in Ora-  
cles, with the Deuils telling mens fortunes therein, is taken vp by counterfait *Egyp-  
tians*, and censuring *Astrologers*.

But it was long ere the Deuill gaue way to these his ouerthrowes and disho-  
nours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delfos* (one of his chiefe Manions) was  
many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often  
enriched, repaired, and reedified againe, till by the hand of God himselfe it received  
the last and vtter subuersion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and ornaments  
therein by the *Eubean Pyrates*: Secondly, by the *Phlegians* vtterly sackt: Thirdly,  
by *Pyrhus* the Sonne of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Armie of *Xerxes*: Fifthly, by the  
Captaines of the *Phoenes*: Sixthly, by *Nero*, who carried thence five hundred brazen  
images: all which were new made, and therein againe set vp at the common  
charge. But whatsoeuer was gathered betwene the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*,  
the Christian Armie made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them;  
notwithstanding all this it was againe gloriously rebuilt, and so remained till such  
time as *Julian* the *Apostate* sent thither to know the successe of his *Parthian* enter-  
prise, at which time it was vtterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heauen; and  
the image of *Apollo* himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols therein molten downe and  
lost in the earth.

The

The like successe had the *Jewes* in the same *Julian* time, when by his permission  
they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of *Hierusalem*: for while they  
were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were ouerthrowne by an Earth-  
quake, and many thousands of the *Jewes* were ouerwhelmed with the ruines, and  
others slaine, and scattered by tempest and thundr: though *Am. Marcellinus* re-  
port it more fauourably for the *Jewes*, ascribing this to the nature of that element.  
For, saith he, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the Prouince of *Iudea*, being by *Julian* bu-  
sied in the reedifying of this Temple, flaming balls of fire issuing neare the founda-  
tion, and oft consuming the workemen, made the enterprise frustrate.

Am. Mar. 23;  
6. 1.

## §. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Deuill to maintaine his Kingdome.

**N**Ow the Deuill, because he cannot play vpon the open stage of this  
world (as in those dayes) and being fill as industrious as euer, findes  
it more for his aduantage to creepe into the mindes of men; and in-  
habiting in the Temples of their hearts, workes them to a more effec-  
tuall adoration of himselfe then euer. For whereas hee first taught  
them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead stones cut into faces of beasts, birds, and o-  
ther mixt Natures; hee now sets before them the high and shining Idoll of glorie,  
the all-commanding Image of bright Gold. Hee tels them that Truth is the God-  
desse of dangers and oppressions: that chastitie is the enemy of nature; and lastly,  
that as all vertue (in general) is without taste: so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth  
euery sense: for true wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, then in the ob-  
taining of power to oppress, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly de-  
lights. And if this *Arch-politician* finde in his Pupils any remorse; any feare or feel-  
ing of Gods future iudgement, hee perswades them that God hath so great neede of  
mens soules, that he will accept them at any time, and vpon any conditions: inter-  
rupting by his vigilant endeouours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by lay-  
ing those great blockes of rugged pouertie, and despised contempt in the narrow  
passage leading to his diuine presence. But as the minde of man hath two ports, the  
one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate  
and ouergrowne with grasse, by which enter our charitable thoughts and diuine  
contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly mi-  
serie passing by the one, worldly prosperitie by the other: at the entrance of the one  
we finde our sufferings and patience, to attend vs: (all which haue gone before vs to  
prepare our ioyes) at the other our cruelties, couetousnesse, licentiousnesse, iniustice,  
and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearefull and terrible sorrow) staying  
vs. And as the Deuill our most industrious enemy was euer most dili-  
gent: so is he now more laborious then euer: the long day of  
mankinde drawing fast towards an euening, and  
the worlds Tragedie and  
time neare at an  
end.

K

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.  
Of NOAH'S Flood.

## §. I.

Of Gods fore-warning : and some humane testimonies : and some doubting  
touching the truth of NOAH'S Flood.

10

Joseph. l. 1. c. 4.



F this destruction it pleased God to giue warning vn-  
to Noah: who (saith Josephus) fearing to perish among  
the rest, *secedens cum suis in aliam regionem migravit*;  
He departed with his children, and traualled into another  
Region. And of these Giants writeth in this manner, That  
they exceeded in all sorts of inhumane and vnnatural wic-  
kednesse, and that they were contemptores & religionis  
& Deorum, contempters of religion and of the Gods: a-  
mong which mightie men (saith Berofus) vnus erat  
qui Deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huius

nomen erat NOAH, There was one more wise and reuerencing the Gods then the rest,  
whose name was NOAH: who with his three sonnes Sem, Iaphet, and Cham, and  
with their wiues, and the wife of Noah, (namely Titea the great, Pandora, Noela, and  
Noegla) preferred themselves in the Arke. This Arke God commanded Noah to  
prepare: And God said vnto NOAH, make thee an Arke of pine trees: thou shalt make  
cabines in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within, and without, with pitch. For God made  
Noah to know that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graues of the rebbeli-  
ous and cruell generations were already fashioned in the cloudes, which foone after  
should swallow vp and couer all liuing creatures, which breathed in the aire: Noah  
and his familie excepted.

Gen. 6. 14.

U. 13.

x. c. l. in Prefate  
fallat relig.Joseph. ant. l. 1. c. 4.  
Euseb. de prep.  
l. 9. c. 4.

But this vniuersall graue of waters, and generall deluge hath not bene receiued  
by all: for diuine testimonies doe not perswade all naturall men to those things, to  
which their owne reason cannot reach: *dam oboluta in obscura veritate latet*, whilst  
the truth lyeth wrapped up in obscuritie. Many there are who haue disputed against  
the vniuersalitie of this ouerflowing, and haue iudged that this flood of Noah fell  
but on some particular places and Kingdomes: moued so to thinke, because in elder  
ages there haue bene many other floudes (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof  
Nicholaus Damascenus writeth in this manner, as his wordes are cited by Iosephus.  
Eit super Minyadum excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos con-  
fuentes sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in Arca deuictum in huius  
vertice hessisse, lignorumq; reliquias multo tempore conseruatas, qui fortasse is fuit, de quo  
etiam MOSES Iudaeorum Legislator scribit: thus saith this Authour. There is (saith  
he) about Minyada (or the Countrey of Minya) an exceeding high Mountaine in Ar-  
menia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many hauing fled thither were saued in  
the time of the deluge: and that one was carried in an Arke, and rested vpon the toppe of the  
mountaine, whereon there remained a long time after certaine peeces thereof; and this might  
be the same, of which MOSES the Law-giuer of the Iewes maketh mention. And of this  
opinion were the Thalrudists (saith Annus) that many Giants saued themselves  
vpon Mount Syon.

But Berofus (who after Moses was one of the most ancient, howsoever hee haue  
bene since deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with Moses  
as touching the generall flood, taking from thence the beginning of his Historie in these

these wordes. *Antequaquum cladem famosam, qua vniuersus perijt Orbis &c.* Before  
that famous destruction of Waters, by which the World vniuersall perished: witnessing  
withall, that Noah with his wife Titea, and his three sonnes with their wiues (in all  
eight persons) were onely saued.

## §. II.

Of the flood in the time of OGYGES: and that this was not  
NOAH'S flood.

10



Vt from the vanity of the Greekes, the corrupters of all truth (saith  
Lactantius) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiqui-  
tie, came the error first of all: who therein flattering themselves  
also, sought to perswade the world, that there was no flood preceded  
the flood of Ogyges, King of the Thebans in Boeotia, or rather of Attica;  
and therefore saith Rhodoginus Ogygium id appellat Poete, tanquam peruenit dixeris,  
ab Ogyge vetustissimo. The Poets gaue the name of OGYGIA to things exceeding an-  
cient, as of OGYGES the most ancient.

Rho. li. 15. c. 33.

But let Ogyges be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest, that he  
lived but in Jacobs time (though Eusebius makes him later, and in Moses time) and  
was borne 67. yeares after him. There is also an opinion, that Ogyges was Cadmus  
(and then was he saide later) as Rhodoginus in the ninth booke of his antiquities re-  
memb'reth: *sunt tamen qui in Aegypto regnasse autem hunc: unde sit CADMVS*  
*qui in Graeciam profectus Thebas condidit, aboue ingulate sic nuncupatas; quoniam Syra-*  
*rum lingua bos dicitur Thebe. There are (saith hee) who thinke that this OGYGES did*  
*raigne in Aegypt, whereby he should be CADMVS, who traueling into Greece built Thebes,*  
*so named of a beefe slane: because in the Syrian language a beefe is called Thebe.*

Euseb. de prep.  
c. 1. li. 10.  
c. 33.  
Ca. 33.

But this flood of Ogyges fell in the year of the world 3440. according to Euse-  
bius, who followed the account of the Septuagint: and the flood of Noah in the year  
2242. after the same account; and so there came 1200. yeares betwene these  
floods, wanting but two, though heerein Eusebius was much mistaken, and corrected  
this opinion in his Chronologie. Now although the very year and time of this ouer-  
flowing in Achaea, or rather Attica, be not precisely set downe, but that there is a  
great difference among writers, yet whosoever makes it most ancient, findes about  
500. yeares difference betwene that and the generall flood.

For Paulus Orosius affirms, that this tempest fell vpon the Athenians but 1040.  
yeares before Rome built. Bucholzerus saith it was 1043. elder then Rome; which  
was founded (according to the same Bucholzerus) in the worlds year 3219: though  
after the account which I follow (and whereof I will giue my reasons in the storie of  
40 Abraham) it was built in the worlds year 3280. Now the generall flood prece-  
ded the building of Rome (saith Bucholzerus) 1563. yeares: and the flood of Ogyges  
(as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by calic calculation, that (if he place Ogyges  
in his true age) the difference betwene these two floods must be 520. yeares, to  
which we allowing 60. more finde 580. And that this of Ogyges was not the same  
of Noah (except we call Noah Ogyges prius, as some doe) it appeares by this, that  
the flood of Ogyges then king of Attica or Ogygia, did not extend it selfe any further  
then the banks of Archipelago, or the Aegaeon Sea. For whereas Melas, Plinie, and  
Solinus witnesse, that the Citie of Ioppe in Iudaea was founded before the flood; and  
that (notwithstanding the waight of waters) there remained on certaine Altars  
50 of stone the title of the King, and of his brother Phineus, with many of the  
groundes of their religion: sure, it is no where found among prophane Historians  
nor in the Scriptures, that euer the flood of Ogyges spread it selfe ouer any part of Sy-  
ria, much lesse ouer all the earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of Attica  
about Athens, and that of Achaia in Peloponnesus, it is very probable. For it fec-  
meth

Xenophon. An-  
tiq. li. 3.  
Plin. li. 5.  
Solus 47.Melas li. 3.  
Plin. li. 5.  
Solus 47.  
Ioppe opidum  
antiquissimum  
orbe tota, vnde  
eare immenda-  
tionem terra-  
rum conditum.  
Salus. li. 10.

meth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed vp ( Cities seated on the North part of *Pelesponnesus* ) of which *Ouid*.

*Ouid. Metam.*  
li. 5. 303.

*Si quas in Helicon, & Bura, Achaidos urbes,  
Inuenies sub aquis.*

*Bura* and *Helice* on *Achaian* ground  
Are sought in vaine, but vnder sea are found.

*Nec. Com. li. i.*  
66. 8.

Of this flood of *Ogyges* was invented the fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona* the daughter of *Caeus*, the sonne of *Titan*, being beloued and forced by *Iupiter*, and by him gotten with childe, *Iuno* thereat enraged permitted her (as they say) no part of the earth to be deliuered on; and withall caused the monstrous serpent *Python* to follow and affright her, wherefoeuer she trauiiled, till at length arriving at the Ile of *Ortygia* she was there receiued: in which she was deliuered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twinned; whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his raigne) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the earth (beat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thick mists and fogges, that in *Attica*, and along the coasts of the *Aegean* sea, neither the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by night could pierce the ayer, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the ayer began to be cleare, and the people of *Ortygia* elyped the light of the Moone somewhat before day, and and in the same morning the Sunne also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moone, and *Apollo* the Sunne) they were reported to be borne in the Ile of *Ortygia* thereof afterwarde called *Delos*: which signifieth manifestation.

And surely it is not improbable, that the flood of *Ogyges*, being so great, as *Histories* haue reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayer sensibly discerned in those parts, and some vnusual face of the skies. *Varro* in his bookes *De gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by *S. Augusline*) reporteth out of *Cassor*, that so great a miracle happened in the starre of *Venus*, as neuer was scene before, nor in after times: For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out as *Adrastus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous *Mathematicians* affirmed in the time of *Ogyges*.

Now concerning the course of that or any other planet, I doe not remember, that I haue any where read, of so good *Astrologers* flourishing among the *Greekes*, or else where in those daies as were likely to make any calculation of the reuolutions of the Planets so exact, that it should neede no reformation. Of the colour and magnitudo. I see no reason why the difference found in the starre of *Venus* should be held miraculous; considering that lesser mists and fogges, than those which couered Greece with so long darkness doe familiarly present our senses, with as great alterations in the Sunne and Moone. That the figure should vary, questionlesse it was very strange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the Sunne beholds, being enlightened by him, the opposite halfe should remaine shadowed; whereby that Planet, would vnto our eyes, decrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to be horned, as the Moone doth seeme; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

*Galileus*, *Galileus*, a worthy *Astrologer* now liuing, who by the helpe of perspective glasses hath found in the starres many things vnkowne to the ancients, affirmeth so much to haue beene discovered in *Venus* by his late obseruations. Whether some waterie disposition of the aire might present as much to them that liued with *Ogyges* as *Galileus* hath scene through his instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discourse

courcie of a truth formerly vnkowne, doth rather conuince man of ignorance, then nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular flood of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of *S. Augusline*) accompanied with such vnusual (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturally) signes testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the flood of *Noah* which was generall and altogether miraculous, may seeme to haue had no other token, or foretelling, then the long preaching of *Noah* himselfe, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the flood came sodainly, and rooke them all away.

*Luke 17. 34.*

10

### §. III.

Of DEVCALIONS flood: and that this was not *NOAHs* flood: nor the *Vmbri* in *Italie* a remnant of any vnioerfull flood.



Second flood of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of *Deucalion* in *Thessalia*, of which *S. Augusline* out of *Varro*. *Hist. temporibus* (ut *VARRO* scribit) regnante *Atheniensibus* *CRANAOS*, (successore *CECROPIS* (ut autem nostri, *EVSEBIUS* & *HIERONYMUS*) adhuc eodem *CECROPE* permanente, diluuium fuit, quod appellatum est *Deucalionis*: (that is) In these times (as *VARRO* reporteth) *CRANVS* the successor of *CECROPIS* governing the *Athenians*, or (as our *EVSEBIUS* and *HIEROME* say) *CECROPIS* yet liuing, that flood (called *Deucalions*) happened.

And in the beginning of the eleuenth Chapter of the same eighteenth Booke, he vseth these wordes. *Eduxit ergo MOSES ex Aegypto populum Dei nouissimo tempore CECROPIS Atheniensium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret ASCATADES, apud Sicyonios MARATHVS, apud Argiuos TRIOPAS. MOSES led the people of God out of Aegypt about the latter times of CECROPIS King of the Athenians, ASCATADES reigning ouer the Assyrians, ouer the Sicyonians MARATHVS, and ouer the Argiuos*

*TRIOPAS*: so as leauing the curiositie of a few yeares, more or lesse, it appeareth, that this flood of *Deucalion* was either at the egression of the children of *Israel* out of *Aegypt*, or neare it: and then after *Noah* 753. yeares, according to *Funifius*, who makes *Cecrops* to liue in the yeare of the world 2400. or if we follow *Alerator*, then 739. yeares after *Noah*, and in the yeare of the world 2395. But if *Deucalion* were borne in the age of the world 2356. according to *Cadoman*; then giuing vnto *Deucalion* fourtie yeares of age when this flood happened, it fillth within one yeare of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion* by all approved *Historians* is said to haue bene 82. yeares old at that time. Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this flood of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaeton* time, by the reaigne of

*Cratops* King of the *Argiuos*; but *Cratops* liued King of the *Argiuos* fixe yeares after *Israel* departed *Aegypt*, which makes twentie yeares difference according to *Funifius*, who will haue this flood and burning to haue fallen fourteen yeares before *Moses* left *Aegypt*: for hee gaue of the worldes yeares to the flood and burning the year 2440. and to *Moses* his egression the year 2454. And yet *Celestius* thinks that *Noahs* was more ancient, and liued with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the flood of *Deucalion*, and the burning of *Phaeton*, preceded the flood of *Ogyges*, which is denied by all: for that of *Thessalia* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at least 250. yeares or thereabouts. *Evsebius* in his *Chronologie* makes it 230. and so doth *P. Orosius*: *Evsebius* about the 50. yeare of *Moses* life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67. and both after *Noahs* flood 770. yeares: for these be *Clemens Alexandrinus* his wordes. *Fuit autem in Graecia tempore quidem PHORONEI, qui fuit post INACHVM, inundatio qua fuit tempore Ogygis. There happened in Greece in the time of PHORONEVS, who liued after INACHVS, the flood of Ogyges. Now if the flood of Ogyges in Attica were 1020. or 1016. yeares before the first Olympiad, according*

*Cadom. li. 3. §. 3.*

*Clem. Alex. li. 1. c. 10.*

Enfeli, in Chron.

according to *Enfeli* and *Orogus*; (as before) then is it manifest, that taking 763 out of this number of 1020. it falls out that *Ogyges* flood happened before the Hebrews left *Aegypt* 250. yeares, or 260. yeares, according to the difference between the opinions of *Enfeli* and *Orogus*. And for my selfe (who rather follow those *Chronologers*, which giue 60. yeares more to *Abraham* after the flood, then the rest) I reckon the times which come betweene these floods in this sort. The generall flood was in the year of the world 1656. *Jacob* was borne in the year of the world 2169. so as from the beginning of the flood to *Jacob*'s birth there were consumed 513. yeares. *Ogyges* flood happened 100. yeares after *Jacob* was borne; and therefore after the generall flood 613. yeares. Now *Deucalion* was borne in the year of the world 2356. and had liued 82. yeares, when his Kingdome of *Theffalie* was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438) his flood was after *Noah*'s flood ended 782. yeares. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700 yeares betweene the generall flood and *Deucalion*'s birth; to which adde 82. yeares of his age (as before) and then the flood of *Theffalie* followed the generall 782. yeares. The wordes of that *Xenophon* are these. *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum DEUCALIONIS, secundo anno Sphari, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta Theffaliam vidit inundatam. From the drowning of the world to the birth of DEUCALION, in the second yeare of Spharus, are numbered 700. yeares, and when DEUCALION was 82. yeares old, he saw Theffalia drowned. This flood happened in the winter time about Panassus: witnesseth Aristotile in the first of his Meteors. And Varro (whom St. Augustine to often citeth for his excellent learning, especially in antiquities) findeth this flood of Deucalion to haue happened in the time of Cranaus, who succeeded Cecrops: Orogus thinkes it somewhat later, Amphitryon reigning in Athens, the third from Cecrops. Onely this of Deucalion was very great, and reached not only our Theffalie it selfe, and the Regions adioyning Westward; but it couered the greatest part of *Italie*: and either the same, or some other particular flood then happening oppressed *Aegypt*, saith *Enfeli*. And therefore did the Greekes either thinke it, or faine it to be vniuersall; and *Deucalion*, then King, sauing himselfe and some others on the mountains of *Theffalie* (of all other the highest, saith *Solinus*) was by reason thereof (as *Strabo* witnesseth) said to be the preseruer of mankind. That this flood couered a great part of *Italie*, *Plinie* and *Solinus* make it probable: who affirme that the people then inhabiting *Italie* were therefore called *gigantes*: quia ab imbris diluuij superfuissent; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his first Booke, and *Tzetzenus* in his second: which *Vmbri* these Authors make the Parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to bee the Parents of the *Samites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brutij*, and all others inhabiting anciently the banks of the *Mediterranean* Sea. But that these *Vmbri* were not the inhabitants of *Italie* before the flood of *Noah*, and so tooke name by sauing themselves vpon the *Appenine* mountains, the Scriptures teach vs: shewing who, and who only then were preserued, which is sufficient. Report hath aduentured further, telling vs that the first people which after the generall flood inhabited *Italie*, were the *Cameleses*: (so named from *Camele*, whom *Cato* in *originibus*, another of *Annius* his Authors names for a comfort of *Ianus*) which people liued altogether a sauage life; till such time as *Saturne* arriuing on those coasts, desired lawes to gouerne them by: the memorie of whose acts in that Region *Diodor* and *Thalys* among the Greekes, *Nepos* *Cassius* and *Varro* among the Latines haue perserued; and of whom *Virgil*:*

Athenius diph.  
Joseph 1.15. out of  
Draco Coreyus  
saith that Camele  
was the wife and sister  
of Ianus.  
Lactant. 1.1. c. 13.

En. l. 8. 349.

Primus ab aethere venit SATVRNVS Olympo,  
Arma Iovis fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis,  
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis  
Composuit, legeq; dedit; Latiumq; vocari  
Maluit.

SATVRNE descending from the heaueus high,  
Fearing the Armes of IVPITER his Sonne,  
His Kingdome lost, and banish't thence doth flee,  
Rude people on the Mountaine tops he wonne  
To liue together, and by lawes: which done  
He chose to call it Latium.

And afterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the *Aufones*, and after them of the *Sciani*: Nations, which againe fought to displant the ancient inhabitants:

10

Tum manus Aufonia, &amp; gentes venere Sicani.

Virg. l. 8. Æn.

Then came th' Aufonian bands, and the Sicanian tribes.

Of these *Sciani* (which left *Spaine* and sate downe in *Italie*) *Thucydides* and *Plinie* giue testimonie: who were againe expelled by the *Ligy*, saith *Thucydides*. After all these plantations and replantations came the *Vmbri*, descended of the *Galles* (saith *Annius*) not of those *Galles* of *France*, but of those of *Seythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italie*, euen all *Hetruria* and *Campania*, as *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, and *Dionysius*, haue assured vs; and therefore this flood of *Deucalion* was long after that of *Noah*. For all those Nations were planted in *Italie*, and dispossest of *Italie* againe, before the *Vmbri* were euer heard of, or had being. So that Kingdome was first called *Camelesene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Aufonia*, then *Sicania*; before the *Vmbri* (in whose time *Deucalions* flood happened) possesst the same, about 306. yeares before the war of *Troy*: *Lycaon* then gouerning *Arcaidia*; who being the Father of two and twentie Sonnes, the youngest called *Oenotrius* invaded *Italie*, who gaue it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held untill *Italus* of the same Nation changed it into *Italica*, after his owne name, about 250. yeares before the fall of *Troy*. After these came the *Pelasgi*, of whome *Plinie* in his third Booke and fift Chapter; and *Strabo* in his fift; *Thucydides* in his sixth speakes at large: and after them the *Lydi* vnder *Tyrrhenus* their Captaine, that gaue name to the *Tyrrheni*; who calling thence the *Vmbri*, tooke from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelue Cities; to which (after they had possesst and past ouer the *Appenine* Mountains) they added diuers others, whercof *Telsina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not anciently such a Nation, as these *Vmbri*, in those parts, I doe not affirme: hauing respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinkes, that the name was deriued from the Greeke word *Ombros*; but that these *Vmbri* of *Italie* were descended of the Nation of *Seythians* (called *Galli*) it shall bee shewed hereafter.

40

## §. IIII.

Of some other records testifying the vniuersall flood: and of two ancient deluges in *Aegypt*: and of some elsewhere.



Aint *Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth that the Greekes and Latines made not any mention of the vniuersall flood, because they had nothing of antiquitie foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus* before remembered) were all things among the Greekes (which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in English commonly call (worme-eaten) or of decayed date. But as all the parts of the earth were successfullie planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did euerie familie which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledge of diuine

diuine

uine letters was not receiued, finde no parent of more antiquitie, then such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the Græcians, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigenes*, and growing out of the earth, or inuent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certaine knowledge of *Noahs* flood, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Zacharias Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirme by heare-say, that some Giants saued themselves vpon the mountains *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authoritie approved: vling the word *Sermo est*, that such a speech there was. And *Eusebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient Historian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Sisithrus* to preserue himselfe from a flood foretold him by *Saturnus*, fled to the hills of *Armenia* by ship, ad *Armenian nauigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) sent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned againe; which hee also did a second time, but at the third returne the birdes feete were couered with mudde and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius* wordes out of *Abydenus*, which may seeme a true description (though in other termes) of *Noahs* flood.

*Cyrillus* also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this generall flood. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* Priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Bookes of *Egypt*, the storie of the flood vniuersall, which (saith he) happened long before the *Græcian* inundations. *Fryer Annus* his *Xenophon* remembreth 20 a third flood, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient then that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the generall flood: for the first, which happened (saith he) vnder the old *Ogyges*, sub prisca *Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the second *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Promethæus* then liuing, 44. yeares before that of *Attica*, in the 34. yeare of *Belobus* King of the *Assyrians*, though I doe not beleuee him as touching the time. But this flood couered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, especially all that Region subiect to *Promethæus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Promethæus* his liuer, afterward slaine by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* deliuereth in these wordes: *Flanum propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatem, aquarum Aquilam tunc appellatum, HERCVLEM cum consilij magnitudine,* 30 *tum virtute, volunt e vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum conuertisse: Vnde & Græci quidam Poetæ rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, HERCVLEM bradant Aquilam PROMETHÆI jecur deprecantem occidisse, This flood (meaning of *Nilus*) for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eagle: but *HERCVLES* by his great indgement and vertue did againe compress, and straighten this River, so farre extended and ouerspread, turning it into the old channels: Whence certaine Greeke Poets (converting this labour and worke of *HERCVLES* into a fable) denised that *HERCVLES* slew the Eagle, which sed on *PROMETHÆUS* liuer; meaning that he deliuered *Promethæus* of that sorrow and torment, which for the losse of his people and Countrey (by the waters destroyed and couered ouer) hee 40 suffered.*

A fourth flood chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annus* conceiuerth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this briefe fort-witeth of all these inundations. *Inundationes plures fuisse: prima nouissime inunda-* 10 *to terrarum sub prisca Ogyge: secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many inundations (saith this same Xenophon) the first which was vniuersall of nine Moneths, and this happened vnder the first Ogyges: the second was Niliaca, and of one Moneths continuance in the time of Hercules and Promethæus Ægyptians: a third of two Moneths vnder Ogyges Atticus: the fourth of three Moneths in Thessalia vnder Deucalion; and a fift of the like continuance (called Pharonica) vnder Proteus of Ægypt, about the time of Helms rape. Diodorus in his fift booke and eleuenth Chapter, taking the *Samothracæ* for his*

*Xenop. de equin. Comm. per An-nium fol. 37.*

But there have beene many floods in diuers times, and ages, not inferior to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the yeare of our redemption 590. when in October of the same yeare, *Gregorie* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a maruailous ouerflowing in *Italie*, and especially in the *Venetian* territorie, and in *Lycuria*, accompanied with a most fearful storme of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast vp and left vpon the land, after the waters decreased and returned. And in the yeare 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Seas at *Dordrecht* in *Holland*: of which kinde I take that flood to be of *Achæia* 10 or *Attica*. Before that and in the yeare 1238. *Tritheimius* speaketh of an earthquake which swallowed many thousands: and after that of a flood in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozius Sigog.* in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an inundation in *Italie*, in the time of *Pope Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicilie* were swallowed: another in the *Papacie* of *Alexander* the sixth: also in the yeare 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperour. Hee also remembreth a perillous ouerflowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracouia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Vigimier* a French Historian speaketh of a great flood in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in the yeare of our Lord 1557. with so dreadfull a tempest, as all the people attend therein the very end of the world, and iudgement day; saying, that by the violent descent of the waters from the mountaines, about *Nismes* there were removed diuers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne vp and rent: by which accident there was found both coyne of siluer and gold, diuers peces of plate, and vessels of other metall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* invaded that Prouince, in the yeare 1156.

*Minster.*

*Elypsis, & tempestas citius nulla hominum milia oppresserunt. Frisus quod per maritimos fludius tota parte submersa fuit & perierunt plures quam 100000.*

§. V.  
That the flood of *NOAH* was supernaturall, though some say it might haue beene foretold by the Starres.

30 **N**OW howsoeuer all these floods and many other, which haue couered at severall times severall Regions, not only in these parts of the world, but in *America* also, (as I haue learned of some ancient Southfayers among them) may be ascribed to naturall causes and accidents; yet that vniuersall flood (in the time of *Noah*) was powred ouer the whole face of the earth by a power aboue nature, and by the especial commandment of God himselfe, who at that time gaue strength of influence to the Starres, and abundance to the Fountaines of the deepe: whereby the irruption of waters was made more forcible, then any abilitie of nature could effect, or any second causes by whatsoever vnion could performe, without receiuing from the Fountaine of all power, 40 strength, and faculties supernaturall. *Henricus Mecliniensis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries vpon the great coniunctions of *Albus Masar* obserueth, that before the flood of *Noah*, the like coniunction of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*, happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation since called the ship of *Arges*; by which the flood of *Noah* might be foretold, because *Cancer* is both a waterie signe, and the house of the Moone, which is the Ladie of the Sea, and of moisture, according to the rules of *Astronomie*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* vpon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming that although *Noah* did well know this flood by diuine reuelation, yet (this coniunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not only signes, but also working causes, by strength receiued from the first cause, which is God himselfe: and further that by \* *Cataractæ a celi* (Englished the windores of 50

*Alfo de Conco-dia librol. 6. Astralæ.*

*Gen. 7. 11.*

properly signifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carried downwards, dashed and breakech: of *apertæ alio* or *frange*. Hence, because windores doe not only open but also shut, the word hath been expounded (Windores) to be barres or flood gates.

heauen)

heauen) *Moses* meant this great and waterie coniunction; the word (*Cataracta*) signifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordeaine by the course of the Heauens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake those wicked waies wherein they walked, and call vnto God for mercie.

Of this iudgement was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who vnderstood that the wordes *Cataracta cali*, or windores of heauen were to be taken for the former coniunction, or for these waterie signes, *Cancer*, *Pisces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades*, and *Orion*, and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the *Moon*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest inundations. His owne wordes are these, *Non enim intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum cataractas 10 cali vocasse, nisi partes illas cali, quæ generatiue sunt pluviarum & inundationum aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, ut Cancer &c.* as aforesaid. As yet (saith he) *I perceive not what the Prophet of the Hebrews meaneth by those words: (Cataracta cali, or windores of Heauen) vnlesse he thereby vnderstand those celestiaall powers, by whose influences are engendered the raine, and inundations of waters, such as are the waterie Signes of Cancer &c.*

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his vnsearchable wisdom this coniunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigour and facultie, and gaue to euery operation increase of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and fountaines, commanding them to call out the whole treasure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the Cloudes, and condensing ayer into water by the ministerie of his Angels, or howsoeuer else best pleased his All-powerfulnesse.

## §. VI.

That there was no neede of any new creation of matter to make the vniuersall floud: and what are *Cataracta Cali*.

Gen. 7. vers. 11.

**N**OW if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God resteth the seventh day: (that is) he did not then after create any new *species*) which gaunted, it may seeme that then all the earth & ayre had not waters sufficient to couer the habitable world fiftene cubites about the highest mountaines. Of this proposition whether God hath so restrained himselfe or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the world had want of water to ouercoer the highest mountaines, I take that conceit to be vnlearned and foolish; for it is written, that the *fountaines of the great deepe were broken vp* (that is) the waters forsooke the very bowels of the earth; and all whatsoeuer was disperst therein peired and brake through the face thereof. Then let vs consider that the Earth had about one and twentie thousand miles: the Diameter of the Earth according to that circle seuen thousand mile, and then from the Superficies to the Center some three thousand five hundred miles: Take then the highest mountaine of the world, *Caucasus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the mountaines of *Armenia* or *Seybia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Teneris*, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh highest stretcheth about thirtie miles vpright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the earth three thousand five hundred miles deepe should not well helpe to couer the space of thirtie miles in height, this thirtie miles vpright being found in the depths of the earth one hundred and sixteene times: for the fountaines of the great Deepe were broken vp, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the earth. Secondly if we consider what proportion the earth beareth to the extension of the ayre ouer and about it, we shall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased

fed God to condense but so much of this ayre as euery-where compasseth and embraceth the earth, which condensation is a conuersion of ayer into water, a change familiar in those elements, it will not seeme strange to men of iudgement, yea but of ordinarie vnderstanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was couered ouer with waters without any new Creation.

Lastly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacenſis*, to which I may adde *Berosus* and others, That such a coniunction there was, foretelling that destruction by waters which followed; and that by the word *Cataracta cali*, or Windores of heauen, was meant this coniunction; there needes no other answer then that obseruation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth that by the graueſt *Astrologians* it was obserued, that in the year 1524. there should happen the like coniunction, as at *Noahs* floud, then which (saith he) there was neuer a more faire, drie, and seasonable year: the like destruction was prophesied of the year 1588. But *Picus Earle of Mirandula* proueth that there could not bee any such coniunction at that time.

To conclude, I finde no other mysterie in the word *Cataracta cali*, then that the cloudes were meant thereby: *Moses* vsing the word *Windores of Heauen* (if that bee the sense of the word) to expresse the violence of the raines, and pouring downe of waters. For whosoever hath seene those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spowts (where cloudes doe not brake into drops, but fall with a resistlesse violence in one body) may properly vse that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the windores or floud-gates of heauen opened: (which is) That waters fell, contrarie to custome, and that order which we call naturall. God then loosened the power retentive in the vppermost aire, and the waters fell in abundance: Behold (saith Ios) *he which holdeth the waters, and they dried vp, or better in Latine, Et omnia sicantur, and all things are dried vp; but when hee sendeth them out, they destroy the earth:* and in the 26. Chapter. *Hee bindeth the waters in the cloudes;* but these bonds God looked at that time of the generall floud, and called vp the waters which slept in the great deep: and these ioyning together couered the earth, till they had performed the worke of his will: which done, hee then commanded them to returne into their darke and vast causes, and the rest (by a winde) rarified againe into aire, formerly condensed into drops.

## §. VII.

Of some remainder of the memorie of *NOAH* among the Heathen.

**N**OAH commanded by God, before the fall of those waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his owne wife, and his sonnes, and his sonnes wiues, taking with them of euerie creature, which tooke life by generation, seuen of the cleane, and of the vncleane, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth quietnesse: after others, and according to the prophetic of his Father *Lamech*, cessation; to whome after-times gaue many names answering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, *The first Oggyes*, because in the time of the Grecian *Oggyes* there was also a great floud of *Achia: Saturne* they called him, because hee was the Father of Nations: Others gaue him the name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steale away *Iupiters* fire; fire in that place being taken and vnderstood for the knowledge of God and heauenly things. Others thinke that he was so called for his excellent wisdom and foresight. Hee had also the name of *Ianus*, (id est) *vinofus*, because *Iain*, signifieth wine in the Hebrew. And so *Tertullian* finds him written in *libris ritualibus*, in the bookes of ceremonies, preceding both *Saturne*, *Vranus*, and *Ioue*: which three enioyed an elder time then all the other ancientest fained Gods. And this name *Iain* is taken from the Hebrew and *Syriac*, and not from the Latine: for it was in vſe before there was any Latine Nation,

or any Kingdome by that name knowne. Of the antiquite of *Ianus*, *Fabius Pictor* giuech this testimonie. *IANI atate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hieserat villa regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & far primus populos docuit IANVS ad sacrificia: primus enim arvas & Pomaria & sacra docuit. In the time of IANVS (saith he) there was no Monarchie: for the desire of rule had not then folded it selfe about the hearts of men. IANVS first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meale: he first set up Altars, instituted gardens and solitary groves, wherein they used to pray, with other holie rites and ceremonies. A greater testimonie then this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilſt *Noah* flourished, there was not any King or Monarch: *Armo* being the first that tooke on him soveraigne authoritie. Secondly, *Noah* after the flood was the first that planted the Vine, and became a husbandman; and therefore offered the first fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, hee was the first that raised an Altar, and offered sacrifice to God, a thanks-giving for his mercifull goodnesse towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the name of *Bispons* (which was giuen to *Ianus*) because he beheld the times both before and after the flood, quia praterita novavit, & futura prospexerit, saith *Arnobius*. Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come. He was also in the person of *Ianus* shadowed by the name of *Chaos*, and *emmen orbis*, the seede of the world; because out of that confused heape was drawne all the kinds of beaſts and plants: so from *Noah* came all mankind: to whereof *Ovid* in the person of *Ianus*:*

Ovid. de fastis. l. 1.

*Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant,  
Aspice quam longi temporis acta cano.*

The ancient call'd me *Chaos*: my great yeares  
By those old times, of which I sing, appeares.

He was also intruded *Caelum* and *Sol*, Heauen and the Sunne, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomie: *Verumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus*, and *Alex. Aphrodisius* so call, because he was the iustifier of the Greekes to their former libertie, but in respect of the flood. For the Greekes called *Liber* *Phos*, and his Nurles *Hyades*, of raine, because *Noah* entred the *Arke*, when the Sunne ioyned with the Starres *Hyades*, a constellation in the brow or necke of *Taurus*; and euer after a monument of *Noahs* flood. He was also by others surnamed *Triton*, a Marine God, the Sonne of *Neptune*: because hee liued in saletrie on the waters. So was he knowne by the name of *Dionysus*, quasi diuivorus, mentem pungens, bite-braine, or wit-singer, though *Dionysus* conceiue otherwise, and deriue that name à *patrie* & *loco*, of his Father, and the place of his birth, (to wit) of *Ioue*, and *Nisa* a Towne of *Arabia felix*, saith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had also the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurorhagus*; because he first yoked Oxen and tilled the ground, according to that of *Moses*. And *Noah* became an husbandman. Now howsoever the Gracians vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certaine that the name was borrowed, and the inuention stolen from *Noah*. But this name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Boacchus*, was taken (saith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danæus*) from *Noachus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); and it is the more probable, because it cannot bee doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the flood: and of *Noah* (the first and ancient *Bacchus*) were all those fables deuised, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Booke, and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah* was surnamed *Nysus*, of the mountaine *Nysa* in *India*, where the Gracian *Bacchus* neuer came, whatsoever themselves saie of his enterprises; and these mountaines of *Nysa* ioyned with those of *Paropamisus*. And those other Easterne mountaines, on which the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the flood.

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this second parent of mankind might

might the better be preferred, there were founded by his issues many great Cities which bare his name; with many riuers and mountains: which oftentimes forgot that it was done in his regard, because the many names giuen him brought the same confusion to places as to himselfe. Notwithstanding all which, we finde the Cittie of *Noah* vpon the banks of the red Sea and elsewhere: the Riuer of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolomee* *Danus*; diuiding *Syria* from *Pannonia*. Thus much for the name.

Plin. l. 6.  
Steph. de Urbib.  
Herod. l. 4.  
Strabo. l. 7.

## §. VIII.

Of sundrie particulars touching the *Arke*: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion and name.

**N**Ow in what part of the world *Noah* built the *Arke*, it doth not appear in the Scriptures, neither doe I finde any approved Authour that hath written thereof: only *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiuech, that *Noah* built his *Arke* neare the mountaines of *Caucasus*, because on those hills are found the goodliest Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the warre among a people, called *Nysai*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, hee found all their burials and Sepulchers wrought ouer with Cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himselfe from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God and Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Arke*; to which also hee addeth the conueniencie of riuers, to transport the Timber which hee vsed, without troubling any other carriages.

Only this wee are sure of, that the *Arke* was built in some part of the Easterne world; and to my vnderstanding, not farre from the place where it rested after the flood. For *Noah* did not vse any mast or saile (as in other ships) and therefore did the *Arke* no otherwise moue then the Hulke or body of a ship doth in a calme Sea. Also because it is not probable, that during these continual and downe-right raines there were any windes at all, therefore was the *Arke* little moued from the place where it was fashioned and set together. For it is written: *God made a winde to passe upon the earth, and the waters ceased*; and therefore it may be gathered, that during the fill of the waters, there was not any storme or forcible winde at all, which could driue the *Arke* any great distance from the place where it was first by the waters lifted vp. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion bee true, as it is very likely, that the *Arke* had *fundum planum*, a flat bottom, and not raised in forme of a ship with a sharpnesse forward, to cut the waves for the better speede.

Gen. 8. 1.

This kind of Vessell the Hebrewes call *Thebet*, and the Greekes *Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucations* ship: and some say, that the hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight dayes hee arriued, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the change of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnassus*; but *Steph. de Urbib. Paulanias* thinks that it tooke name of a Sonne of the *Nympe Cleodora*, called *Parnassus*, the inuentor of *Auguration*.

Steph. de Urbib.  
Paulanias.

*Pencrus* findes the word (*Parnassus*) to haue no affinitie with the Greeke, but thinks it deriued from the Hebrew word *Nchas*, which signifieth *Auguration* and *Divination*: or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the lease before cited.

*Iosephus* calls the *Arke* *Machina*, by the generall name of a huge Frame: and *Epiphanius* out of the Hebrew *Aron*, but herein lieth the difference betweene *Aron* and *Thebet*. That *Aron* signifieth properly the *Arke* of the Sanctuarie, but *Thebet* such a Vessell, as swimmeth, and beareth it selfe vpon the waters.

Epiph. in Auerq.

Lastly, this *Arke* of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a ship in this, that it had a couer and rooff, with a cress in the middle thereof, and the sides declining like the rooffe of an house; to the end, both to cast off the waters, and that threunder *Noah* himselfe

Gen. 6. 4.

himselfe and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysomnesse of the many beasts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the Arke.

Of what wood the Arke was built it is vncertaine. The Hebrew word *Gopher* once and in this place only vsed is diuersly vnderstood; and though the matter bee of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the Geneva Translation calls it Pinetree, the *Rabbins* Cedar, the Sequentie square timber, the Latine smooth timber. Others will haue it Cypres trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypres is wearneat funerals. But out of doubt if the word *Gopher* signifie any speciall kinde of timber, *Noah* obeyed the voice of God therein; if not, hee was not then curious as touching the kinde or nature of the wood, hauing the promise of God, and his grace and mercie for his defence. For with *Noah* God promised to establish his covenant.

Plin. 18.

Plin. lib. 6. c. 40.

*Plinie* affirmeth that in *Aegypt* it was the vse to build ships of Cedar, which the worne eates not; and he auoweth that he saw in *Vtica*, in the Temple of *Apollo* Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Cittie, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 1188. yeares after: prouing thereby, that this kinde of wood was not subiect to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet fauour, lasting also better then any other wood, and because neare the place where the Arke rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the mountaines of the East, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the Arke might be of that wood: which hath besides the other commodities the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build ships withall. *Peregrinus* conceiuet that the Arke had diuers sorts of timber, and that the bottome had of one sort, the decke and partition of another, all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will serue for all parts of a ship, as well for the body, as for matts and yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction receiued from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the Arke; and to pitch it, and to diuide it into Cabines, thereby to secur the cleane beasts from the vncleane, and to preserve their seuerall sorts of foode; and that it might be capable of all kinde of liuing creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, hee cast his confidence wholly on God, who by his Angels steered this ship without a rudder, and directed it without the helpe of a Compass or the North starre. The pitch which *Noah* vsed, is by some supposed to haue beene a kinde of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, now the dead Sea or *Asphaltus*: and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*, and herein it exceedeth other pitch that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire only, after the manner of hard waxe.

Peregrinus.

## §. IX.

That the Arke was of sufficient capacitie.

He Arke according to Gods commaundement had of length three hundred cubits, fiftie of breadth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion it had fixe parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which *St. AUGUSTINE*. *Procul dubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo ciuitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesie, quae sit salua per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Iesus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisq. eius significat corpus humanum, in cuius veritate ad homines praeannuntius est venturus, & venit, &c.* Without doubt (saith he) it is a figure of the Cittie of God, translating in this world as a stranger (that is) of the Church, saved by the tree whereupon the Mediatour betweene God and Man, the man Iesus Christ did hang: for euen the very measure of the length, height, and breadth, answereth the shape of mans body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was foretold and performed.

By

De ciuitat. Dei.  
lib. 1. c. 26.

By what kinde of Cubite the Arke was measured, it hath beene a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these. The first kinde of cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the palme cubit) which taketh one handfull more then the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Persian Cubit*, which exceedeth the common cubit three inches. The fourth is the sacred cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly there is a fift cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth six common cubits. But of all these sortes, which were commonly measured by the vulgar cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a lesse proportion of bodies: so is the common cubit, from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of lesse length then it was in elder times.

*St. Augustine* considering the many sortes of beastes and birds which the Arke held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the Arke had proportion after the Geometrical cubit, which containeth almost six of the Common. For measuring the Arke by the vulgar cubit, it did not exceed the capacitie of that vessel built by *Thero* of *Syracuse*, or the ship of *Ptoleme Philopater*. But *St. Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his iudgement as touching the Geometrical cubit; and found vpon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a bodie to preserve all sortes of creatures by God appointed to be rescued. For it was not needfull to take any Kindes of fishes into the Arke, because they were kept liuing (saith *St. Augustine*) in their owne element. *Non fuit necesse conseruare in aqua possent in aquis vivere; non solum mersa sicut pisces, verum super-natantia, sicut multa aliter. It was not needfull to conserue those creatures in the Arke, which could liue in the waters: and not onely fishes which can liue vnder water, but also those fowles which sit and swimme on them: and againe, Terra non aqua, maledicta, quia Adam non huius, sed illius fructum vetitum comedit. It was the earth, and not the waters, which God cursed: for of the forbidden fruit of the earth and not of the Sea, did Adam eat; so as *St. Augustine* gathereth hereupon, (as aforesaid) that so huge a Frame needed not.*

Athen. dipnosoph.  
lib. 4.  
Plutar. in vita  
Demetri.August. C. 1.  
De lib. 1. c. 27.

And if wee looke with the eyes of iudgement hereunto, wee shall finde nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) haue more of mischief and of ignorance, then of any reuerend reason finde many impossibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and vndoubtedly true, that many of the Species, which now seeme differing and of seuerall Kindes, were not then in *rerum natura*. For those beastes which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to preserve them: seeing they might be generated againe by others, as the Mules, the Hyana's and the like: the one begotten by Asses and Mares, the other by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by differing in colour or stature from those of these Northerne parts, it may be supposed by a superficial consideration, that all those which were red and pyed skinned, or feathers, are differing from those that are lesse painted, and were plaine russet or black: they are mostly mistaken that so thinke. And for my owne opinion I finde no difference, but only in magnitude, betwene the Cat of *Europe*, and the Ounce of *India*, and euen those dogges which are become wilde in *Hispagniola*, with which the Spaniards vsed to decour the naked *Indians*, are now changed to wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattle, and doe also oftentimes teare asunder their owne Children. The common Crowe and Rooke of *India* is full of red feathers in the drownd and low *Islands* of *Caribana*; and the Blackbird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with black and carnation: in the North parts of *Virginia*. The dogfish of England is the Shark of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of Species, then were the *Aegros*, which we call the Black-mores non animalia rationalia not men, but some kinde of strange beastes: and so

Acq. hist. Ind. lib.

the Giants of the South *America* should bee of another kinde, then the people of this part of the World. Wee also see it daily that the natures of fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good fruit by often grafting, and the best Mellons will change in a year or two to common Cowcumbers by being set in a barren soile: Therefore taking the Kindes precisely of all creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the earth by his ordinance produced: The *Arke*, after the measure of the common Cubit was sufficiently capacious to containe of all, according to the number by God appointed: For it we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the Common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantic stature (and lesse allowance we cannot give to the difference betweene them and vs) then did the *Arke* containe 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in breadth, and 50. foot deepe.

But first of all to make it manifest, that the Geometrical Cubit is not vsed in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the bed of *Qg King of Babel* had been nine Geometrical Cubites long, it had taken 54. Cubites of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliath*, who had the length of 6. Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull, a proportion credible if these Cubites had beene Geometrical, then had bene 54. foot in height and vpwards, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliath* bene nine foot long, and farre waightier and bigger then all *Dauids* bodie, who carried it away.

Again if the Geometrical Cubit had been vsed for a measure in the Scriptures as many Commenters haue obserued, then had the Altar (appointed to containe five Cubites of length, five of breadth and three of height) haue reached the length of 27. foot vp right, and so must their Priests haue ascended by steps or ladders to haue performed their sacrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandement given in these wordes: *Thou shalt not goe vp with steppes unto mine altar, that thy shame be not discovered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three Common Cubites high which make foure foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the measure of Giantic stature; which measure (doubtlesse) might giue much the more capacitie to the *Arke*, although it be also probable, that as the men were, so were the horses whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by this meanes there were not any whit the more room in the *Arke*, it were not hard to conceiue, how all the distinct Species of *Animals*, whose liues cannot bee prserued in the waters, might according to their present quantites bee contained in a vessel of those dimensions which the *Arke* had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now vsuall measure: whence it followeth of necessity, that those large bodies which were in the daies of *Noah* might haue room sufficient in the *Arke*, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of creatures, to be sau'd (that is) seuen of the cleane, two of the vnclane (with necessarie foode) might haue place in the *Arke*, But so hath very learnedly declared: the briefe summe of whose discourse to that purpose is this. *The length of the Arke was three hundred cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fiftie cubits, and the product by the height of thirtie cubits, sheweth the whole capacitie to haue bene 450000.* Now whereas the posts, walles, and other partitions of lodgings may seeme to haue taken vp a great part of the hollow: the height of the rooofe which (the perpendicular being one cubit) contained 7500. cubicall cubes, was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a ship of such greatnesse wee seeke room for 89. distinct Species of beasts, or (least any should be omitted) for 100. feuerall kinds, we shall easily finde place both for them, and for the birds, which in biggnesse are no way answerable to them, and for meate to sustaine them all. For there are three fortes

sorts of beasts, whose bodies are of a quantitie best knowne; the Beece, the Sheepe, and the Wolfe: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to foure Beeues, one Lyon to two Wolues, and so of the rest. Of beasts, some feede on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the law of *Moses*, whereof seuen of a kinde entred into the *Arke*, namely three couples for breed, and one odde one for sacrifice: the other eight and twentie Kindes were taken by two of each kinde, so that in all there were in the *Arke* one and twentie great beasts cleane, and fixe and fiftie vnclane, estimable for largenesse as 91. Beeues; yet for a supplement (least perhaps any Species be committed) let them be valued, as 120. Beeues. Of the lesser sort, feeding on vegetables were in the *Arke* fixe and twentie kinds, estimable with good allowance for supplie, as foure score Sheepe. Of those which deuour flesh were two and thirtie kinds, answerable to three score and foure Wolues. All these 280. beasts might be kept in one storie or roome of the *Arke* in their feuerall Cabines; their meate in a second: the Birds and their prouision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his familie, and all their necessaries.

## §. X.

That the *Arke* rested vpon part of the hill *Taurus* (or *Caucasus*) betweene the East Indies, and *Seythia*.

## †. I.

A preterition of some questions lesse materiall: with a note of the use of this question, to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.

What time *Noah* tooke to build the *Arke*, I leaue to others to dispute; but he receiued the Commandement from God 100. yeares before the waters fell: and had therefore choice of time and leisure sufficient. As for the number of decks & partitions, which *Origen* deuides into foure, *St. Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controuersie: or whether those creatures which sometimes rest on the land, other times in the waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegartas*) the Sea-cowes or Sea-horses, were kept in the *Arke*, or no, I thinke it a needlesse curiositie; and yet to this faith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a fish-pool might be made aswell within the *Arke*, as in *Hiero* his ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove the foolishie of the Hebrewes, who suppose that the *Arke* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had windores of Cristall to receiue in light, and keepe out water, were but to reuiue the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seeke most to satisfie my selfe and others in, is in what part of the world the *Arke* rested after the flood: because the true vnderstanding of some of these places (as the seat of the terrestriall *Paradise*, and the resting of the *Arke*) doe only and truly teach the worlds plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the flood; and all storie, as well generall as particular, thereby may be the better vnderstood.

## †. II

A proposall of the common opinion, that the *Arke* rested vpon some of the hills of *Armenia*.

And first, for the true place where the *Arke* rested after the flood, and from what part of the world the children of *Noah* trauielled to their first settlement and

and plantation, I am resolu'd (without any presumption) that therein the moit writers were vterly mistaken. And I am not led fo to thinke out of my humour or newncle of opinion, or singulartie; but doe herein ground my selfe on the originall and first truth, which is the word of God, and after that vpon reason, and the moit probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, that the Arke stayed vpon one of the mountaines of Ararat, which the Chaldean Paraphrast hath conuerted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordai* or *Gordiai* in Armenia the greater: (as the wordes *Gordai* and *Kardu* seeme to be one and the same) of which opinion also the moit of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing: (to wit) that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater Armenia. *Nicolaus Damascenus* calls this mountaine of *Ararat*, *Baris*, being the same which the Chaldean nameth *Kardu*, to which mountaine the Fryer *Amnius* (citing this place out of *Iosephus*) makes him finde another adioyning, called *Ocala*, and to say that the Arke (of which *Moses* the Lawgiuer of the Hebrewes wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocala*. But I doe not finde any such mountaine in being, as this *Ocala*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Iosephus*. *Strabo* remembereth a Promontorie in *Arabia felix*, of that name, and *Plinie* findes a Mart-towne so called in the same, which *Ptolomie* calls *Ocelis*, *Pmetus* *Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocala* of *Damascenus* or rather of *Amnius*, seemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* mountaines. *Berosus* calleth those mountaines of *Armenia Gordai*, and *Curtius Cordas*: *Ptolomie* *Gordai* and *Gordiai*: of which the Countrie next adioyning is by this *Nicolaus Damascenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* coniectures) for *Ninnyada* or rather *Minni*: which word is vled for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seemes to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we should say *Minni of Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Plinie* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about these mountaines, whom others call *Gordien* or *Gordeni*. The mountaines are seated a part from all other to the North of that Ledge of mountaines called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the plaines of *Armenia* the great, neare the Lake *Thospitis*: whence the Riuer of *Tigris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines *Gordai* (that which summouneth therest) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Iosephus*; which name (saith *Iunius*) was of the euent, because of *Noahs* coming downe with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed euent; seeing any hill, from whence on euery side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Iunius* corrects the place in *Iosephus* *uolubus* (*Kubaris*). That the place is thus to be read, he coniectureth, because *Ioseph. l. 1. c. 4.* saies, the place is called *uolubartius* (as it were the descent or coming downe) and *Epiphani. l. 1. cont. Hæres.* calls it *uolub*: which word in the *Armenian* and *Aegyptian* tongue signifieth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a *Synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the *Latine Delubrum* may seeme to be deriued; and *Act. 6. 9.* that they belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Aegyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubratenu*. Yet this opinion hath bene embraced from age to age: receiuing a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any further examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be giuen, especially to that mountaine, by reason that the passage was more faire, vp and downe vnto it, then to any of the rest adioyning.

## †. III.

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would haue come soone, had they come from so neare a place as Armenia.

**B**Vt there are many arguments to perswade me, that the Arke of *Noah* did not rest it selfe in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountaine *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordian* mountaines.

For

For first, it is agreed by all which follow *Berosus*, that it was in the 130. yeare, or in the yeare 131. after the flood, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Chusli*, and *Chaldaa*. If then the Arke had first found land in *Armenia*, it is very vnprobable, that the children of *Noah* which came into that valley could haue spent so many yeares in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was onely interiacont, which might by ealie iourneys haue been past ouer in 20. daies; and to haue made where thin passage the nauigable riuer of *Tigris* offered it selfe, which is euerie where tranpassible by boats of great burden: so as where the Desert on the one side resisted their expedition, the riuer on the contrarie side serued to aduance it; the riuer rising out of the same Ledge of mountaines, or at the foot of them, where the Arke of *Noah* was first supposed to settle it selfe; Then, if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surplise of a second flood (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it foundeth ill to the eare of reason, that they would haue spent many yeares in that low and ouerflown Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many Riuers which imbroider or compasse it: for the effects witnessed their affections, and the workes, which they vnderooke, their vnbeliefe; being no sooner arrived in *Shinar*, but they beganne to prouide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* beganne his Kingdome, the 20. first knowne Citie of the world founded after the flood, about 131. yeares, or (as others suppose) ten yeares later: though (for my selfe) I rather thinke, that they vnderooke that worke in two respects; first, to make themselves famous, *Togel vs a name* (saith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to vsurpe dominion ouer the rest.

## †. IIII.

The second argument, That the Eastern people were most ancient in populosity, and in all humane glorie.

**F**Or a second Argument: The ciuilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the world first abounded) hath more waight then any thing which hath bene, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noahs* taking land there. And that this is true, the vse of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the East had) may ealie perswade vs, that those Sunne-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the East *Indians* (time out of minde) haue had Gunnes and Ordinance of batterie, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, makes vs now to vnderstand, That the place of *Philostratus* in *vita Apollonij Tiani*, *l. 2. c. 14.* is no fable, though exprest in fabulous wordes: when he saith, that the wise men, which dwell betweene *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, vse not themselves to goe forth into battaile: but that they driue away their enemies with thunder and lightning sent from *Iupiter*. By which meanes there it is said, that *Hercules*, *Aegyptius* and *Bacchus*, ioyning their forces were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there cast away his golden shield. For the inuention of letters was ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because he brought them first into Greece: of which the people (then rude and savage) had reason to giue him the honour, from whom they receiued the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no lesse ancient then *Sethor Henoch* were: for they are said to haue written on pillars of stone (as before remembred) long before the flood. But from the Eastern world it was that *Iohn Cuthenberg* a *Germane*, brought the deuise of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the practise thereof to Rome: and after that *Nicolaus Gersan* a *Frenchman*, bettered both the letters and inuention. And notwithstanding that this mysterie was then supposed to bee but newly borne, the *Chinians* had letters long before either the *Aegyptians* or *Phenicians*; and also the Art of Printing, when as the Greekes had neither any ciuill knowledge, or any letters among them.

And

And that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* haue witnessed, who about an hundred yeares since discovered those Kingdomes, and doe now enioy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinases* account all other Nations but *Saluages*, in respect of themselves.

And to adde strength to this argument, the conquest and storie of *Alex. Macedon* may iustly be called to witnesse, who found more Citties and sumptuousitie in that little kingdom of *Perus*, which lay side by side to the East *India*, then in all his other traualles and undertakings. For in *Alexanders* time learning and greatness had not traualled so farre to the West as *Rome*: *Alexander* esteeming of *Italie* but as a barbarous Countrey, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his eye, and the fame of the East pierced his eares. And if we looke as farre as the Sun-rising, and heare *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the vttermoſt Angle and *Island* thereof, we shall finde that those Nations haue sent out, and not receiued, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more ciuill, the farther West the more salvage. And of the *Ile of Japan* (now *Zipangu*) *Venetus* maketh this report. *Incolereligionem, literis, & sapientia sunt addictissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exerceant: unum cognoscunt Principem, unum Deum adorant. The Islanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and Philosophie, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they use in their Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one King, and worship one God.* The antiquitie, magnificence, ciuilitie, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in gouernement, is reported to be such by those who haue bene employed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceede (in those formerly named, and diuers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.

## †. V.

The third argument, From the wonderfull resistance which *SEMI RAMIS* found in the East Indies.

**B**Vt for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the inuasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and aduised Reader: who may consider in what age shee liued, and how soone after the worlds new birth shee gathered her Armie (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more then three Millions to inuade *India*, to which he adioyneth also 500000. Horſe, and 100000. Waggon: whereof if we beleuee but a third part, it shall suffice to proue that *India* was the first planted and peopled Countrey after the flood. Now as touching the time wherein shee liued: All Historians consent, that shee was the wife of *Ninus*; and the most aproued Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Sonne of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Sonne of *Cush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came into *Shinar*, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Citie and Tower of *Babel* may appeare; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast betweene *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Armie was composed. Let vs then see with whom shee encountered in that warre with this her powerfull Armie: euen with a multitude, rather exceeding, then equalling her owne, conducted by *Staurabates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whose multitudes this is the witnesse of *Diod. Siculus*. *STAVROBATES, autis maioribus quam quae erant SEMIRAMIDIS copijs. STAVROBATES gathering together greater troups then those of SEMIRAMIS.* If then these numbers of *Indians* had bene increased but by a *Colonie* sent out from *Shinar*, (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt tooke some time in the performance) this increase in the East, and this Arme of *Staurabates* mult haue been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might

might easily grow vp in that time, from so great a troupe as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the storie of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication naturall, produce so many bodies of men, as were in the *Indian* armie victorious ouer *Semiramis*, if the *Colomes* sent thither had bene so late as *Babel* ouerturned, and the confusion of languages. For if we allow 65. yeares time after the flood, before *Nimrod* was borne: of which, 30. yeares to *Cush*, ere he began *Seba*, after whom hee had *Hamulab*, *Sabrah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then 30. yeares to *Raamah*, ere hee began *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were borne before *Nimrod*: and five yeares to his five elder brothers, which make 65. and then twice 30. yeares for two generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their sonnes; and that a third generation might grow vp, which makes in all 125. yeares, there will then remaine like yeares to haue bene spent in trauiailing from the East; ere they arrived in *Shinar* in the yeare after the flood: 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might bee of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to haue arrived at *Shinar* in the yeare 101: and the confusion to haue bene at *Pelegys* birth, these men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time; and build *Nimrods* Tower in theayer; and not on those low and marish groundes (which require found foundations) in the Plaines of *Shinar*. For except that huge Tower were built in a daie, there could be no confusion in that yeare 101. or at *Pelegys* birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that *Nimrod* vsurped regall authority in the 131. yeare after the flood, (according to *Berosus*) and that the worke of *Babel* lasted fourtie yeares: (according to *Gylenus*) *hominibus ea perficienda totis 45. annis incaussis laborantibus: Men labouring in vaine 45. yeares to finish it.* By which account it falls out; that it was 170. yeares after the flood, ere a *Colonie* was sent into *East India*; which granted (the one being the maine body, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly bee believed, that *Staurabates* could haue exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Emperre of all that part of the world; gathered the most of Nations into one bodie.

Gen 10.7;

Gylen Gen 6. de Turis ex. structione. fol. 173.

## †. VI.

The fourth Argument, from diuers considerations in the person of *NOAH*.

**F**orthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the flood, and had liued therein the long time of 600. yeares, was all that space 130. yeares after the flood without any certaine habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the westerne world; (which traualles *Noah* put ouer to yong and able bodies) and that *Noah* himselfe then couered with many yeares planted himselfe in the same place which God had assigned him: which was where he first came downe out of the *Arke* from the waters: For it is written, that after *Noah* came downe out of the *Arke* hee planted a vineyard, and became a husbandman: whose businesse was to dresse and manure the earth, and not to range ouer so many parts of the world; as from *Armenia* into *Arabia felix*, where hee should (if the tradition be sound) haue left certaine *Colomes*: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*; then into *Spaine*, where they say hee sedled other companies, & built Citties after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his sons wiues: from thence into *Italy*, where they say hee found his sonne *Cham* the *Saturne* of *Aegypt*, who had corrupted the people and subiects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the storie) had patience for three yeares; but then finding no amendment they say hee banisht him out of *Italie*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Ammianus*, a plaine imitation of the *Gracian* fables. For let euery reasonable man conceiue

conceiue, what it was to trauaile farre in such a Forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the earth by the flood the same lay wast and ouer-growne for 130. or 140. yeares, and wherein there could hardly be found either path or passage through which men were able to creepe for woods, bulhes and bryars that in those yeares were growne vp.

And there are so many reasons, prouing that *Noah* neuer came into the valley of *Shinar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italic* or *Spaine*: For *Noah*, who was Father of all those Nations, a man reuerenced both for his authoritie, knowledge, experience and pietie, would neuer haue permitted his children and issues to haue undertaken that vnbeleeueng presumptuous worke of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and preuaient perswasions he would haue bound their hands from so vaine labours, and by the authoritie which he receiued euen from God himselfe, hee would haue held them in that awfull subiection, as what foucney they had vainly conceiued or feared, yet they durst not haue disobayed the personall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regal authoritie ouer his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of mankind was by them selues purchased through crueltie and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to rise up building against his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a proouocation of God to lay on them the curse, if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that euer he came so farre West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he sent those numbers which came into *Shinar* (being the greatest troope, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) vnder *Nimrod*, or those vpon whom he vntured. *Nimrod* and *Calestinus* take the testimonie of *Methodius* Bishop of *Tybe* for warrant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Iocan*: of which *Nimrod* commanded the issue of *Cham*, *Iocan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot iudge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sonnes of *Sem*: *Iocan* *Hauilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to haue dwelt in the *East India*. The rest of *Sem*'s issues had also the Regions of *Persia* and the other adioyning to *Indus*; and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till hee was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of *Iocan*, or of all the rest a certaine number (*Cham* and his issue only excepted) that *Noah* kept with himselfe, it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shall speake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which moues me to beleue, that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinar*, is that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the storie of the Hebrewes, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all mankind, and the chosen seruant of God, was too principall a person, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) with drawne himselfe, and rested a part with his best beloued, giuing himselfe to the seruice and contemplation of God and heauenly things, after he had directed his children to their destined portions. For hee landed in a warme and fertile soile, where hee planted his Vineyard, and drest the earth; after which, and his thanks-giuing to God by sacrifice, hee is not remembered in the Scriptures, because hee was so farre away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

¶ VII.

¶ VII.

Of the senselesse opinion of *ANNIUS* the Commentor vpon *BEROSVS*: that the *Arke* rested vpon *Montes Caspij* in *Armenia*, and yet vpon *Gordias*, which are three hundred miles distant also in *Armenia*, and yet in *Scythia*.

IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and authorities of *Frier Annus*, who in his Commentaries vpon *Berosus* and others, laboureth maruailously to proue, that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested vpon the *Armenian* mountaines called *Caspij*, which mountaines separate *Armenia* from the vpper *Media*, and doe equally belong to both. And because all his Authours speake of the mountaines *Gordias*, hee hath no other shift to vnite these opinions, but by vniting those farre distant mountaines together. To effect which he hath found no other inuention, then to charge those men with error which haue carefully ouersene, printed, and published *Ptolomies* Geographic, in which they are altogether disseuered: for that last edition of *Mercators*, sets these hills six degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) asunder. And certainly, if we looke into those more ancient copies of *Villanuanus* and others, we shall finde nothing in them to helpe *Annus* withall: for in those the mountaines *Caspij* stand seven degrees to the East of the *Gordias*, which make 420. miles. And for those Authors by whose authoritie *Annus* strengtheneth himselfe, *Diodorus* whom he so much followeth, giueth this vnegement vpon them in the like dispute. *Aberant vero omnes, non negligentia, sed errorum suus ignorantia, They haue all erred* (saith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdomes*. But for an induction, to proue that the *Arke* of *Noah* stood on the mountaines of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquitie of the *Scythians*: and to proue the same hee citeth *Marcus Portius Cato*, who auoweth that 250. yeares before *Ninus*, the earth was ouerflowne with waters, & in *Scythia* *Saga* renatum mortale genus, and that in *Scythia* *Saga* the stocke of mortal men was renewed. The same Authour also teacheth that the *Vmbri* before remembered (who were so called, because saved from *Deucalions* flood) were the Sonnes of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. Ex his venisse *IANNVM* cum *DYRIM* & *Gallis* progenitoribus *Vmbrosum*, From these *Scythians*, he saith, that *IANNVS* came with *DYRIM* and with the *Galli* the progenitors of the *Vmbri*; And againe, *Equidem principatus originis semper Scythia tribuitur*. Certainly, the Prime antiquitie of off-spring is alway giuen to the *Scythians*. And herein truly I agree with *Annus*, that those Regions called *Scythia*, and now *Tartaria*, and by some Writers *Sarmatia Asiatica*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of *Asia* vnder tribute till *Ninus* time. Also *Plinie* calleth the *Vmbri* which long since inhabited *Italie*, *Gens antiquissima*, a most ancient Nation, who defended of these *Scythians*. Now that which *Annus* laboureth, is to proue that these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephewes of *Noah*) did first inhabit that Region of the mountaines, on which the *Arke* rested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he saith a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxes*, taking name of the mountaine *Ararat*, neare the Riuer of *Araxes*. And because his Authour *Cato* helpeth him in part (to wit, That in *Scythia* mankind was restored after the great flood, 250. yeares before *Ninus*) and in part vtterly destroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*, as in *Scythia* *Saga* renatum mortale genus, in *Scythia* *Saga* mankind was restored, hee therefore in the Proame of his Commentarie vpon *Berosus*, leauech out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his wordes, and writes *homines in Scythia saluatos*. For *Scythia* *Saga* or *Saca*, is vndoubtedly vnder the mountaines of *Paropamisus*, on which, or neare which it is most probable that the *Arke* first tooke ground; and from those East parts (according to *Moses*) came all those companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*.

But now the best authoritie which *Annus* hath is out of *Diodorus*: where hee hath read,

read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name à *Scythia Rege eorum*, from *Scythia their King*. But (in a word) we may fee his vanitie, or rather (indeede) his fallhood in citing this place. For *Diodorus* a most approved and diligent Authour beginneth in that place with these wordes. *Fabulantur Scythia, The Scythians fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giueth this title to that very Chapter. *Scytharum origo & successus, fabula, The originall and successe of the Scythians, a fable*. And (indeede) there needs no great disproofe hercof, since *Ptolomie* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga*, or *Saca*, and sets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians, Saca*, which *Plinie* confirmeth: for in respect that these *Saca* (*saith Plinie*) are the next *Scythians* to the *Persians*, therefore they giue all the rest that name. Now that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no man beleueeth. But this supposed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lyeth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the *Saca*; and the Countrie about *Araxes* *Ptolomie* calleth *Colthene* and *Sodocene* and *Sacape*, without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed *Scythians*, either within *Imaus* or without, to the number of 100. severall Nations are by *Ptolomie* precisely set downe.

Tab. Aste. 7. &amp; 8

But to come to those later Authours, whereof some haue written, others haue scene a great part of those North-east Regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: First, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: 20 (for *Scythia* without these mountains is also beyond our purpose.) *Scythia intra Imaum montem ea est, quæ proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridie Saccis, Sogdiani, Margiani, vñq. ostia Oxæ amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & parte ipsius maris hinc vñq. ad Rha fluminis ostia terminatur*, *Scythia* within the mountain *Imaus* is that part of the world, which in their owne speech is at this time called *Gassaria*; and the same is bounded on the West side by *Sarmatia Asiatica*, (or of *Asia*) on the East by the *Imaus* mountains: on the North by unknowne lands: on the South by the *Sacca* (which are the *Saca*) the *Sogdiani*, and the *Margiani*, to the mouth of *Oxus*, falling into the *Hyrcan Sea*, and by a 30 part of the same Sea as farre as the mouth of *Rha*.

Rha now Volga.  
Cem. 2. Aste.  
fol. 472.

Now if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica*, to the West of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (quæ magna sancta regio est, & quæ innumerat nationes complectitur, Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations, (saith *Niger*, much of it being betwene *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth sufficiently warrant vs, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plaine, he disleuereth *Sarmatia* it selfe from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, which he leauech on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the West bound of *Scythia*.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian*, or *Scythian* Nations; neither doth his fellow *Frier Iohn Planerpio* (cited by *Vincennius* in his description of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus* 40 an *Armenian* borne, of the bloud of those Kings, (though afterward a Monke) euer acknowledge himselfe for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* races descended: though he write that florid at large, gathered by *Nicholaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandement of *Pope Clement the fifth*) in the year 1307. published.

Neither doth *Mathias a Michou* (a Canon of *Craconia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* borne, and that traualled a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, finde *Armenia* any way within the compasse of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whose traualles are extant) hath obserued so much of those Regions as he hath done: prouing and disproving many things, heretofore subiect to dispute. And among others hee bueth that ancient and receiued opinion. That out of the mountains *Rhiphei*, and 50 *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, spring the Riuer of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; prouing by vnauferable experience, that there are no such mountains in verum natura; and (indeede) the heads and fountaines of those famous Riueres, are now by the trade of *Muscovia* knowne to euery Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddie, and

Ad meridiem  
flexo Bosphoro  
pari septentrioni  
ponte Bosphoro  
sine vñq. in ostia  
Caraci fluy:  
unde reliqua à  
parte dextra  
Colchis, Iberis,  
Albanis, in lit-  
tus Hyrcani  
maris prouenit.  
Spec. hist. l. 30.

and marsh grounds. The Riuer of *Tanais* or *Don*, ariseth to the South of the Citie *Tulla*, some twentie English miles, out of a Lake called *Imanoyfer* in the great wood *Okenitzkiles* or *sepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolomie* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great wood *Podkonzi*: from which Lake the two other famous Riueres flow of *Borsythian* (now *Nyger*) and *Dsuina* or *Diudina*. And this learned *Polonius* doth in this sort bound the *Europææ Sarmatia*. In *Sarmatia Europæa*, &c. are the Regions of *Russians*, *Lithuanians*, *Muscouians*, and those adioyning, bounded on the West by the Riuer of *Vissa* (the name perchance misprinted *Vissa* for *Vissla*, a Riuer which parts *Germanie* and *Sarmatia*) and for the 10 East border he nameth *Tanais* or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the same Riuer of *Tanais* and the *Caspian* Sea, to with-hold it from stretching farther East: this *Asian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomie* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*, *Scythia* within the mountain *Imaus*. And the same *Mathias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which *Frier Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* it selfe about three hundred and a few odde 20 yeares before his owne time: these be his wordes. *Constat esse gentem nouam, & aduentitiam à partibus Orientis, (mutatis scilicet) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Asia Sarmatiam ingressam, it is manifest* (saith he, speaking of the *Scythian* Nation) *that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coasts of the East: from whence they entreinto Asia, and gat new feates a little more then three hundred yeares since*: For (indeede) before that time the *Goths* or *Poloci* inhabited *Sarmatia Asiatica*. And this *Mathias* liued in the year 1511. and this his discourse of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Augspain* the year 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (saith he) come from the East, for in the East it was that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested; and the *Scythia Saca* were those people which liued at the North foote of those mountains of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or beginne to mixe themselves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other testimony then the general description of the earth now extant, and the witnesse of *Ptolomie*, it is plaine, that betwene all parts of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, there are not only those three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian* Sea: on the East foote of which Sea, but not on the 30 West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeede) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariace*) betwene *Iaxartus* and *Iactus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Ariace*, or *Scythia Araxea* which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more then the *Scythians* of *Europe*?

## †. VIII.

The fift argument, The Vine must grow naturally neare the place where the *Arke* rested.

40

TO this if we adde the consideration of this part of the Text, *That Noah planted a Vineyard*, we shall finde that the fruit of the Vine or *Rayn* did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the *Arke* was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in *Italie* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a farre colder Countrey. For *Tyrrhenus* first brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturius* into *Latium*: yea 50 at such time as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italie*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gauls* remained betwene the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes*, neare vnto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, vntill they drunke Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italie*; and after they tasted thereof they halted to inhabite that Countrey, which brought forth such pleasant fruit: so as it appeared, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in *France*, but from *Italie* brought thither; as by *Saturne* from elsewhere into *Italie*.

Sig. Herberstein.  
Circus calleth  
this Riuer W-  
stus, Niger Eu-  
namaze.  
Rom. Aste, Vi-  
sula, & Plin.  
Vissla.Scrius. Euclid.  
Europæa.

Now it is manifest that *Nash* traualled not farre to seeke out the Vine. For the plantation thereof is remembered, before there was any counsaile how to dispose of the world among his children: and the first thing he did was to till the ground, and to plant a Vineyard, after his sacrifice and thanks-giving to God; and wherefoever the *Arke* rested, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare that he traualled farre: for the Scriptures teach vs, that he was a Husbandman, and not a Wanderer.

## †. IX.

*Answere to an obiection out of the wordes of the Text. The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.*

And that all the children of *Nash* came together into *Shinar*, it doth not appeare, sauing that it may be inferred out of these wordes (from thence) because it is written: So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the earth; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these wordes of *Sybbils* (as they are conected) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinar*, for they haue this limitation. *Quidam eorum turrem edificauerunt altissimam, quasi per eam cælum essent ascensuri. Certamine eorum turrem aedificauerunt altissimam, quasi per eam cælum essent ascensuri. Certamine eorum turrem aedificauerunt altissimam, quasi per eam cælum essent ascensuri.*

## †. X.

*An answer to the obiection from the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the height of the hills there.*

But before I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see and consider, what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out to make it true or probable, that the *Arke* of *Nash* was forsaken by the waters on the mountaines of *Armenia*. For the Text hath only these wordes. The *Arke* rested on (or vpon) the mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, saith the marginall note of *Genes.* the Chaldean Paraphrast calls it *Kardu*, of which the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* doe not conuert at all, but keepe the same word) is taken to be a mountaine of *Armenia*, because *Armenia* it selfe had anciently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, that the *Arke* first fate thereon.

But these suppositions haue no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* all one, neither is any part, or any of those mountaines of equall stature to many other mountaines of the world; yet indeede it doth not follow, that the *Arke* found the highest mountaine of all other to rest on: for the *Plaines* were also vncouered, before *Nash* came out of the *Arke*. Now if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might giue more credit to the conceit. For in the bookes of the *Sybbils* it is written, that the mountaines of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, vpon which it was supposed that the *Arke* layed after the flood. And the better to particularize the place and seate of these mountaines, and to prooue them in *Phrygia*, and not *Armenia*, they are placed where the *Citie* of *Calenes* was afterward built. Likewise in the same description the maketh mention of *Aras*, a Riuer which runneth through part of *Phrygia*, and afterward ioyneith it selfe with the Riuer *Meander*, which is farre from the *Gordian* mountaines in *Armenia*. Wee may also finde a great mistaking in *Iosephus*, (though out of *Berosus*, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that *Iosephus* sets *Ararat* betwene *Armenia* and *Parthia* toward *Adiabene*, and affirmeth

affirmeth withall, that in the Prouince of *Caren* by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, so called by reason that the waters haue from thence no descent, nor issue out, the people vaunt that they had in those dayes referred some peeces of *Nashs* *Arke*. But *Parthia* toucheth no where vpon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Prouince of *Affrya*: so that all *Media* and a part of *Affrya* is betwene *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the discouerie of the mountaines *Cordiei* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Iosephus*; yet the Text which *Iosephus* citeth out of *Berosus*, differs farre from the wordes of that *Berosus*, which wandereth vp and downe in these dayes, set out by *Ammius*: For *Berosus* cited by *Iosephus* hath these wordes.

10 *Fertur et nauis huius pars in Armenia, apud montem Cordieum superesse, et quosdam bitumen inde abrasum scum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci huius homines uti solent, (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordian mountaines; and that diuers doe scrape from it the bitumen or pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it in steade of an amulet. But Ammius his Edition of the fragment of Berosus vlteth these wordes. Nam eleuata ab aquis in Cordia montis vertice quieuit, inus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, et homines ex illi bitumen tollere quo maxime utuntur ad expiationem. For the whole Arke being lifted up by the waters, rested on the top of the Gordian mountaines, of which it is reported that some parts remaine, and that men doe carry thence of the bitumen to purge by sacrifice therewith: so as in these two Texts (besides the difference of wordes) the name is diuersly written: The ancientest *Berosus* writes *Cordias* with a (C) and the Fragment *Gordias* with a (G): the one that the Bitumen is vsed for a preferatiue against poison or incantment; the other in sacrifice; And if it be said that they agree in the general, yet it is reported by neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approved Author: for one of them vlteth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*) the one, that it is reported, the other, that so it is said; and both but by heare say, and therefore of no authoritie nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report after it, nor giue credit to any thing they receiue from it.*

Furthermore, these mountaines which *Ptolomie* calls *Gordias*, are not those mountaines which himselfe giueth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the mountaines of *Armenia Moschici*. These be his owne wordes: Montes Armenia nominantur ii, qui Moschici appellantur, qui protenduntur usque ad superiacentem partem Ponti Cappadociam; et mons qui Paryardes dicitur. The mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, which stretch along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: also the hill which is called Paryardes; which mountaines *Plinie* calleth *Parietris*, and both which lye to the North of *Gordias* or *Boris*, in 43. and 44. a halfe; and the *Gordian* mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from the Northernmost of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were first *Gordians* and then *Georgians*, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of *Persia* and *Turkie*, doe still remaine *Christians*. Concerning the other suppositions, that the mountaines of *Gordias*, otherwise *Boris* *Kardu* or *Lubar*, (which *Ptolomie* calleth *Togordiaion*) are the highest of the world, the same is absolutely false.

## †. XI.

*Of Caucasus, and diuers farre higher hills then the Armenian.*

For the best *Cosmographers* with other, that haue seen the mountaines of *Armenia*, finde them farre inferiour, and vnder-set to diuers other mountaines euen in that part of the world, and elsewhere: as the mountaine *Athos* betwene *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolomie* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacus*, (saith *Castaldus*) is farre surmounting any mountaine that euer hath beene scene in *Armenia*: for it calleth shade three hundred furlongs, which is seuen and thirtie miles and vpward: of which *Plutarch*. *Athos admirat latera Lemnia bouis, Athos* shadoweth the Cow of *Lemnia*.

nos. Also the mount of *Olympus* in *Theſſalie*, is ſaid to be of that height, as neither the windes, cloudes, or raine ouertop it. Again, the mountaine of *Antandrus* in *Myſia*, not farre from *Ida*, whence the Riuer *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is alſo of a farre more admiration then any in *Armenia*, and may be ſeene from *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo in *Mauritania* neare the Sea, the famous mountaines of *Atlas*, of which *Herodotus*. *Exstat in hoc mari Mons, cui nomen Atlas, ita ſublimis eſſe dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium peruenire non poſſint. Vpon this coaſt there is a mountaine called Atlas, whoſe height is ſaid to be ſuch, as the eye of no mortall man can diſcerne the top thereof.* And if we may beleue *Ariſtotele*, then are all theſe inferior to *Caucasus*, which hee maketh the moſt notorious both for breadth 10 and height. *Caucasus mons omnium maximus, qui aſſium ad ortum ſunt, acumine atq; latitudine, cuius iuga a ſole radiantur uſq; ad continicum ab ortu: Et iterum ab occaſu, Caucasus* (ſaith *Ariſtotele*) is the greateſt mountaine both for breadth and height of all thoſe in the North-eaſt, whoſe tops are lightened by the Sunne beames, uſq; ad continicum (which is ſaith *Macrobius*) betweene the firſt crosſing after midnight and the breake of day: Others affirme that the top of this mountaine holds the Sunne beames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot beleue either: for the higheſt mountaine of the world knowne is that of *Tenerife* in the *Canaria*: which although it hath nothing to the Weſtward of it for 1000. leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enioy the Sunnes companie at any ſuch late houres. Beſides, theſe mountaines which *A- 20 riſtotele* calleth *Caucaſi*, are thoſe which ſeparate *Colechis* from *Iberia*; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth diuide both *Colechis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, from *Sarmatia*: for hee acknowledgeth that the Riuer of *Phyſis* riſeth in the ſame mountaine, which himſelfe calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phyſis* ſpringeth from thoſe hilles which ſunder *Chelmeſ* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which Riuer (it is maniſeſt) yeeldeth it ſelfe to the Sea two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howfoeuer *Mercator* bring it from *Peryardes*.

## †. XII.

Of diuers incongruities, if in this ſtorie we ſhould take *Ararat* for *Armenia*.

SO as it doth firſt appeare, that there is no certainetie what mountaine *Ararat* was: for the bookes of the *Syblis* ſet it in *Phrygia*: and *Beroſus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Beroſus* authoritie, thoſe men haue great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the higheſt hill, and therefore moſt likely that the *Arke* grounded thereon, the aſſertion and ſuppoſition haue equall credit: for there are many hils which exceede all thoſe of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not 40 follow (as is before written) that the *Arke* ſhould ſit on the higheſt.

Thirdly, it cannot be proued that there is any ſuch Hill in *Armenia*, or *inverum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (ſaith *Herome*) ſignifieth high Towers: and ſo may all high hils be called indifferently; and therefore wee may better giue the name of *Baris* to the hils of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riſeth) then to any hils of *Armenia*. For thoſe of *Caucasus* in the Eaſt, are vndoubtedly the higheſt of *Aſia*.

Fourthly, the Authours themſelues doe not agree in what Region the mountaines *Gordiaei* ſtand: for *Ptolomee* diſtinguiſheth the mountaines of *Armenia* from the *Gordiaean*, and calleth thoſe of *Armenia* *Mofchici* and *Paryardes*, as aforeſaid. Now *Paryardes* is ſeated neare the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the Weſt ſideriſeth *Euphrates*, and out of the Eaſt ſide *Araxis*: and the mountaines *Mofchici* are thoſe hils which diſioyne *Colechis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Countrie of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

## †. XIII.

## †. XIII.

Of the contrarie ſituation of *Armenia* to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no maruaile that the ſame ledge of hils running from *Armenia* to *India* ſhould keepe the ſame name all along: and euen in *India* be called *Ararat*.

LAſtly, we muſt blow vp this mountaine *Ararat* it ſelfe, or elſe wee muſt digge it downe, and carrie it out of *Armenia*; or finde it elſewhere, and in a warmer countrie, and (withall) ſet it Eaſt from *Shinaar*: or elſe wee ſhall wound the truth it ſelfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the miſtaking open to euery eye, wee muſt vnderſtand, that *Ararat* (named by *Mofes*) is not any one hill, ſo called, no more then any one hill among thoſe mountaines which diuide *Italia* from *France* is called the *Alpes*: or any one among thoſe which part *France* from *Spain* is the *Pyrenian*; but as theſe being continuations of many hils keepe one name in diuers Countries: ſo all that long ledge of mountaines, which *Plinie* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolomee* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatrus*, *Coronus*, *Sarphi*, vntill they encounter and croſſe the 20 mountaines of the great *Imaus*, are of one generall name, and are called the mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, becauſe from thence or thereabout they ſeeme to ariſe. So all theſe mountaines of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caſpij*, *Mofchici*, *Amazonicis*, *Heniochi*, *Seythici*, (thus diuerſly called by *Plinie* and others) *Ptolomee* calſ by one name *Caucasus*, lying betweene the Seas *Caſpium* and *Euxinus*: as all thoſe mountaines which cut a ſunder *America*, euen from the new Kingdome of *Granado*, to the ſtreight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as theſe mountaines of *Ararat* runne Eaſt and Weſt: ſo doe thoſe maruaillous mountaines of *Imaus* ſtretch themſelues North and South; and being of like extent well neare are called by the name of *Imaus*, euen as *Plinie* calleth theſe former hils *Taurus*, and *Mofes* the hils of *Ararat*. The reaſon of ſeueral names giuen by *Ptolomee* was thereby the better to diſtinguiſh the 30 great Regions and Kingdomes, which theſe great mountaines bound and diſſeuer;

as *Armenia*, *Mefopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Suſiana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Arax*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paraponiſus*: hauing all theſe Kingdomes either on the North or South ſide of them. For all the mountaines of *Aſia* (both the leſſe and the greater) haue three generall names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receiue other titles, as they ſeuer and diuide particular places and regions. For theſe mountaines which ſunder *Cilicia* from the reſt of *Aſia* the leſſe on the North ſide, are called *Taurus*; and thoſe mountaines which part it from *Comagena* (a Province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the mountaines called *Taurus* running Eaſt and Weſt, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus* the Riuer of *Euphrates* for- 40 ceth her paſſage, leauing the name of *Amanus* to the mountaines on her Weſt banke, and on her Eaſt ſide the mountaines are ſometimes knowne by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolomees* three tables of *Aſia*) and ſometimes *Niphates*: (as in the fourth) retaining that vncertaine appellation ſo long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mefopotamia*: and after the Riuer of *Tygris* cutteth them aſunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, vntill they ſeparate *Aſſyria* and *Media*; but then they call themſelues *Coatrus*, though betweene the vpper and nether *Media*, they doe not appear, but altogether diſcontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but runne through the Eaſterne *Media* by peeces: in the middle of which Region they call themſelues *Orontes*, and towards the Eaſt part *Coronus*, out of the Southerne 50 part whereof the Riuer of *Euphrates* riſeth, which diuideth the ancient *Persia* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their courſe Eaſtward by the name of *Coronus*, they giue to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themſelues into the mountaines of *Sarphi*, out of which riſeth the Riuer *Margus*, afterward yeelding her ſelfe to *Oxus*: (now *Abia*) and drawing now neare their waies

*Plinie* in his deſcription of *Lycaia*. l. 5. c. 27.

end, they first make themſelves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the title of *Parapanisus*; and lastly of *Caucas*, euen where the famous Riuer of *Indus* with his principal companions *Hydaspis* and *Zoradrus* spring forth, and take beginning. And here doe these mountaines build themſelves exceeding high, to equall the strong hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35. 36. and 37. degrees of latitude, and in 140. of longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these mountaines in this place onely are properly called *Caucas* (saith *Ptolomeus*) that is, betweene *Parapanisus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

Etolab. Afie.

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## †. XIII.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the mountaine *Caucas* and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the soile.

Now in this part of the world it is, where the mountaine and Riuer *Taurus*, and the mountaine *Nysus* (so called of *Bacchus Nysus* or *Nysa*) are found: and on these highest mountaines of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceiue that the *Arke of Noah* grounded after the flood: of all his coniectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indo-Sythica* hee hath many good arguments, though mixt with other fantastical opinions of this subiect. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth; that as in this part of the world are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same line, and in 34. 35. and 36. degrees of Septentrional latitude are the most delicate Vines of the world, namely, in *Indea*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*, and vnder these mountaines, *Strabo* affirmeth that the most excellent Vines of the world are found; the clusters of grapes containing two cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the searchers of the land by *Moses* direction found bunches of equall bignesse at *Escol*.

Num. 13. 24.

The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of these hills, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana* neare the mountaine of *Meros* did *Alexander* cast himselfe and his Armie ten dayes together, finding therein the most delicate wine of all other.

## †. XV.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of diuers chiefe points.

40

And therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those mountaines doe also trauesse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it selfe sometime is knowne by the name of *Ararat*. But as *Plinie* giueth to this ledge of high hills, euen from *Cilicia* to *Parapanisus* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the hills of *France* and *Germanie* are called the *Alpes*: and all betweene *France* and *Spaine* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuation of hills for 3000. miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the generall name which *Moses* gaue them; the diuersitie of appellations no otherwise growing, then by their diuiding and bordering diuers Regions and diuers Countries. For in the like case doe we call the Sea, which entrench by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterran* and inland Sea; and yet where it washeth the coasts of *Carthage*, and ouer against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: betweene *Italie* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo* *Adriaticum*: betweene *Athens* and *Asia* *Aegeum*: betweene *Seisus* and *Abydus* *Helleſpont*: and after ward *Pontus*, *Propontis*, and *Bosphorus*. And as in these,

E. 4. 27.

these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of *Scotland* called *Denealedonycum*: and on this side, the *Brittan* Sea: to the East, the *Germane* and *Baltick*; and then the Frozen.

For a final end of this question we must appeale to that Iudge which cannot erre, euen to the word of truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plaine sense: seeing it can admit neither disinction, nor other construction then the wordes beare literally, because they are vsed to the very same plaine purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely where the sense is plaine, (and being so vnderstood, it bringeth with it no sublequent inconuenience or contrarietie) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our felicitie any new or strange exposition; and (withall) to resolue our felicitie, that euerie word (as aforesaid) hath his waight in Gods Booke. And therefore wee must respect and reuerence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as *St. Augustine* hath taught vs touching the Gospell of *Christ Iesus* (which is) *Neguis aliter accipiat, quod narrantibus discipulis Christi* in *Euangello* legerit, *quam si ipsam manu Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conſpexerit*. That no man otherwise take or vnderstand that which hee readeth in the Gospell, (the *Disciples of Christ* hauing written it) then if he had seene the verie hand of the Lord, which hee bore in his owne bodie, setting it downe.

- 20 The wordsthen of *Moses* which end this dispute are these. And as they went from the East they found a Plaine in the land of *Shinar*, and there they abode, which pro-  
ueth without controuersie, that *Nimrod* and all with him came from the East into *Shinar*; and therefore the *Arke of Noah* rested and tooke land to the Eastward thereof. For wee must remember, that in all places whereof *Moses* maketh a difference of Countries, hee alwayes precisely nameth toward what quarters of the world the same were scated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Iocan*, he nameth *sephar*, a mount in the East: where hee remembreth *Cains* departure from the presence of God, he addeth. And *Cain dwelt in the land of Nod* toward the East.  
30 to he departed from *Sechem*, he vsed these wordes. Afterwardes removing thence  
unto a mountaine *Esau*: and from *Bethel*, he pitched his Tents: hauing *Bethel* on the West-side, and *Hai* on the East: and afterwarde in the ninth verse of the same chapter it is written. And *Abraham* went forth iourneying towardes the South: also when *Ezechiel* prophesied of *Gog* and *Magog*, hee sheweth that these nations of *Togorma* were of the North quarters: and of the Queene of *Saba* it is written, that shee came from the South to visite *Salomon*: And the *Magi* (or wisemen) came out of the East to offer presents unto *Christ*. And that all Regions, and these trauailes were precisely set downe vpon the points of the Compasse and quarters of the World, it is most manifest: for *Eden* was due East from *Indea*, *Saba* South from *Hierusalem*: the way from  
40 *Bethel* to *Aegypt* directly South; and the *Caleſyrians*, the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Palestina*: and so of the rest. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that valley of *Babylonia*, is not a iourneying from the East, nor so neare vnto the East as the North: for *Armenia* is to the West of the North it selfe; and we must not say of *Moses* (whose handes the holy Ghost directed) that hee erred toto caelo, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of *Armenia* standeth in fortie three degrees Septentrional, and the North part thereof in fortie five; and those *Gordian* mountaines, whereon it was supposed that the *Arke* rested, stand in fortie one. But *Babylonia*, and the valley of *Shinar* are situated in thirtie five,  
50 and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference betweene East and West) the *Gordian* mountaines stand in 75 degrees, and the valley of *Shinar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinar* Northwest, ninetie five degrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had bene but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the compasse. But *Gregorie* and *Hierome* warne vs, in scripturis ne minima

Gen. 11. 31.

Gen. 10. 30.

Gen. 4. 16.

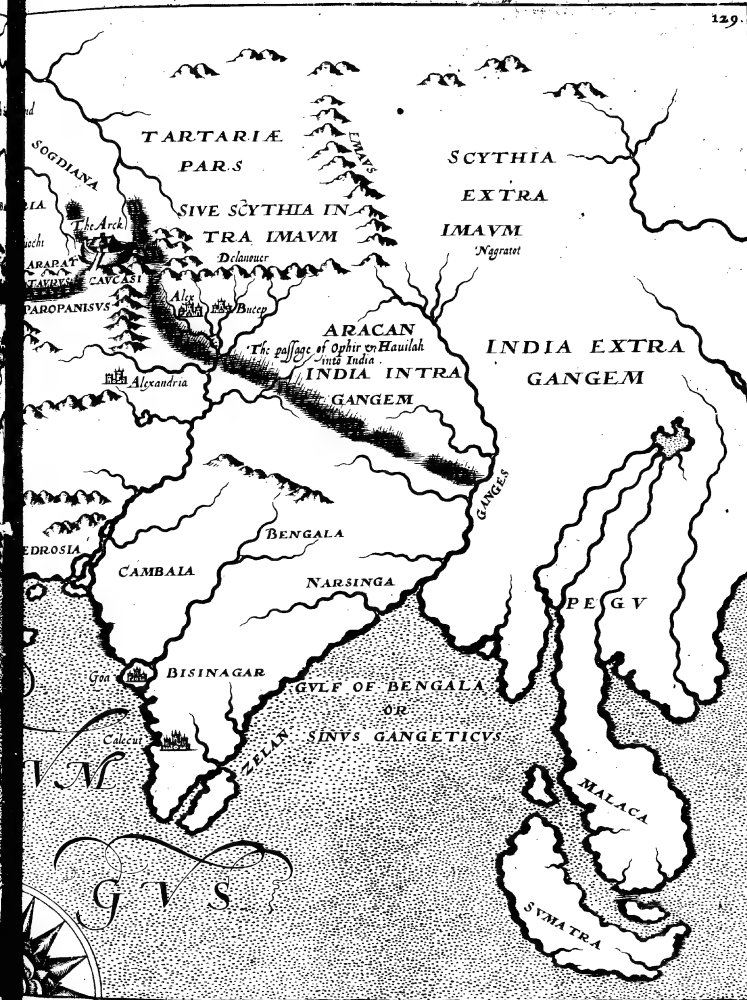
Gen. 12. 8.

Ezech. 38. 6.

Mat. 22. 42.

Mat. 2. 1.

*minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllabe, apices, et puncta in diuina scriptura plena sunt sensibus, In the scriptures the least difference may not bee omitted: for every speech, syllable, note, or accent, and a point in diuine scriptures are replenished with their meanings.* And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth vs that the children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not beleue Writers (of little authoritie) who also speake by hearesay and by report, *ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all aduenture. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth West from the place where the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the floud; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first ciuill, which had *Noah* himselfe for an instructor: and directly East from *Shinaar* in the same degree of 35. are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies also, which ouertopped in number those Millions of *Semiramis*, proue that those parts were first planted: And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor reason sufficient: for my selfe I build on his wordes who in plaine termes hath told vs, that the Sonnes of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *Arke* rest on those Easterne mountaines, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the mountaines of *Ararat*, and not on those mountaines of the North-west, as *Berosus* first fained, whom most part of the Writers haue followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentifull warme East where *Noah* rested, 20 where he planted the Vine, where hee tilled the ground and liued thereon. *Placuit vero NOACHO agricultura studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eam rem suam ipsius lingua ISH-ADAMATH (hoc est) telluris vir appellatur celebratq; est, The studie of Husbandrie pleased NOAH (saith the excellent learned man ARIAS MONTANVS) in the knowledge and order of which it is said, that NOAH excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his owne language a man exercised in the earth.* Which also sheweth that hee was no wanderer: and that hee troubled not himselfe with the contentions, beginning againe in the world, and among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the world, where hee was first deliuered out of the prison of the *Arke*, 30 whereinto God had committed him to preserve him and mankinde.



## CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the flood; and of the  
 Sonnes of NOAH, SEM, HAM, and IAPHET, by whom the earth was  
 repopled.

10

§. I.

Whether SEM and HAM were elder then IAPHET.



Of these Sonnes of Noah, which was the eldest, there is a question made. St. Augustine esteemed Shem for the eldest, Ham for the second, and Iaphet for the youngest: and herein the opinions of Writers are diuers. But this we finde euery where in the Scriptures, and especially in Moses, that there was neuer any respect giuen to the eldest in yeares, but in vertue, as by the examples of Henech, Abraham, Jacob, and Dauid, is made manifest. In a few wordes, this is the ground of the controuersie? The Latine translation, and so the Geneva, hath conuerted this Scripture of Genesis the

August. de Ciuil.  
Dei. l. 6. c. 3.

20

10. v. 21. in these wordes. Vnto SEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER, and elder brother of IAPHET, were children borne. But Iunius agreeing with the Septuagint, placeth the same wordes in this manner. To SEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER, and brother of IAPHET, the eldest sonne were children borne: So the transposition of the word (elder) made this difference. For if the word (elder) had followed after Iaphet, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it beene as plaine for Iaphet, as it is by these translations for Shem. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last in blood, but to the eldest in pietie, yet the arguments are stronger for Iaphet then for Shem. And where the Scriptures are plainly vnderstood without any danger or inconuenience, it seemeth strange why any man of iudgement should make valuation of coniecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that Noah in the fiftie hundredth year of his life, begat the first of his three Sonnes, Shem, Ham, and Iaphet: and in the sixe hundredth year (to wit) the hundredth year following, came the generall flood; two yeares after which Shem begat Arphaxad, which was in the year 602. of Noahs life, and in the year of Shems life one hundred: so as Shem was but 100. yeares old, two yeares after the flood: and Noah begat his first borne being 500. yeares old; and therefore, were Shem the elder, he had then beene a hundred yeares old at the flood, and in the sixe hundredth year of Noahs life, and not two yeares after. Which seeing the Scripture before remembered hath denyed him, and that it is also written. Then NOAH awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger sonne had done vnto him (to wit) HAM; of necessitie the first place doth belong to Iaphet. This younger sonne so conuerted by the vulgar and Geneva, Iunius turnes it filius minimus, his youngest sonne; but St. Chrysostome takes it otherwise, and findes Cham to be the middle or second brother, and Iaphet the youngest sonne of all: which Cham for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father, (whose nakednesse hee derided) was disinherited, and lost the prebeminencie of his birth, as Esau and Reuben did. Per- In Gen.  
 rius conceiveth that Ham was called the younger in respect of Shem the eldest, but  
 auoweth

Gen. 11. 19

Gen. 11. v. 34

In Gen.

auoweth withall, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of *younger* and *youngest*, because it wanteth the comparatiue degree. It is true that *Shem* himselfe was alwaies named in the first place, yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Japhet*: in the second Verse *Moses* leaueth to beginne with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Japhet* first. So the first place was giuen to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this waightrie respect, that the Hebrew Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *Dauid*, and *Christ* our Saviour were defended of him. And therefore, whether wee shall follow the Vulgar *Paganius*, and the *Genea*, who agree in this conuersion, *Shem* frater *IAPHET* maior; or with the *Septuagint*, *Iunius*, and *Tremelius*, *Shem* fratri *IAPHET* maioris; or with *Petrus*, *Shem* frater *IAPHET* ille magnus: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Japhet*, let the Reader iudge. But for ought that I haue leene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that *Japhet* was the eldest. For where *Petrus* qualifyeth the strength of the former argument, That *Shems* age at the time of the flood did not agree with his eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures tooke no account of smaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that *Shem* was an hundred yeares old, and begat *Arphaxad* two yeares after the flood; and againe in the 12. Verse. *So Shela* liued after he begat *Eber*, foure hundred and three yeares, &c. so as the number of two yeares, of three yeares, of five yeares, and afterward of two yeares were alwaies 20 precisely accounted.

Gen. 11. 10.

## §. II.

Of diuers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the world, as that all Histories must yeld to *Moses*: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that the knowne great Lordes of the first ages were of the issue of *HAM*.

**B**Ut let vs goe vnto the worlds plantation after the flood, which being rightly vnderstood, we shall finde that many Nations haue sprung or faired themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which neuer saw or approched the bounds of their countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch defended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures howe the Sonnes and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Authour may receiue allowance herein, the same must bee with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so farre as the storie of Nations is therein handled, wee must know that both the truth and antiquitie of the bookes of God finde no companions equall, either in age or authority. All record, memorie, and testimony of antiquitie whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath bene borrowed thence, and therefore later then it, as all careful obseruers of time haue noted: among which thus writeth *Enschius* in the Proeme of his Chronologie. *Moses is found more ancient then all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as HOMER, HESIOD, and the Trojan warre; and farre before HERCVLES, MVSÆVS, LINVS, CHIRON, ORPHEVS, CASTOR, POLLVS, ESCVLAPVS, BACCHVS, MERCVRIVS, and APOLLO, and the rest of the Gods of the Nations, their ceremonies, or holy rites, or Propheies: and before all the deedes of IVPITER, whom the Greekes haue seated in the toppe and highest Turrey of their Diuinitie.*

Cicero de nat. Deorum. l. 3.

For of the three *Iupiters* remembered by *Cicero*, the ancientest was the sonne of *Aether*, whose three sonnes begotten on *Proserpina*, were borne at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Aegypt*. *Eduxit Moses populum Deix Aegyptio nouissimo tempore*

per *CECROPIS Atheniensis Regis*, *Moses* brought the children of *Israel* out of *Aegypt*, in the last dayes of *CECROPIS* King of the *Athenians* (saith *St. Augustine*) and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of the Cittie it selfe, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diuerly proued, and by many learned Authours, I will not cut a sunder the purpose in hand by alleadging many authorities in a needlesse question, but leaue it to the proper place.

10	The Sonnes of <i>Japhet</i> were,	{	<i>Gomer.</i>	{	<i>Askenah.</i>
			<i>Magog.</i>		<i>Ripbath.</i>
The Sonnes of <i>Japhet</i> were,	{	{	<i>Madai.</i>	{	<i>Togorma.</i>
			<i>Iauan.</i>		<i>Elisha.</i>
			<i>Tubal.</i>		
			<i>Mesbach,</i>		
			and		
			<i>Tiras.</i>		

First, we are to consider that the world after the flood was not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings, to flie from *Shinaar* to the vttermolt border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia* in haste, but that these children were directed by a wife Father, who knew those parts of the world before the flood, to which he disposed his children after it, and sent them not as discoverers, or at all-adventure, but assigned and allotted to euery Sonne and their issues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authours, who haue no other end then to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Augustus* in the fiction of *Aeneas*) or else to glorifie their owne Nations; Let vs build herein vpon the Scriptures themselves, and after them vpon reason and nature. First, therefore wee must call to minde and consider, what manner of face the earth euery where had in the 130. yeare after the great inundation, and by comparing those fruitfull valleys with our owne barren and cold ground, informe our felues thereby, what wonderfull desarts, what impassable fastnesse of woods, reedes, bryars, and rotten grasse, what Lakes and standing Pooles; and what marishes, Fens and bogges, all the face of the earth (excepting the mountaines) was pestered withall. For if in this our climate (where the dead and destroying winter depresseth all vegetatiue and growing nature, for one halfe of the yeare in effect) yet in twentie or thirtie yeares these our grounds would all ouergrow and be couered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods or with other offenseue thicket and bushes: much more did all sorts of plants, reedes, and trees, prosper in the moist fruitfull Vallies, and in the climate of a long and warme Sommer, and hauing withall the start of 130. yeares, to raise themselves without contemlement.

This being considered it will appeare, that all these people which came into *Shinaar*, and ouer whome *Nimrod* (either by order or strength) tooke the dominion, did after the confusion of languages, and at such time as they grew to bee a mightie people disperse themselves into the Regions adioyning to the said vally of *Shinaar*, which contained the best part of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: some of them towards the South, others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both East and West from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Palestina*, which the *Canaanites* first posselt; yet could hee not enioy the lot of his inheritance on the suddaine, but by time and degrees. For we finde, that *Abraham* the true successor of *Shem* dwelt in *Chaldea* at *Vr*; and from thence (called by God) he flicke to *Charan* in *Mesopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* he trauielled to *Sichem* in *Palestina*: and yet there had passed betweene *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themselves) seuen descents, before *Abraham* moued out of *Chaldea*: where, and in *Babylonia*, all those people by *Nimrod* commanded inhabited for many yeares, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Assyria*, and founded *Ninieue*. In deed

deed the great Masters of Nations (as farre as wee can knowe were, in that age of the illues of *Ham*; the blessing of God giuen by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Iaphet* taking little effect, untill diuers yeeres were consumed; and untill the time arriued, which by the wisdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan* came the people and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Aegypt* for many descents together.

## §. III.

Of the Iles of the Gentiles in IAPHETHS portion: of BEROSVS his too speedie fattering GOMER the sonne of IAPHETH in Italy; and an other of IAPHETHS sonnes TUBAL in Spaine: and of the antiquitie of Longinque Navigation.

**T**O beginne therefore (where *Moses* beginneth) with the sonnes of *Iapheth*, among whom the Iles of the Gentiles were diuided: which diuision, as well to *Iapheths* sonnes as to the rest which came into *Shinar*, was (if the diuision were made at *Phalegs* birth) in the year of the world 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the year after the flood one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

Now the habitations proper to the sonnes of *Iapheth* were the Iles of the Gentiles, which include all *Europe* with all the Ilands adioyning, and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an Iland, both in respect that the Sea *Hellepont* and *Aegeum*, *Bosphorus* and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it selfe is (in effect) surrounded with water, flauing that it is fastned to *Asia* by the North, for it hath those sens before named to the East, the *Mediterran* to the South and Southweft, the Ocean to the West, and *British*, *Germane* and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the North Northeast, and Northwest. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or Iles lying betwene Greece and the lesser *Asia*, and the Iles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Creet* or *Candia*, *Sticilia*, *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Iles of *Brittanie* and *Zealand*, with their yong ones adiacent.

This partition and portion of *Iapheth*, with the part which he held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by *Noah*. *Dilatet Deus IAPHETH, Let God spread abroad* (or increase the posteritie of) *IAPHETH, and let him dwell in the tents of SHEMA*. For though *Iunius* here vseth the word (*allicuius*) and not *dilatet*: and the *Geneua* persuaides; yet the *Septuagint* haue *dilatet* or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing giuen to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seed for euer. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the posteritie of *Iapheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of territories; but that thereby they should become participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Iapheths* sonnes, of whome *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may beleue *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late writers haue followed) did in the tenth year of *Nimrods* raigne depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Italy*: which also *Fuacius* confirmeth in these words. *Anno decimo NIMRODI, &c. In the tenth year of NIMRODS raigne, COMERVS GALIVS planted a Colonie in that land afterward called Italy: and in the twelfth year of the same NIMRODS raigne TUBAL seated himselfe in Asituria in Spaine (now called Biscaia) which was in the 140. and in the 142. yeeres after the flood, according to BEROSVS.* But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of tongues the children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinar*. Let vs therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a Cittie and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readie meanes to performe such a worke as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Fuacius* himselfe out of his Authour *Berosus* witnesseth,) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium, to the*

Gen. 9. v. 27.

Funct. Chronol.

the height and magnitude of the mountaines. Sure that both this Cittie and Tower were almost builded the Scriptures witness. But the Lord came downe to see the Cittie and Tower, which the Sonnes of men builded. Let vs then but allot a time sufficient for the making of bricke to such a worke, of the greatest height (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that euer was. For where the vniuersall flood covered the highest mountaines fiftene cubits, Let vs build vs a Cittie and a Tower (saith *Nimrod*) whose top may reach vnto the heauen: meaning, that they would raise their worke about fiftene cubits higher then the highest mountaine, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the feare of a second inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the worke. They also beganne this building vpon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which these waters forcibly overbearing and overflowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approved also by the Prophet *Jeremie*, speaking of *Babylon* in these wordes. *Thou that dwellest vpon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantiall foundation, for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which *Glycer* vpon *Genefts* giueth fortie yeeres. For it seemeth, that the Tower was neare finished when God overthrew it: it being afterward writtten, *So the Lord scattered them from thence vnto all the earth, and they left to build the Cittie.* Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Tower is not then named) that they very neare had performed the worke of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the Cittie adioyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the tower was throwne downe) these nations did not disperse themselves: for from thence the Lord scattered them vpon all the earth, (that was) when they perceived not one an others speech. Now to think that this worke in the newnesse of the world (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeeres; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same year could creepe through 3000. miles of Desert, with women, children, and cattle: let those light beleeuers, that neither tye themselves to the Scripture, nor to reason, approue it, for I doe not. And if the *Arke* of *Noah* was 100. yeeres in building, or but neare such a time, (and then) when the world had stood 1556. yeeres, it were more then foolishnes and madnes it selfe, to thinke that such a worke as this could be performed in ten; when the world (from the flood to the arrivall at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeeres, and whereof they had spent some part in trauielling from the East. Again, if all *Asia* set to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that worke 400. yeeres (or be it but halfe that time) and in such an age as when the world flourished in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plentie of materials and carriages: This worke of the Tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) bee erected in those few yeeres remembered. And for conclusion, let all men of iudgement weigh with themselves how impossible it was for a Nation or familie of men, with their wives and children, and cattle, to trauaile 3000. miles through woods, bogges, and deserts, without any guide or conductor; and we shall finde it rather a worke of 100. yeeres then of 100. dayes. For in the West Indies of which the *Spaniards* haue the experience, in those places where they found neither path nor guide, they haue not entred the Countrey ten miles in ten yeeres. And if *Nimrods* people spent many yeeres by the account before remembered in passing from the East-India or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. degrees of longitude, untill they came into *Shinar* which lyeth in 79. degrees (the distance betwene those places containing 36. degrees, which make 720. leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keepe the mountaines and hard ground; then the difference betwene *Babylon* and *Biscaia* is much more: for the bodie of *Biscaia* lyeth in ten degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinar*, (as aforesaid) in 79. so the length of way from *Shinar* to *Asituria* or *Biscaia* is 69. degrees, which make 1380. leagues, or

of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* tooke diuers years to find *Shinar*, which was but 2160. miles : or (supposing that the *Arke* rested in *Armenia*) little above 400 miles : there is no cause to the contrary , but to allow as many yeares to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to trauaile 3000 miles to countries lesse knowne vnto them by farre; then the land of *Shinar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradyse* was knowne to *Noah* before the flood : and so was the Region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterward remembered; but what hee vnderstood of most part of the world else it is vnkowne. And therefore did *Annius* ill aduise himselfe to plant *Gomer* in *Italie*, and *Tubal* in *Spaine*, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nimrods* raigne: *Shall the earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a nation be borne at once?* But it may be objected, That the Sonnes of *Iapheth* might come by Sea, and so faue this great trauaile through Desarts by land. But we neuer read of any nauigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarque so great a people as we may iustly suppose those conducters carried with them, will not easily beleue, that there were any vessels in those daies to transport Armies, and (withall) their cattle, by whose milke they liued and fed their children : for milke and fruit were the banquetting dishes of our forefathers. And in the eldest times, euen the Kings and Fathers of nations valued themselves by the heards and numbers of their Cattle : who had flocks of sheepe, and great droues and herds of their owne, and their owne sheepe-herds and herdsmen. Now if *Tubal* had part by Sea from any part of *Palestina*, *Syria*, or *Cilicia*, hee might haue made good choice within the Streights, and not haue ouergone *Granado*, *Valentia*, and other Prouinces in that Tract : past the Streights of *Gibraltar*, disdained all *Andalusia* and *Portugall*, with all those goodly Ports and countries; and haue sought out the yron, wooddie, and barrn Countrie of the world (called *Biscay*) by a long and dangerous nauigation. But before the iourney of the *Argonautes* there were scarce any vessels that durst crosse the Seas in that part of the world : and yet that which *Iafon* had (if the tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knowes) and perchance such as they vse this day in *Ireland* : which although it carryed but foure and fiftie passengers, yet was it farre greater then any of the former times: *Erat enim antea paruarum nauicularum usus, For in former times they used very small Vessels.* I denie not but that the *Tyrrians* gaue themselves of old to farre-off nauigations, whence *Tibullus* ascribed the inuention of ships vnto them.

Diod. Sicul. l. 4.  
c. 4. fol. 115.

Tibull. Eleg. 7.  
Strabo. l. 16.

*Primaratem ventis credere docta Tyros.*

Tyrus knew first how ships might vse the winde.

Diod. Sicul. l. 4.  
Plin. l. 7. c. 56.

Thucyd.

Plin. l. 7. c. 56.  
Euseb. de prep.  
Euang. c. 1.  
Tert. de Coron.  
mil.

And for those boates called *longe naues* or Gallies, *Plinie* saith that *Aegestis* ascribed the deuise to *Paralus* : and *Philostephanus* to *Iafon* : *Ctesias* to *Samyrias* ; and *Saphanus* to *Semiramis* : *Archimachus* to *Aegon* : to which inuention the *Erythraei* are said to haue added certaine numbers of Oares : and then *Arimodes* the *Corinthian* to haue increased them : the *Carthaginians* afterwards to haue brought them to foure banks: the *Quing*, *Remi* first to haue bene vsed by *Nesibthion* the *Salaminian*, with which Vessels in those parts of the world, the *Romans* serued themselves in the *Punic* war. But these be perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the deuiling of these Gallies on *Sesostris*, though *Semiramis* vsed them in the passage of her Armie ouer *Indus* in *Abrahams* time. So it is said, that *Danaus* was the first that brought a ship into Greece: and yet the *Samosathians* challenge the inuention; and yet *Tertullian* (on the contrarie) giues it to *Minerus* : so others to *Neptune*; *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And so ignorant were the people of those ages, as the *Egyptians* vsed to coast the shores of the red Sea vpon raffles, deuised by King *Erythrus* : and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Brittans* had a kinde of Boar (with which they crosse the Seas) made of small twigs, and couered ouer with leather:

leather : of which kinde I haue seene at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elsewhere. *Naues ex curio circumfusa in Oceano Britannico* (saith *Tertor*) : of which *Lucan* the Poet:

*Primum cans salix, madefacta rovimine, paruum  
Texitur in puppim, casq; induta iuuenes,  
Vectoris patiens tumidum supercubat amnem.  
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, susq; Britannus  
Nauigat Oceano.*

The moistned Ofyer of the hoarie Willow  
Is wouen first into a little boate:  
Then cloath'd in bullocks hide, vpon the billow  
Of a proude Riuier, lightly doth it float  
Vnder the Waterman:  
So on the Lakes of ouerswelling Poe  
Sailes the Venetian : and the Brittan so  
On th'out-spreed Ocean.

And although it cannot be denyed, when *Noah* by Gods inspiration was instructed in so many particulars concerning the *Arke*, that then many things concerning nauigation were first reuealed; yet it appeares that there was much difference betwene the *Arke* of *Noah*, and such ships as were for any long nauigation. Ye ancient stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume vpon any long voyages to Sea : at least with multitudes of women, and children, and cattle : as also common reason can tell vs, that euen now when this Art is come to her perfection, such voyages are very troublefome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that age of *Nimrod* any ship, or vlc of ships; fit for any long nauigation. For if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had passed themselves and their people by Sea; the exercise of nauigation would not haue bene dead for so many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their fables, and all men else to their fancies, who haue cast Nations into Countries farre off, I know not how, I will follow herein the relation of *Moses* and the Prophets : to which truth there is ioynd both nature, reason, pollicie, and necessitie : and to the rest, neither probability, nor possibilitie.

#### Þ. IIIL

Of GOG and MAGOG, TYBAL and MESECH, seated first  
about *Asis* the lesse, out of *EZECHIEL*.  
Cap. 38. 39.

Now although many learned and reuerend men haue formed (I know not whereby led) a plantation of the world, which also hath bene and is receiued: yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great learned man of this latter age, *Arius Montanus* was also in some things much mistaken : and for *Iosephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a guide to many errors withall, so was he in this plantation of the world very grosse and fabulous, whereby both *Eusebius*, *Hierosolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that haue taken his testimonies for currant, haue bene by him farre misled. But the better to conceiue what Regions of the world *Gomer* the first Sonne of *Iapheth* possesse, as also *Tubal*, it is needfull to beginne with *Magog* : because the Scriptures take most knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*, which two names haue troubled many Commentators, saith *Matth. Beroldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that cuer I read) I finde most

most iudicious in the examination of this plantation. He takes authoritie from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapter directeth vs, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of all which *Gog* was Prince or chiefe Conductor in their attempts against *Israel*. For besides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-east parts of the greater *Asia*, which *Iapheth* issues possit, all *Asia* the lesse was peopled by them. And that those of the issue of *Iapheth* (whom *Ezechiel* speaks of) were seated hereabout, it may best appeare if we consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependencie vpon the former prophetic in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, *Ezechiel* propheticeth of the vniing of the two Kingdomes of *Israel* and *Juda*, after their deliuerie from captiuitie.

By which prophetic of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to giue life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpose it is written; And *DAVID* my seruant shall bee King ouer them, and they shall haue one sheepe-herd, (that is) they shall bee vniued as they were in *Dauids* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter *Ezechiel* propheticeth against those Nations, which should seeke to impeach this Vniion, and disturbe the people of *Israel*, whom God purposed to receiue to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the *Israelites* after their returne, and fought to subiect them: all which were the subiects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Celestians*, next bordering *Palestina* or the holy Land, followed also by the rest of the Nations of *Asia* the lesse, which lay North from *Juda*.

The wordes of *Ezechiel* are these: Sonne of man set thy face against *Gog*, and against the land of *MAGOG*, the chiefe Princes of *MESCH* (or *MOSCH*) and *TUBAL*: and afterward. Behold, I come against the chiefe Prince of *MESCH* and *TUBAL*: and in the sixth Verse; *GOMER*, and all his bands, and the house of *TOGORNA* of the North quarters. Herein *Ezechiel* hauing first deliuered the purpose of his prophetic, teacheth what Nations they were, that should in vaine assaile *Israel*. He ioyneth them together vnder their Prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Juda*, and how seated and ioyned together. *Gog* signifieth in the Hebrew (saith *St. Hierome*) *tectum* or covering of a house: and *Pintus* vpon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for (saith hee) *Antichristus erit Diaboli tegumentum sub specie humana*, That *Antichrist* shall be the covering of the Devil vnder humane form. Hee addeth that *Magog* is as much to say as *Gog*: the letter (*M*) being an Hebrew Preposition, and importeth as much as of or from: so be taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So farre *Pintus*; at least in this not amisse, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one person, but for a Nation, with which agreeth this obseruation of *Bernaldus*. *Magog* (saith he) in Hebrew is written *Ham-Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the letter (*H*) which is vied but for an Emphasis (which the Hebrewes call *Helaicidia*) is neuer added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or according to others the people of *Gog*) also Prince of *Meshech*, (or *Mosoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first Verse of the 39. Chapter is made manifest. Behold, I come against thee *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *MESCH* and *TUBAL*.

This must needs be meant by the successours of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as others conquering Nations) seeke to make the *Iewes* their Tributaries onely, but endeouored by all means, and by all kinde of violence to extinguish the religion it selfe (which the Hebrewes profest) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serue the mortall and rotten Gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. *St. Ambrose* and *Iddore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: belike because they invaded *Europe*, and sacked *Rome*, and many other places and Citties thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* deriues the *Turkes* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others for a Nation inhabi

inhabiting a Region, as *Iunius*, who saies that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the Greeke storics call *Gyges*: who in former time hauing slaine *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gaue his owne name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof also the *Gygen* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* also findeth in *Lydia*, (of which *Gyges* was King) fortie furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinius* calleth it *Gygenum stagnum*. *Hierodotus* and *Nicanor* set it about the Riuer of *Hyllus*, and *Masander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who after hee had subdued the Countie about the Riuer *Rhodus* which runneth into the *Hellesponte*, called the Promontory *Trapese* after his owne name *Gyges*. These opinions doe also seeme to strengthen that of *Iunius*. For *Magog* saith he, is that part of *Asia* the lesse, which *Halyattes* obtained, and after him his sonne *Craesus*; who (as *Iunius* further notes) hauing mastered all those Regions as farre South as *Libanus* in that border built the Cittie *Gigarta* or *Gegkarta* (which in the *Syrian* signifieth the Cittie of *Gog*) seated in *Calestria*, whose people were the ancient enemies of the *Iewes*.

Now that *Magog* is found in *Calestria*, *Plinius* affirmeth saying; *Calestria habet Bambycen, que alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syria vero Magog. Calestria habet in it Bambyce, which by another name is called Hierapolis, but of the Syrians Magog*. He further telleth vs that the monstrous Idoll *Atergatis*, called by the *Greekes* *Derceto*, was here worshipped, *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying that the Cittie had anciently another name, which yet he expresth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as founding nothing elegantly in the *Greeke*. But if we may beleue *Strabo*, then was *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia* the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same Idoll was worshipped. *Ortelius* is doubtfull whether one of these Authours did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough bee that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palestina*, and were both subiect vnto the Kings of the race of *Seleucus*. Now I doe not condemne the opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Iosephus*, but grant that perhaps *Magog* might also bee the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the Prince of *Magog*, the nations of *Calestria* and the North partes adioyning bee meant by *Magog*: for by a latter plantation from these partes they might bee propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to bee denied, that the *Scythians* in olde times coming out of the Northeast waited the better part of *Asia* the lesse, and possit *Calestria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog* *Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plaine: for this Cittie *Hierapolis* or *Magog* standeth due North from *Juda*, according to the wordes of *Ezechiel*, that from the North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolomies* Kings of *Aegypt*: to those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the successours of *Seleucus*, the successour of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrinus* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rager*, mentioned in the storie of *Tobias*. *Plinius* takes it not onely to haue bene called *Bambyce*, as we haue said, but also *Edeffa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the same name; now the knowne name is *Allope*: for so *Berolinus* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This Cittie had the title of sacred as the sacred Cittie, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatrie, and wherein was worshipped the Idoll of the Mermaide *Atergatis*, or *Atergatis*, according to *Plinius*, which the *Greekes* call *Derceto*.

If then we conferre the wordes of *Ezechiel* in the third verse of the thirty eight chapter, wherein he ioyneth together *Gog Mesch*, and *Tubal*: and withall remember that *Hierapolis* was the Cittie of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Juda*: with whome also *Ezechiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bandes of the North quarters; we may (as I conceiue) safely conclude, that these followers and vassals of *Gog* (which were Northerne Nations in respect of *Juda*) were not the *Gomeri-*

ans of France, nor the Tubalines of Spaine, but a people of the lesser *Asia*, and *Caleyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Berosus*, *Iosephus*, and whosoever else hath followed them therein are to be rejected. But if *Iosephus* referre himselfe to later times, and thinke that some *Colonia* of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* passe into *Spaine* (to wit from that peece of land betwene *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*: (most part posselt by the *Georgians*) then is his iudgement of better allowance. For without any repugnance of opinions, it may be granted, that in proceesse of time these people might from their first habitation passe into the Countries neare the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence after Ages into *Spaine*.

*Iosephus* makes mention of the *Iberi*, saying, that they were anciently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*, from whence (sayth *Iustine*) they passed into *Spaine* to search out the mines of that Region: hauing belike vnderstood that it was a Southerlie Countrie and mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes* liued altogether by the exchange of iron, and other mettals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following verses, telling how the *Argonauts* did visit them.

*Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,  
Sed ferris venis scindit sub montibus altis:  
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant:*

The *Chalybes* plough not their barren foile,  
But vndermine high hills for iron Veines:  
Changing the purchase of their endlesse toile  
For merchandize, which their poore liues sustaines.

But it is more probable, that *Spaine* was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had euer since an affection to returne thither, and to repeople it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were easily drawne to passe ouer the Streights into that Countrie; and after by the *Moors* who held *Granado*, and the South parts eight hundred years, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these opinions are more probable, then that in the twelfth yeare of *Nimrods* raigne, *Tubal* past into *Spaine*, and therein built *St. Vud*: a poore Towne, and a poore deuice, God knowes. Certaine it is that we must finde *Moseeb* or *Mesech*, and *Tubal* neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togorma* not farre off, or else we shall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Mesech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togorma* their assistants. And that *Mesech* inhabited *Asia*, *Eumetius* (though he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these be his wordes. *MESACVS, qui à MOSE MESECH, prius Mesios ab Adula monte vsq; ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hæc regio postea Cappadocia dicta est, in qua urbs Mazica, &c. hæc est terra M A G O C principalis. MESACVS, whom MOSES callet MESECH, placed the ancient Mesians from the mount Adula, vnto the coast of Pontus.* And this Region was afterward called *Cappadocia*, in which is the Towne *Mazica*, &c. this is the principall Countrie of *M A G O C*. And this doth *Annius* also auow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Mesech* and *Tubal*: and therefore, that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spaine* lying directly West, and not North from *Iudæa*. Also *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophesieth of the destruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Mesech* and *Tubal* ioynlie. And for a small proofe, that these Nations were of a Northern neighbour land (how farre soeuer stretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all horsemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon horses, euen a great multitude and a mighty people.* Then if any man beleue that these troupes came out of *Spaine* ouer the *Pyrenæes*, and first passed ouer a part of *France*, *Italie*, *Hungrie* and *Sarmatia*, and imbarqued againe about the *Hellepont*, or else compassed all *Pontus Euxinus*, to come into the lesser *Asia*, which is halfe the length or compasse of the then knowne world, he may be called a strong beleuer, but he shall neuer be iustified thereby. But on the contrarie it

is knowne, that *Selenis* was a Prouince neighbouring *Palestina* or *Iudæa*, and that *Therapoli* (or *Alagag*) ioyned vnto it: whose Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Asia* the lesse, (namely the *Selenide*) and held it, till *Scipio Asiaticus* ouerthrew *Antiochus* the great: after which they yet posselt *Syria* till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Mesech* be in *Cappadocia*, or vnder *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First hee seated himselfe with *Togorma*, not farre from *Alagag* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward hee proceeded further into *Asia* the lesse; and in long tract of time his valiant issue killed all *Germanie*, reisted long in *France* and *Brittaine*, and posselt the vtmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as *Melancton* well notes) the signification of their parents name, which is *Vtmost bordering*. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherinto they might exonerate their swelling multitudes, that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they returne vpon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our antiquities, *M. William Camden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old language doth signifie robbers; necessitie inforcing them to spoile their neighbours, to whom in their originall they were as neare ioyned, as afterwards in the seates which they posselt. For that the warlike Nations of *Germanie* were in elder ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Gallæ*, the authoritie of *Cæsar* affirming it is prooue sufficient. But in times following they pursued richer conquests, and more easie though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawne at length into *Asia* the lesse, and occupied those partes, which had formerly bene held by their progenitors. I say not that they claimed those lands as theirs by descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne pedigree. Neither can any man therefore denie, that they were of old seated in *Asia*, because in late ages they returned thither; vnlesse hee will thinke, that all those Nations which from farre partes haue invaded and conquered the land of *Shinar*, may by that argument bee proued not to haue issued from thence at the first.

Now concerning *Samothres* for his excellent wisdome surnamed *Dis*, whome *Annius* makes the brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which brother *Moses* neuer heard of, who spake his knowledge of *Iaphets* sonnes) they must deliue him in some old Poet: for *Eumetius* a great *Berosian* confesseth. *Quis hic Samothres fuerit incertum est, i. who this Samothres was it is vncertaine*; neither is there any proofe that he was that same *Dis*, whome *Cæsar* sayth the *Gauls* suppose to be their Ancestour; yea and *Vigener* confesseth with *Eumetius*. *Mais on ne sçayt qu'il estoit. no man knowes who he was.*

In Chron.

Cæsar Comment.  
Vigener. par. 2.  
Chron.

§. V.

Against the fabulous *Berosus* his fiction. That the Italian  
IANVS was NOAH.

**B**Vt before I goe on with *Noah* his sonnes, I thinke it necessarie to disproue the fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himselfe: an inuention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wrested) by those Authours of whom himselfe hath commented: as the fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius Picior*, *Cato*, *Launius* and others. For *Annius* seeks to perswade vs, that *Noah* (surnamed *Ianus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other Citties in *Italie*, wherein he liued 92. yeares. This to disproue, by *Moses* silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disproue it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chane*

Ann. de Eretrofr.  
Picior. de avar. Iaculo.  
Cato de orig. Lat. similitud. de Gall.

Chane

*Chalme* and *Nimrod* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great make to be forgotten, with all the actes he did in 92. yeares. But it were a needlesse labour for me to disproue the authoritie of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so manie learned men haue so demonstratiuely proued that fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Affryian* in his oration against the Greekes auoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote onely 3. Bookes, dedicated to *Antiochus* the succellour of *Seleucus Nicator*: but *Annius* hath deuiled 5. Bookes, where-with hee honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled onely the estate of the *Chaldeans* and *Affryians*, *Annius* hath filled this fragment with the businesse of all the world. And if we may beleue *Eusebius* better then *Annius*, then all the Kings of the Latines (before *Eneas*) consumed but 150. yeares: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Eneas* arrivall into *Italie* there past 1126. (after the least rate of the Hebrew account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Ianus* (who was the first of their Kings) liued at once with *Ruth*, who married *Booz*, in the worldes yeare (as some reckon) 2717. after the flood 1064. and *Noah* died 350. yeares after the flood: and so there past betweene *Ianus* of *Italie* and *Noah* surnamed *Ianus* 704. yeares. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Ianus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Faunus* after *Picus*, and *Latinius* followed *Faunus*: which *Latinius* liued at once with *Tautanes* the 27. King of *Affrya*: with *Pelagius* of *Peloponnesus*: with *Demophoon* of *Athens* and *Sampson* Iudge of *Israell*. Now all these five Kings of the Latines hauing consumed but one hundred and fifty yeares; and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fifty yeares, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Ianus* liued.

Trucit is, that the Greekes had their *Ianus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they Iou the sonne of *Xuthus*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, from whom they drawe the *Jones*, who were indeede the children of *Ianus*, the fourth sonne of *Iapheth*. For the vulgar Translation (where the Hebrew word is *Iauan*) writes Greece, and the *Septuagint Helles*; which is the same. So had they *Medus* the sonne of *Medea*, whom they make the parent of the *Medes*, though they were defended of a farre more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third sonne of *Iapheth*.

Lastly we see by a true experience, that the *Brittish* language hath remained among vs about 2000. yeares, and the *English* speech euer since the inuasion of the *Angles*: and the same continuance haue all Nations obserued among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is strange if either *Noah* (by them called *Ianus*) had left in *Italie* his grandchild *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spaine*, that no plaine resemblance of the Hebrew, Syrian, or Scythian (which no time could haue quite extinguished) should haue beene found in the languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personall plantations of *Ianus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. in *Italie*, *Spaine*, or *France*, are merely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselves with the same Gracian *Ianus*, which commaunded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. yeares, (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinius* the first King: which also *St. Augustine* and *Iustine* confirme: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibillitie. And if this be not sufficient to disproue this vanitie, I may out of themselves adde thus much: That whereas some of them make *Vesta* (others *Camsiensis*) the wife of this *Ianus*, who instituted the holie Fire of the *Vestal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Ianus* all their idolatrous and heathenish ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to beleue that *Noah* himselfe, (who is said by *Moses* to haue walked with God, to be a iust man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and vngratefull, to set vp or deuise any Heathen saluege, or idolatrous adoration, or haue instituted any ceremonie, contrarie to that which he knew best pleasing to God himselfe.

d. VI.

d. VI.

That *GOMER* also and his Sonne *T OGORMA* of the posteritie of *IAPHETH* were first seated about *Asiathelasse*: and that from thence they spread Westward into *Europe*: and Northward into *Sarmatia*.

10 **T**O turne now to the Sonnes of *Noah*, and the worlds plantation after the flood: therein I obserue, that as both reason and necessitie taught them; so, when they multiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repaire to each other, and keepe intelligence by Riuer: because the land was yet Desert and ouerpreit with woods, reedes, bogges, and rotten marishes. As when *Nimrod* seated in *Babylonia*, *Chus* tooke the South part of *Chaldea*, downe the Riuer of *Gehon*, by which he might passe too and fro from *Babylon* to his owne plantation: those also, which were of the race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Fy* or *Orchana* neare the Lakes of *Chaldea*, might by the same Riuer get vp to *Babylon*, and receiue succour from thence. All which Tract of land upon *Gehon* Southward, 20 *Moses* in the description of *Paradise* calleth the land of *Chush*: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Cushite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for a while oppressed, till God afterward by the seede of *Abraham* made them his owne nation and victorious. *Hauilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and sonne of *Cush*, tooke both bankes of *Tigris*, especially on the East side of the Riuer: by which riuer his people might also passe too and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperiall seat of which Region of *Hauilah* or *Susian*, was anciently called *Chusian*, or *Chusan*, afterward *Susa*. *Cush* himselfe tooke the bankes of *Gehon*, and planted those Countries Westward, and South-westward towards *Arabia* the stone, and the Desert, where *Ptolomie* placeth the Cittie of *Chusidia*, first *Chusia*.

30 *Seba*, and *Sheba* with the rest that planted *Arabia felix*, had *Tigris* to conuey them into the *Persian Gulfe*, which washeth the bankes of *Arabia felix* on the East side: so as those sonnes of *Cush* might take land downe the Riuer as they pleased. Also the Cittie of *Ninive* was by *Nimrod* founded on the said Riuer of *Tigris*; and from thence a Colony past to *Charran*, standing also upon a nauigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Iapheths* sonnes settle themselves together, and tooke their seats in *Asia* the lesse: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the *Iles of the Gentiles*. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, late 40 downe first of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Palestina* and *Phoenicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his children past on into *Asia* the lesse, as those of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* spred themselves into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatia*. The first *Gomerians*, and first planters in *Asia* the lesse, held the Countrie of the *Cymmerians* (witnesseth *Herodotus*) the same Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-greekes* called *Galatia*, to whom *St. Paul* wrote his Epistle so intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the inuincible *Scythians* afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first plantations) gaue names to diuers places; as to the mountaines about *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the Cittie of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: also *Bosphorus Cymmerius* tooke appellation from this 50 nation, in the outlet whereof was also a Cittie of that name called *Cymmerian*: which *Plinie* saith (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a Towne in *Campania*, so called of the vnhealthfull waters, fauouring of brimstone: which *Augustus* caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lacrinus*.

The

Euseb. l. i.

Euseb. l. i. c. 10. 12  
& so the place  
of Elai. 66. 19.  
(for Iauan) Hel-  
lades: and (for  
the Plurall Iau-  
anum) Helence.

Ptol. Asia. tab. 4.

The children of *Tubal* ranged as farre as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moschici* were neighbours, which others write *Meshech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*. For these *Meschi* (which *Ptoleme* calleth *Moschi*) inhabite *Syracna* a Prouince of *Armenia*, directly South from the mountaines *Moschici*, in the Valley betweene the mountaines *Moschici*, and the mountaines *Paryardes*: out of whose North part springeth the Riuer *Phasis*; from the East part *Araxia*; and from the West *Euphrates*: and of this *Meshech* are descended also the *Mosonians* (saith *Melaxchion*), and it may bee, that in proceesse of time some of them inhabited those Regions also: For *Meshech* (saith *Melaxchion*) signifieth *extends, enlarging or stretching forth*. *Togorma* also at first did inhabite amongst his parents and kindred. The *Togormians* were also called *Giblici*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchie* of *Pharicia*, the same which *Plinie* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Salomon* had his most excellent *Masons*, which hewed stones for the Temple of *Hierusalem*. Thence the *Togormians* stretched into the lesse *Armenia*, whose Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokarta*: of which Cities *Tigranes* subdued by *Lucullus* the Roman, built one. *Hieropolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbarie*: forgetting the Prophecie of *Ezechiel* against the *Tyrians*. They of the house of *Togorma*, brought to thy *Fares* horses, and horses, and mules, which could not well be driuen ouer the whole length of the *Mediterranean* Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Iosephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygiens*; which I doe not deny, but they might bee in the ensuing ages: and so might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred yeares after the twelfth of *Nimrods* raigne. The *Temes* conceiue that the *Turkes* came of those *Togormians*, because their Emperour is called *Togar*. The *Chaldeans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Laonicus* affirms that the *Turkes* descended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Musconis*. But for these subterfugations it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the flood is the matter which I labour to discouer; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this wee must Note, that those grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet spirit, or (perchance) of lesse vnderstanding, and had not therefore the leading of *Colonies* sent out, their proper habitations can bee hardly knowne: only reason hath taught vs, that they dwelt among the rest, and were covered with the fame of others, who tooke on them the conduction and dominion ouer the rest.

From *Madai* the third Sonne of *Iapheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Græcians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the Sonne of *Medeia*.

§. VII.

OF *IAVAN* the fourth Sonne of *IAPHETH*: and of *MESCH*, of *ARAM*, and *MESHECH* of *IAPHETH*.



For *Iauan* the fourth Sonne of *Iapheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greekes*: and so the Latine and Greeke Interpreters for *Iauan* write *Greece*, as in *Esai*; *Et mittam ex i's qui saluati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italian, & Græciam*. And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in *Italie* and in *Greece*. The *Genea* here vnder the word (*Tarshich*) for *Tarsus*, a Citie in *Cilicia*, though *Tarsus* in many places bee taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Genea* vse the names *Tubal* and *Iauan*, and not *Italie* and *Greece*: keeping the same Hebrew wordes. Of these *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themselves dreame that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Ancestours, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it selfe: who abouting in people sent *Colonies* into *Asia* the lesse, of whom came the *Iones* of those parts.

parts. Others deriue the *Athenians* from *Ion* the sonne of *Xuthus*, the sonne of *Deucalion*; but the antiquitie of *Iauan* marres the fashon of that supposition, who so many yeares preceeded *Xuthus*, *Ion*, or *Deucalion*. *Pausanias* tels vs that *Xuthus* stole out of *Theffalie* with all his Fathers treasure, and his brothers portions, and arriving at *Athens*, he was graciously receiued by *Erichtheus*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage; of whom he receiued two sonnes, *Ion*, and *Achæus*, the supposed Ancestours of the *Athenians*. For *Attica* was called *Ionia* (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theseus*) who, when he had ioyned *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a pillar in that *Isthmos* or *Strait*, which fasteneth *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these wordes. *Hæc non sunt Peloponnesus, sicut Ionia. These Countries are not of Peloponnesus, but of Ionia*; and on the other side which looketh towards the South and into *Peloponnesus*, this. *These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia*.

*Strabo* out of *Hecateus* affirmeth, that the *Iones* came out of *Asia* into *Greece*, which is contrarie to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* transporting certaine companies into *Asia* the lesse, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof then he learned of the *Greekes* themselves, yet I finde this coniecture of *Hecateus* reasonable enough. For though it were to him vnknowne, yet sure I am that *Asia* the lesse had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Iauan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but tooke *Asia* the lesse in his passage; and from thence past ouer the nearest way, leauing his owne name to some maritime Prouince on that side, as he did to that part of *Greece* so called. But yet *Strabo* himselfe beleeueth, that *Ionia* tooke the name from *Ion* the sonne of *Xuthus*: for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greekes* in after-times call themselves into that part of *Asia* the lesse, opposite vnto them, which they held for diuers yeares. And howfoeuer the *Greekes* vaunt themselves to be the Fathers of Nations, and the most ancient; yet all approued Historians (not their owne) deride and disprove their pride, and vanitie therein. For this dispute of Antiquitie (among prophaned Writers) rested betweene the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Iustine* out of *Trogus*, in the warre betweene *Tecoris* of *Egypt*, and *Tamus* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded far the raigne of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was euer heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cæcrops* time the *Greekes* were all saluages without law or religion, liuing like brute beasts in all respects; and *Cæcrops* (saith *St. Augustine*) liued together with *Moscs*.

The sixth sonne of *Iapheth* was *Meshech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosoch*: (a part of those Nations commanded by *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*.) But this we must remember, that betweene *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*, and *Meshech* (or *Mosoch*) the sonne of *Iapheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by diuers interpreters diuersly writtten. *Montanus* with the *Vulgar* writeth *Meshech*, the sonne of *Aram*; the *Genea* *Mas*; *Iunius* *Moshe*. But it may be gathered out of the 120 *Psalme*, that either *Meshech* the sonne of *Iapheth*, was the parent of those people, or gaue name to that Prouince wherein *Dauid* hid himselfe: or else (which may rather seeme) that it tooke name from *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*. For *Dauid* bewailing his exile (while he liued among a barbarous and irreligious people) vnder these wordes. *Uoe is me that I remaine in Meshech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Iunius* conuerteth thus. *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habito tanquam Scenitæ & Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* giues it this sense. *Uoe is me because my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the inhabitants of Kedar*; with which this of the Latine agreeth. *Hei mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitauit cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldeans* otherwise, and in these wordes. *O memiseram, quia peregrinatus sum Asiani, habitauit cum tabernaculis Arabum*. O wretch, that I am, for I have trauielled among those of *Asia*: I haue dwelt in the Tabernacle of the *Arabians*. But howfoeuer or which soeuer conuerfion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Prouince

143d.

118. de ciuit. Dei. 10.

Ts. 120. v. 5.

of

of *Arabia petraea*; and the *Chaldaean* putteth *A'in* instead of *Meshech*; but the Hebrew it self hath *Meshech*. And if it bee taken for a Nation, (as it is most likely, because it answers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) seeing *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*, 1. *Chron.* 1. 7. is called *Meshech*, it is indifferent whether this Nation tooke name from *Meshech* or *Meshech*, both bordering *Judas*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for so *Ezechiele* makes *Meshech* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Meshech* out of the word *Moshech* (given by the *Septuagint*;) to be the *Musconian*: sure they presume much upon the affinity of names, as aforesaid. And sure I am that *Danuel* neuer traualled so farre North; (for to him *Musconia* was vterly unknowne) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a Citie on the mountains of *Samir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Moshech* the Father of the *Musconians*: and herein also *Melanchton* runnes with the tide of common opinion, and sets *Meshech* in *Musconia*, though with some better aduise of iudgement; as, first seated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence trauielling Northward: expounding the places of the 120. Psalm, (*Hei mihi quod exulo in Meshech*) to signifie, *gentis eius feritatem insignem esse; that the feritie of that nation exceeded: which ferience or brutality of the Musconians, Danuel neuer proued, or (perchance) neuer heard of. But the same feritie or cruelty which those Northerne Musconians had, may aswell be ascribed to the Arabians and Kedarens. For this Countie tooke name of Kedar the second sonne of Ismael, of whom a people of* 10 *quall fiercenesse to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, cuen to this day, (if the Arabians, Ismaelites, and Saracens, may be accounted one people:) the same being forethrew by the speech of the Angell to Hager, Gen. 16. v. 12. And he shall be a wild man: his hand shall be against every man, and every mans hand against him. Now Arabia the Desert (saith Plinie) confronteth the Arabians Coelei on the East, and the Cedrei Southward, both which ioine together vpon the Nabathai. So it appeareth (as before) that Meshech, Tubal, Gomer, Togorma, and Magog, neighboured Canaan and Israel, and that Kedar also did ioine to Meshech: all which were Regions of Syria, or of Asia the lesse, commanded by the successours of Selenus, enemies of the reestablishment of Israel and Iuda. But (as I haue already said) it might well be, that long after the first plantation the issue of Meshech (or Moshech) might passe into Cappadocia, and thence into Hyrcania, and giue names, both to Meshech in the one, and to the mountaines Meshech in the other, and from thence might send people more Northerly into Musconia: and so all opinions faued. But all language Nations ouergrowne and vncultivated, doe (for the most part) shew a late plantation, euen as ciuilitie, letters, and magnificent buildings, witnesse antiquite.*

Montan. in Chr.

*Tiras*, the seuenth sonne of *Iapheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the sonnes of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authours (worthie the examination) affirme. *Iosephus* was the first that determined hereof: and because the Scriptures are altogether silent, what part of the world *Tiras* peopled, the coniectures are indifferent, and giue no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speake of the Sonnes of *Gomer*, which were three:

{ *Ascanes,*  
    *Riphath,*  
    and  
    *Togorma.* }

§. VIII.

## §. VIII.

Of *Ascanes* and *Riphath*, the two elder Sonnes of *Gomer*.



*Ascanes* was the Father of those which the *Greekes* call *Regini*, (saith *Iosephus*) but he giues no reason why.

*Eusebius* makes *Ascanes* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Iewes* in their *Thargum* make him the roote of the *Germane Nation*, but their explications are commonly very idle. *Plinie* findeth *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, neare the Riuer of *Hylas* and *Cio*: *Melanchton* being of the same opinion, that the *Tuscanes* were descended of the *Ascanes*, (for *Tuscones*, saith he, is as much to say, as of the *Ascanes*, *praposto articulo die Ascanes*) and that the word signifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the tombs of Martyrs. Not farre from *Phrygia* was the Lake *Ascania*, knowne by that name in the *Romanes* time. And among the Kings which came to the succour of *Troy*, was *Ascanius* (*Deo similis*, saith *Homer*) like vnto God: because he was beautiful and strong: for in the same manner doth *Virgil* grace *Aeneas*, *Os humerosq; Deo similis, in face and body like one of the Gods*. *Virgil* also remembreth such a Riuer together with the hills *Gargara*: as, *Ilus ducit amor trans Gargara, transq; fontem Ascanius*. Appetite leades them both ouer the mountaines *Gargara*, and the roring *Ascanius*. But this *Plinie* maketh more plaine in the description of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the Citie of *Brillon* vpon the Riuer *Ascanius*, which is adioyning to *Midia*, and is neare the border of the *Troian Empire*: and the Lake *Ascanes* he directvs to finde by the description of *Prusis*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lyeth farre within the Countie of *Bithynia*: and then from *Prusia* to *Nicca* are accounted fiftie and twentie miles, in which way this Lake lyeth, euen betwene *Prusia* and *Nicea*. And so *Iunius* (as I conceiue him) takes them of *Ascanes*, to be the inhabitants of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, and those North parts of *Asia*. *Stephanus de Vrbibus* makes it a Citie of *Troas*, built by *Ascanius* the sonne of *Aeneas*: laying, that there was another of that name in *Myria*. Of *Ascania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Platonie* witnesse: and *Strabo* giueth *Ascania* both a Lake, a Riuer, and a Towne in *Myria*, neare vnto *Cio*; which also agreeth with *Plinie*. For *Plinie* findeth *Prusia* (before spoken of) neare *Cio*, and calleth the Islands before *Troy* *Ascanes*.

Now, whether these places tooke name of *Ascanes* the sonne of *Gomer*, or of *Ascanius* the sonne of *Aeneas*, it might bee questioned: sure it is, that *Ascanius* which brought succour to the *Troians*, could not take his name from *Aeneas* sonne, who was then either exceeding young, or rather vnborne: and it seemeth that the countie whence those succours came were not out of any part of *Phrygia* or *Myria*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Asia* the lesse, which by *Heremie* is called *Ascanes*, by the figure *Synchdoche*, as *Iunius* thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore which deceiue not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Heremie* we shall learne of what Nation the *Ascanes* were, whose wordes are these. Set up a Standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the Nations against her, call up the Kings of *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Ascanes* against her, &c. meaning, against the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as most interpreters consent, so called of the mountaines of *Ararat* which runne through it: *Minni* the lesser *Armenia*: *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name: (saith *Iunius* and others before him) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which continued all that *Traet* from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coasts of *Phoenicia* and *Palestina*; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being in elder times but a Prouince of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the storie of *Jacob* and *Esau*, and call it *Aram-padam*. Then if these two Nations were of the *Armenians* and *Ascanes* ioyned with them (who altogether vnto vnder *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the spoile of the *Babylonian Empire*) we shall erre much

Melanch. in car. 1.

Hom. Iliad. 2.

Virg Georg. 13.

C. 51. v. 27.

much to call *Askenaz* Germanie or *Aimaine*, for we heare of no *Swart Ruttiers* at that liege. But the *Askenaz* were of those Nations which were either subiect orallied to the *Medes*: of which, if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the disperſion of Nations was in aftertimes without account. But for the opinion of *Eusebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Iosephus*, who calls them *Rhægingi*; or of the *Iewes*, who will haue them to be *Aimaines*; when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will thinke as they doe.

OF *Riphath* the second ſonne of *Gomer* there is mention in the first of *Chronicles*. *Berodadus* and *Périerus* thinke that hee wandered farre off from the rest of his brothers, and therefore no memorie of his plantation. But I see nothing to the contrary, but that he might ſeate himſelfe with the rest of his familie: for there wanted no roome or ſoile in thoſe dayes for all the ſonnes and grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well vnderſtood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphath*, which the *Greekes* afterwards (according to *Iosephus*) called the *Paphlagones*: and *Riphei* (ſaith *Melanchton*) ſignifieth Giants. Theſe people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the moſt of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*, The greateſt number of the *Sarmatians* were the *Heneti*; who ſpake the ancient *Polac*: which being firſt called *Riphei* (for the loue of ſome of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti*, (a cuſtome exceeding common in thoſe times) and dwelt firſt in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witneſſeth, and ſo doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when theſe *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) ſought new Regions, they came along the ſhores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North part of *Europe*, containyng *Ruſſia*, *Lithuania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they croſt thwar the Land, and peopled *Ilyria*, deſirous (ſaith *Melanchton*) of a warmer ſoyle of fruit and Wine. Theſe *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchton* taketh to be one people, filled all that land betwene the *Baltick* and *Adriatick* Sea: and to this day the name of the Gulfe *Venedicus* is found in *Ruſſia*. This Nation, after they were poſſeſt of *Lithuania* and *Polonia*, diſturbed the plantation of the *Boji* and *Hermundurij*. Therefore, it ſeemeth to me, that of *Riphath* came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and ſo thinketh *Arias Montanus*, firſt ſeated in *Paphlagonia*, but in courſe of time Lordes of *Sarmatia*, and thoſe other parts before remembered, chiefly betwene the Riuer of *Viſtula* and *Albis*. The name (ſaith *Melanchton*) ſignifieth wandering or wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which liued by white meates and fruits, as (indeede) all Nations did in the firſt Ages.

Of the third Sonne of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I haue ſpoken already; now therefore of *Iauan*'s children, which were four:

{ *Elifa,*  
{ *Tharſis,*  
{ *Cethim,*  
{ *Dodanim,*

§. IX.

Of the ſoure Sonnes of *IAVAN*: and of the double ſignification of *Tharſis*, either for a proper name or for the Sea.



OF *Elifa* or *Elipha*, came the *Eoles*: and of this *Elifa* all the *Greekes* were called *Hellenes*, ſaith *Montanus*. *Melanchton* makes *Elifa* the Father of the *Eoles* in *Aſia* ſide: others of *Elia* in *Peloponneſus*, or of both. And ſeeing the *Greekes* were defended in generall of *Iauan*, it is probable that the *Eoles* and the *Eles*, tooke name of *Elifa*, his eldeſt Sonne. *Ezechiel* in the 27. ſpeaking of *Tyre*, nameth the *Iſles* of *Elifa*. *Hyacynth*

et purpura de inſulis *Elifa* facta ſunt operimentum tuum, Blew ſilke and purple, brought from the *Iſles* of *Elifa*, waſthy covering: The *Chaldaens* for *Elifa* write *Italia*: but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneu*, and *Iunus*, keepe the word *Elifa*: and ſo I thinke they might doe with reaſon. For there was not found any ſuch purple Dye in *Italia* in thoſe dayes, nor ſince, that I can reaſe of: but thoſe *Iſles* of *Elifa*, were by a better coniecture the *Iſles* of *Greece*; and the beſt purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it ſelfe: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the coaſt of *Geſtulia*.

*Tharſis*, the ſecond Sonne of *Iauan* inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharſis* is the *Metropolis*. *Montanus* for *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*, vnderſtands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reſeruyng the reſpect due to ſo learned a man) he was much miſtaken in that coniecture. The *Chaldaen Paraphraſt* puts *Carthage* for *Tharſis*, but it hath no authoritie, nor warrant of reaſon therein. So likewiſe, where it is written, that the ſhips of *Salomon* went euery three yeares to *Tharſis*, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldaen Paraphraſt* tranſlates *Tharſis* (*Africa*). But *Salomons* ſhips were prepared in the Red Sea at *Eſion Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elana*, neare vnto *Maadan*, where *Iethra* (*Moſes* Father in law) inhabited; a Prouince of *Arabia Petraea*, *Iſumaea*, or of the *Chuiſites*; and they ſailed to the higher part of the Eaſt *India*. For it had beene a ſtrange nauigation to haue ſpent three yeares in the paſſage betwene *India* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might haue bene ſailed in fixe or ten daies. And if ſo great riches might haue bene found within the bounds of the *Mediterranean* Sea, all other neighbouring Princes would ſoone haue enterdayned that trade alſo. But this enterpriſe of *Salomon* is in this ſort written of in the firſt of Kings. *Salomo King SALOMON made a Nauie of ſhips in Eſion Gaber, which is beſide Elath and the brinke of the Red Sea in the land of Edom: and Hyam ſent with the Nauie his ſeruaunts, that were mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the ſeruaunts of SALOMON: and they came to Ophir, and ſet from thence 420 talents of gold, &c.* But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the world like vnto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that only (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word vſed for the Sea in generall) ſo, becauſe the *Iſraelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew no other Sea then that of the *Mediterranean* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharſis* had the greateſt ſhips, and were the firſt nauigators in thoſe parts with ſuch veſſels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharſis* vſed often for the Sea. And whereas it is ſaid that the ſhips of *Salomon* went euery three yeares to *Tharſis*, that phraſe is not ſtrange at all: for we vſe it ordinarily whereſoeuer we nauigate, (namely) that the Kings ſhips are gone to the Sea, or that they are ſet out euery yeare, or euery three yeares to the Sea; and therefore *Tharſis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but vſed for the Sea it ſelfe. But in this place *Tharſis* is truly taken for *Tharſis*, the chiefe Citie in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharſis* the ſecond ſonne of *Iauan*, or by his ſuccellours in memorie of their firſt parent. To this Citie arriued *Alex. Macedon*, before he gaue the firſt ouerthrow to *Darius*, and caſting himſelfe into the Riuer to bathe and walke his bodie, he fell into an extreme feuer, and great danger of death: and in this Citie of *Tharſis* was *St. Paul* borne. Now this agreeth with the reaſon and nature of a plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other ſonnes inhabiting *Aſia* the leſſe, and that part of *Syria* adioynyng,) *Iauan* who was to paſſe ouer the Sea into *Greece*, tooke the edge of the ſame coaſt, and firſt planted the *Iones* on that ſhore: gaue the *Iſlands* betwene *Aſia* the leſſe and *Greece*, to *Elifa*, and left *Tharſis* vpon the Sea ſide in *Cilicia*; of whom that Citie tooke name.

The third ſonne of *Iauan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, ſaith *Berodadus*, but I allow better of *Melanchtons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plurall (ſaith he) and ſignifieth *percuſſores*, though in that reſpect it may be meant by either. But it ſcemeth more probable, that the place of *Eſu* 23. (according to *Melanchton*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*. *Hac calamitas ab Esai prædicta eſt, qui capite viceſimo tertio inquit,*

venturos esse eueriores Tyri ex terra Cettim, This calamitie (saith MELANCHTON) was foretold by Esa 1 the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of Tyre were to come out of Cettim. And although the children of Israel esteemed all men Islanders, which came vnto them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also Cettim might be taken for *Isle*, saith Bernadus) yet we must take the first performance of the former prophesie, which tooke effect with the destruction of the Tyrians by Alexander: who after seuen Moneths liege entred that proude Cettie, and cut in peeces 7000. principall Cittizens; strangled 2000. and changed the freedome of 13000. others into bondage and slaueirie. Now, that Macedonia was taken for Cethim, it appeareth plainly in the first of the *Maccabees*, in these wordes. After that ALEXANDER the Macedonian, the Sonne of PHILIP, went forth of the land of Cethim, and slue DARIUS King of the Persians and Medes. IOSEPHVS sets Cethim in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (saith he) there remaineth the Cettie Cettim, the Countrie of Zeno the Philosopher (winnesse Laertius) which Cettie Ptolemy vpon Ezechiel affirmeth, that it stood in St. Hieromes time. So it may be that all the Islandes in ancient times by the Hebrewes were called the Islandes of Cethim: and in that sense might Cyprus bee so called also; and yet because Tharsis was the very next Port to Cyprus, and directly ouer against it, it is also very probable, that Cethim dwelt by his brother Tharsis: and finding that Island too freight for his people after they were increased, and that the rest of the coasts, both on Asia side and Greece, were inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he sent Colonies ouer the *Ægean* sea, and inhabited Macedonia.

Dodanim the fourth sonne of Iauan, and the youngest brother (by the most opinions) late downe at Rhodes, as neare Cethim, Tharsis, and Elifas, he could. For Dodanim and Rhodanim are vsed indifferently by many translators: the Hebrew (*D*) and the Hebrew (*R*) are so like, as the one may easily bee taken for the other, as all Hebricians affirme. There is also found in *Epirus* the Cittie of Dodona, in the Province of *Molossia*. And as Cethim, when he wanted soile in Cyprus: so Dodanim (scated in a farre lesse Island) did of necessitie send his people farther off; and keeping alongst the coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of Elifas, he passed a little farther on the Westward, and planted in *Epirus*. And though the Cittie of Dodona was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as Dodanim himselfe, yet his posteritie might giue it that name in memorie of their first parent, as it hapned all the world ouer. For names were giuen to Citties, Mountaines, Riuers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noahs* children, and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successours many yeares after: euery of their families being desirous to retaine among them by those memories, out of what branch their ciuies were taken, and grafted elswhere. And because great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerors newly named, and the greatest Citties often hired and demolished: therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gaue their owne names, or the names of their Ancesters, to Mountaines and Riuers, as to things (after their iudgements) freeest from any alteration.

Thus then did Iauan settle himselfe and his children, in the edge and frontier of Asia the lesse, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in Greece, and the Islands, and neighbour Provinces thereof, as Iapheth their Father had done in the body of the lesser Asia, together with Iauans brethren, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Tubal, Mesech, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did Chus (the sonne of Cham) people Babylonias, Chaldaas, and the borders thereof towards the West and Southwest: and the sonnes of Chus (all but Nimrod, who held Babylon: sit selfe) traualled Southward in Arabia Felix, and Southwestward into Arabia petraea: the rest of his children holding the Regions adioyning to Nimrod. Mizraim the brother of Chus in like manner tooke the way of Egypt: and his brother Canaan the Region of Palestina adioyning. The Sonnes of Canaan had their portions in Canaan, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the enemies both to the Hebrewes, and to those of the sonnes

sonnes of Shem, which spred themselves towards the West, and the borders of the Mediterranean Sea: of which I shall speake hereafter. But first of the sonnes of Cham or Ham, which were foure:

Chus,  
Mizraim,  
Phut, and  
Canaan.

§. X.

That the seate of CHUS the eldest sonne of HAM was in Arabia, not in Ethiopia: and of strange fables, and all translations of Scripture, grounded vpon the mistaking of this point.

†. I.

Of IOSEPHVS his tale of an Ethiopesse wife to MOSES, grounded on the mistaking of the seate of CHUS.

**T**hat Ham was the Father of the Egyptians, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Psalm v. 51. Then ISRAEL came to Egypt, and IACOB was a stranger in the land of HAM: and in the 78. Psalm. He slue all the first-borne in Egypt, even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of HAM. There is also found a great Cittie in Thebaida, called Cheraamis; (asit were the Cittie of Ham) of which name Herodotus also discouers an Island in the same Region. But because Chus is the elder sonne of Ham, it agreeth with order to speake first of him. Now though I haue already in the description of Paradise handled this question, and (I hope) proued that Chus could not be Ethiopia: yet seeing it commeth now to his turne to speake for himselfe, I will adde some farther prooffe to the former. For the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senselesse interpretations. Surely, howsoeuer the Septuagint and Iosephus haue herein failed, yet it is manifest that Chus could not be Ethiopia, but Arabia: (to wit) both that Arabia called Petrea, and a part of Arabia the Happie and the Desert: which Regions Chus and the Chusites presently planted, after they left Babylon to Nimrod, wherin they first late downe altogether. And there is nothing which so well cleareth this controuersie, as the true interpretation of the place, Num. 12. v. 1. where Moses his wife is called a Chusite; together with some places which speake of Nabuchodonosors conquests. For whereas Iosephus and the Septuagint in the place, Num. 12. v. 1. as also elswhere, vnderstand Chus for Ethiopia, we must giue credit to Moses himselfe herein; and then it will appeare that Iosephus was grossly mistaken, or vainely led by his owne inuention. For Iosephus presuming that Chus was Ethiopia, and therefore that the wife of Moses (which in Scripture Num. 12. v. 1. is called a woman of Chus) was a woman of the land of Ethiopia, fainteth that Tharsis the daughter of the King of Ethiopia, fell in loue with the person and fame of Moses, while he belicged Saba her Fathers Cittie; and to the end to obtaine Moses for her husband, shee practised to betray both her parents, Countrie, and friends, with the Cittie it selfe, and to deliuer it into Moses hands. The tale (if it bee worth the recting) lyeth thus in Iosephus. After he had described the strength of the Ethiopian Cittie Meroe, which he saith at length Cambyses called so from the name of his sister, (the old name being Saba) he goeth on in these wordes. Hic cum MOSES desiderasset

*videre exercitum otioſum agere ferret, hoſte non audente manus conſerere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Aethiopum regiſſia, nomine THARBIS, &c. which tale hath this ſenſe in Engliſh. When MOSES was grieved that his Armie lay idle, becauſe the enemy beſieged, durſt not ſalſe and come to handie ſtrokes, there hapned this accident in the meane while. The Aethiopian King had a daughter called THARBIS, who at ſome aſſaults giuen beheld the perſon of MOSES, and withall admired his valour. And knowing that MOSES had not only up-held and reſtored the falling eſtate of the Egyptians, but had alſo brought the conquering Aethiopians to the very brinke of ſubverſion: theſe things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daylie encreaſed, ſhe made meanes to ſend unto him one of her trueſt ſervants to offer her ſelfe unto him, and become his Wiſſe; 10 Which MOSES on this condition entertained, that ſhe ſhould firſt deliuer the Cittie into his poſſeſſion: whereunto ſhe condeſcending, and MOSES having taken oath to performe this contract, both the one and the other were inſtantly performed.*

## †. II.

*A diſpute againſt the tale of IOSEPHVS.*

THIS tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Iosephus* fashioned, and therein alſo vterly miſtaken himſelfe, in naming a Cittie of Arabia, for a Cittie of Aethiopia: as he names *Aethiopia* it ſelfe to haue bene the Countrey of *Moses* his Wiſſe, when (indeede) it was Arabia. For *Saba* is not in *Aethiopia*, but in Arabia, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne teach vs, ſaying that the *Sabaens* are Arabians, and not *Aethiopians*; except *Iosephus* can perſwade vs, that the Queene of *Saba* which came from the South to heare the wiſedome of *Salomon*, were a *Negro*, or Black-Moore. And though *Damianus* a *Greeke* ſpeake of certaine letters to the King of *Portugall* from *Preſter Iohn*, of the *Abiſſines*: wherein that *Aethiopian* King would perſwade the *Portugals* that hee was deſcended of the Queene of *Saba*, and of *Salomon*; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that *Salomon* had any Sonne by that great Princeſſe: which had it bene true, it is likely that when *Sihac* King of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and ſackt *Ieruſalem*, his brother (the ſonne of *Saba* and *Salomon*) who ioynd vpon *Egypt*, would both haue impeached that enterprize, as alſo giuen aide and ſuccour to *Roboam* againſt *Iereboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelue Tribes to his owne obedience. Neither is it any thing againſt our opinion of *Moses* his wiſe, to haue bene an Arabian, that the Scriptures teach vs, that *Moses* married the daughter of *Iethro* Prielt of *Midian* or *Madian*: which ſtanding on the North coaſt of the Red Sea, ouer againſt the body of *Egypt*, and neare *Eſion Gaber*, where *Salomon* prouided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of Arabia, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumae* ioyneeth to the Tribe of *Iuda* by the North, to *Arabia Petraea* by the Eaſt, to the *Mediterran* by the Weſt, and to the Red Sea by the South-caſt. And if we marke the way which *Moses* tooke when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Iſrael* thence, it will appeare that hee was no ſtranger in Arabia: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it ſelfe, hee had formerly liued fortie yeares; where it ſeemeth, that beſides his carefull bringing vp in *Egypt*, hee was inſtructed by *Iethro* in the *Egyptian* learning. For *Iosephus* confeſſeth, and *St. Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wiſedome of the *Egyptians*. But on the other ſide this Text makes much againſt *Iosephus*, whereit is written in *Exodus* the ſecond. Therefore MOSES fled from PHARAO, and dwelt in the land of *Midian* or *Midium*, and not in *Aethiopia*. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as wordes can expreſſe, in what Region *Midian* was, where it is written. When MOSES kept the ſheep of IETHRO his Father in law, Prielt of *Midian*, and draue the ſheepe to the Deſert, and came to the mountaine of GOD in *Horeb*. Now that mount *Horeb* is not in *Aethiopia*, euery Inſtant knoweth. And if wee may beleue *Moses* himſelfe, then was not the Wiſe of *Moses*

¶ 155.

*Moses* purchaſed in that manner which *Iosephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrey and friends) neither had ſhee the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was ſhee a *Negro*, but a *Madaniſſiſſe*. And as God worketh the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt meanes: ſo it pleaſed him from a ſheep-heard to call *Moses*, and after him *Dauid*, and by them to deliuer his people firſt and laſt. For *Moses* ſitting by a Well (as diſconſolate and a ſtranger) defended the daughters of *Reuel* from the other ſheep-heards, and drew them water to water their ſheepe: vpon which occaſion (by God ordained) hee was entertained by *Iethro*, whoſe daughter he married: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countreies.

10 From hence alſo came *Iethro* to *Moses* at *Rephidim*, not farre from *Idumaea*, and finding the inſupportable gouernement of ſuch a multitude, hee aduiſed him to diſtribute this waightie charge, and to make *Gouernours* and *Iudges* of euery Tribe and Familie. And if *Iethro* had bene an *Aethiopian*, it had bene a farre progreſſe for him to haue paſſed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moses*, and to haue found *Moses* in the border of *Idumaea*: the *Egyptians* hating *Moses* and all that fauoured him. But the paſſing of *Moses* through *Arabia Petraea* (which ioyneeth to *Madian*) proueth that *Moses* was well acquainted in thoſe parts: in which the ſecond time he wandered fortie yeares, and did by theſe late traualles of his ſecke to inſtruct the children of *Iſrael* in the knowledge of one true God, before hee brought 20 them to the land of plentie and reſt. For he found them nourished vp with the milke of Idolatrie, and obſtinate in the Religion of the Heathen, and finding that thoſe ſtiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perſuaſion or by miracle, he waſted them out in the deſerts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from thoſe hee might receiue fruit, agreeable to his owne deſire, and Gods Commandements.

Laſtly, this opinion of *Iosephus* is condemned by *Auguſtinus Chriſmaenſis*, where alſo he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who auowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His owne wordes haue this beginning. *Mentitur etiam APOLLINARIS duas uxores habuiſſe MOSEN, &c. APOLLINARIS alſo lyeth in affirming* 30 that *MOSES* had two wiues: and who doth not perceiue theſe things fauied by them? for it is maniſeſt that the wife of *MOSES* was *ZEPHORA*, daughter to the Prielt or Preſident of *Midian*: and that *Midian* cannot bee taken for *Aethiopia* beyond *Egypt*; being the ſame that ioyneeth to Arabia: ſo ſaith *Chriſmaenſis*.

## †. III.

*CHVSH ill expounded for Aethiopia, EZECH. 29. 10.*

NOW as *Chuiſh* is by the *Septuagint* conuerted *Aethiopia*, and the wife of *Moses* therefore called *Aethioſiſſa*: ſo in the conqueſt of *Nabuchodonosor* is *Aethiopia* written for Arabia. For by the wordes of *Ezechiel* it is maniſeſt that *Nabuchodonosor* was neuer in *Aethiopia*. Behold (ſaith *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the perſon of this great *Aſſyrian*) I come vpon thee and vpon thy Riuer, and I will make the land of *Egypt* utterly waſt and deſolate, from the Tower of *Seneneh*, euen to the borders of the Black-moores: which laſt wordes ſhould haue bene thus conuerted: From the Tower of *Seneneh* to the borders of the *Chuiſtes* or *Arabians*: betweene which two is ſituated all *Egypt*. For to ſay, from the borders of *Seneneh* to the *Aethiopians*, hath no ſenſe at all. *Seneneh* it ſelfe being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and ioyning to *Aethiopia*, or the land of the Black-Moores. So as if *Nabuchodonosor* conqueſt had bene but between 50 *Seneneh* and the border of *Aethiopia*, it were as much to ſay, and did expreſſe no other victorie then the conqueſt of all that land and Countrey, lying betweene *Middleſex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countreies ioyne together; or all the North parts of England, betweene *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the ſame ſenſe with the former, if any man ſought to expreſſe by theſe two bounds, the conqueſt of England.

England: *Barnwick* being the North border of England, as *Seuene* or *Syene* is the South bound of *Aegypt*, seated in *Thebaide* which toucheth *Ethiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonosor* neuer entered into any part of *Ethiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneua*, and all other (in effect, haue written *Ethiopia* for *Chus*.

## †. IIII.

An other place of *Ezechiel*. c. 30. v. 9. in like manner mistaken.

And as the former, so is this place of *Ezechiel* mistaken, by being in this sort conuerted. In the illa egredientur nuncij a facie mea in trieribus ad conuerendam *Ethiopia*. *confidentiam*: Which place is thus turned in English by the *Geneuans*. in that day shall there messengers goe forth from mee in ships to make the careless Moors afraid. Now the Latine for (ships) hath the Greeke word *trieres* for *tirremes* which are Gallies of three banks, and not ships. But that in this place the translation should haue bene (as in the former) amended by vsing the word *Chus*, or *Arabia* for *Ethiopia* or the black Moors, euery man may see which meanly vnderstandeth the Geography of the world, knowing, that to passe out of *Aegypt* into *Ethiopia* there neede no gallies nor ships, no more then to passe out of *Northampton* into *Leicester*: *Ethiopia* being the conterminat Region with *Aegypt*, and not diuided so much as by a riuer. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Aegypt* *Nabuchodonosor* should send gallies alongst the coast of the Red sea, by which an Army might bee transported into *Arabia* the happy and the stony (sparing the long wearisome march ouer all *Aegypt* and the deserts of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby surpriseth them vnawares in their security and confidence. For when *Nabuchodonosor* was at *Seuene* within a mile of *Ethiopia*, hee neede neither Galley nor Shippe to passe into it: beeing all one large and firme land with *Aegypt*, and no otherwise parted from it, then one Inland shire is parted from another; and if hee had a fancy to haue rowed vp the riuer but for pleasure, hee could not haue done it: for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling ouer high and steepy mountaines) called *Catadupa Nilus* were at hand.

Lastly, as I haue already obserued, the sonnes of euery father seated themselves as neere together as possibly they could, *Gomer* and his sonnes in *Asia* the lesse; *Iauan* and his sonnes in *Greece* and the Islands adioyning; *Shem* in *Persia* and *Eastward*. So the sonnes and Grand-children of *Chus* by the riuer of *Gehon* (their fathers first seat) inhabited vpon the same, or vpon some other: continuat vnto it, as *Nimrod* and *Hauilah* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the Hebrewes had neuer any acquaintance or fellowship, any warre, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Ethiopian* blacke moores, as is already remembred in the Chapter of *Paradise*.

## †. V.

A Place *Esay* 18. v. 1. in like manner corrupted by taking *Chus* for *Ethiopia*.

And as in these places before remembred, so in diuers other is the word *Ethiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chus*, which puts the story (where it is so vnderstood) quite out of square, one kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what sense hath this part of Scripture *Esay* 18. *Ve terra Cymbalorum alarum quae est trans flumina Ethiopia*, or according to the *Septuagint* in these words. *Ve terra nauium alarum quae est trans flumina Ethiopia*? Wo to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the riuer of *Ethiopia*, sending Ambassadors by sea, euen in vessels of reeds vpon the waters. *Ve terra*

*ambrosiora*: Wo to the land of the shadowe cast, saith *Iuuius*. The former translators vnderstand it in this sense. That the waters are shadowed with the sailes, which are significantly called the wings of the ships, the other, that the Coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the land.

But to the purpose: That this land heere spoken of by the Prophet *Esay* is *Aegypt* no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Aegyptians* that sent this message to the *Israelites* which *Esay* repeateth, and by the former translation euery man may see the transposition of Kingdomes: for heereby *Aegypt* is transported vnto the other side of *Ethiopia*, and *Ethiopia* set next vnto *Iudea*, when it is the land of *Chus* and *Arabia* indeede that lieth between *Iudea* and *Aegypt*, and not *Ethiopia*, which is seated vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line. And of this *Beroldus* asketh a matterli question (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the riuers of *Ethiopia*: *Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit. For it cannot bee said that he treateth of an unknowne region*. Now if *Ethiopia* it selfe be vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line, with whom the *Iewes* had neuer any acquaintance, why should any man dreame that they had knowledge of Nations farre beyond it again, and beyond the riuers of *Ethiopia*? except wee shall impiously thinke that the Prophet spake hee knew not what, or vsed an impertinent discoure of those nations, which were not discovered in 2000. yeares after, inhabiting as farre south as the Cape of good hope, commonly knowne by the name of *Bona esperanza*.

## †. VI.

That vpon the like mistaking, both *TEREKHA* in the story of *SENACHERIB*, and *ZERA* in the story of *ASA* are vndoubtedly made *Ethiopian*s.

And by this translation is the story of *Senacherib* vtterly mistaken in the cause of his retreat. For *Senacherib* was first repulged at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Iudea*: when hauing certaine knowledge that *Thirrhake*, (which all the interpreters call King of *Ethiopia*) was on the way to set on him, he beganne to withdraw himselfe: and fearing to leaue his Army in two parts, he sent threagour messengers to *Ezechia* King of *Iuda* perswading him to submit himselfe: the tenour whereof is set downe in the second of *Kings* in these words. *Huue any of the Gods of the Nations deliuered his land out of the hands of the King of Assur*? Where is the God of *Hamah*? &c. By which proud Ambassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Hierusalem*, hee then meant to haue invited that great Army before *Hierusalem* commanded by *Rabsakeb* with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great City vpon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already maistered the most part of all those Cities in *Iudea* and *Beniamin* with a third Armie, (which himselfe commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna*. But vpon the rumour of that *Arabian* Armie led by their King *Thirrhakeb* (whom *Iosephus* calls *Tharshies*) *Rabsakeb* hasted from the siege of *Hierusalem* and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis* and set down before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthereopolis*, as some haue supposed. But while hee had ill successe at *Pelusium* and feared *Thirrhakeb*, God himselfe whom he least feared strooke his Army before *Hierusalem* by the Angell of his power, so as 185000. were found dead in the place as in the life of *Ezechias* is heereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Tirrahakeb* was from *Arabia*, *Iosephus* himselfe makes it plaine. For he confesseth in the tenth booke the first Chapter of the *Iewes* antiquities, that it was come to *Senacherib*s knowledge, that the Army which was a boote (both to relieue the *Aegyptians* and the *Iewes*) marched towards him by the way of the Desert: Now the Desert which lay indifferent betwene *Hierusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur* which also toucheth on the three *Arabias*, to wit the stony, of which it is a part: the Desert, and the Happy; and by no other way indeede

deede could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Hierusalem*. But, that there is any Desert betweene *Pelusium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath neuer yet beene heard of, or described by any *Cosmographer* or *Historian*. So then this Scripture of the second of Kings, verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For hereth the word (*Chusis*) is also translated *Ethiopia*; and in this sense haue all the Interpreters, (but *Iunius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth verse. *Hee heard also men say of T H I R R H A K E H King of Ethiopia, &c.* whereas it should haue beene thus conuerted with *Iunius*. *Audians autem de T H I R R H A K E H Rege Chusis, He heard also of T H I R R H A K E H King of the Chusites.* For they were the *Chusites* and *Arabians*, whose houses and Cities were next the fire, and vpon whom the very smoke of *Iuda* flaming was blowne, being their nearest neighbours: and so were not the *Ethiopian* Black-Moores vnder the *Aequinoctial*, whom neither warre nor peace (which discourseth all Regions) cuer found out, faith *Plinie*. For this King was no more King of *Ethiopia* then *Zerah* was, who invaded *Asa* King of *Iuda*, with an Armie of a Million and 3000. Charriots. Indeece, how such an Armie and those Charriots should passe through all *Egypt*, (the Kings of *Egypt* being mightie Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how farre distant, iudge. For Princes doe not easily permit Armies of a Million to runne through them; neither was there cuer any such strength of Black-Moores heard of in that part of the world, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Ethiopian*s such traualers or conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* also called King of *Ethiopia*. But the word *Chusis* being first conuerted for *Ethiopia*, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the seates of Kingdomes, or the possibilities of attempts, or inuasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

## †. VII.

A farther exposition of the place. ESAI. 18. 1.

Concerning these wordes in that eighteenth Chapter of *Esaie*, *Nasium alarum, 30*  
winged ships, (so the *Septuagint* turne it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine*)  
sailes whistling in the windes, or terra vmbrosa ora (after *Iunius*) the land of a shadowed coast,  
or the land shadowing with wings, as our English *Genea* hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and *St. Hierome* haue one sense in effect. For the sailes are commonly called the wings of a ship; and we vse to say ordinarily when our ships saile slowly, that they wanteth wings: (that is) when her sailes are either worne or too narrow; and we also vse the same phrase of the winde whistling in the sailes. And it may be that the *Egyptians* employed so many of those small ships, as their sailes were said to giue a shadow ouer the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (vpon *Esaie*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth signifie both to shadow and to gingle (which is) to make a kinde of Cymbaline found: so as the meaning of this place (saith *Pintus*) is this. *Woe to thee, O Egypt, which doest promise to others safeguard, vnder the shadow of thy wings,* which (indeede) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Esaie*: and this phrase is often elsewhere vsed, as in the sixteenth Psalm, *Sub vmbra alarum tuarum protegemur, T. e. send me vnder the shadow of thy wings.* The Boats of reede spoken of are of two kinds; either of basket, willow couered with hides (as anciently in *Britaine* for a tree made hollow in the bottome, and built vpon both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I haue seene in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

‡. XI.

## ‡. XI.

of the Plantation and Antiquities of Egypt.

## †. I.

That *Mizraim* the chiefe planter of *Egypt*, and the rest of the Sonnes of *HAM*, were seated in order, one by another.



The second Sonne of *Ham* was *Mizraim*, who (according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chusis* first possesse *Chaldea* on the West side of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as hee increased in people, so hee entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the Southeast-side of *Iudaea*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) past ouer into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*: and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* tooke the Sea-coast, and held the side of *Palastina*: and these foure brothers possesse all that tract of land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldea*, as farre to the West as the *Mediterran* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petraa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilea*, *Samarita*, and *Iudaea*; with the two *Egypt*s, whereof the nether is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the vpper *Egypt*) stretcheth it selfe toward the South as farre as *Syene*, the border of the *Ethiopian*s or Black-Moores. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* Westward *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other nation or familie that dwelt betweene them. And in the same manner did all their sonnes againe, and all the sonnes of the rest of *Noah*s children, sort themselves.

## †. II.

Of the time about which the name of *Egypt* beganne to be knowne: and of the *Egyptians* Lunarie yeares, which made their antiquities seeme the more fabulous.

This flourishing Kingdome possesse by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Egypt*, at such time as *Egyptus* (otherwise *Ramesse*, as some thinke) the sonne of *Belus* chased thence his elder brother *Danau*, thrusting him into that part of *Greece* now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Dana*i, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. yeares after the flood, in the time of *Iosus*, as *S. Augustine* coniectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homer*s *Odysses* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the *Troian* warre. And before this, *Egypt* was knowne by diuers other names, as *Oecana*, *Aria*, *Ostriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Iosephus* citeth in his first booke against *Appion*) numbred all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moses* departure, who consumed 393. yeares. By which other men coniecture, that the *Egyptians* tooke on them that name 330. yeares after *Iosus*, and about 1000. yeares after the flood. But where *Iosephus* in the same booke taketh *Israell* to be those *Hyfeso*, which he also calleth *Pissores* or Sheep-herds, which are said to haue reigned in *Egypt* 511. yeares: whom also he calleth his Ancesters, (meaning the Ancesters of the *Iewes*) in this I am sure he was grossly deceived, or that he vainly boasted: for the *Israellites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* saith: nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many yeares.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirme (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporarie with *Cyrus*; and

and that they had memorie and storie of 13000. yeares; and that the starres had foure times changed their course, and the Sunne twice set in the East. These riddles are also rise among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirme that they are more ancient then *Jupiter* and the *Moone*, whereof *Ovid*:

De Fall. I.

*Anle Ionem genitum terras habuisse scruntur  
Arcades: & Lunâ gens prior illa fuit.*

The *Arcadians* the earth inhabited  
Ere yet the *Moone* did shine, or loue was bred.

But for those 13000. yeares it may well bee true: seeing it is certaine that the *Egyptians* reckon their yeares by *Moneths*, which makes after that account not above 1000. or 1100. yeares, whether wee take their *Moneths* or *Lunatic* yeares to haue bene of the first kinde of 27. dayes and eight houres; or otherwise 29. dayes and twelue houres; or after any other of those five diuerstities of their *Lunatic* yeares.

## †. III.

Of certaine vaine assertions of the Antiquitie of the *Egyptians*.

**G**ERARDVS MERCATOR in his *Chronologie*, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* antiquitie in this manner: That the sixteenth *Dynastie* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the generall flood: and that therefore the first of the other fiftene reached the creation, or soone after it. To which coniecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer. That therein *Mercator* was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie* was at once with the generall flood: which *Eusebius* maketh 292. yeares after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shep-herds *Dynastie* (being in number the 17) in the time of their first King, *Saltis*, to haue bene in the yeare of the world 1846. which *Eusebius* findeth in the worlds age 2140. For the 16. *Dynastie* was begunne but in the 292. yeare after the flood, as they account, and continued 190. yeares. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh euery *Dynastie* to endure 115. yeares, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at lesse then 100. yeares: for the 28. had but 6. yeares; the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. yeares.

Now *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15. *Dynasties* lasted but 162. yeares: and that the first of the 15. beganne but in the 131. yeare after the flood: so as where *Mercator* makes all the 15. to precede the flood, and the 16. to haue bene then in being at the time of the flood, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of fallshood cannot bee hidden, though disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former opinion and assertion, that it was in the 131. yeare that *Nimrod* with the sonnes of *Noah* came into the Valley of *Shinar*: so hee forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confusion of speech there was no dispersion, nor farre-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conueyed *Gomer* into *Italie*, and *Tubal* into *Spaine*, in the 10. yeare of *Nimrods* raigne: (which was ten yeares after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more vniuersal. For he makes *Egypt* posselt, and a gouernment established in the very first yeare of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinar*, before all partition, or any expedition farre off or neare in question: for from thence (that is, from *Babel*) did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.

## †. IIII.

## †. IIII.

Against *PERERIVS*: that it is not unlikely, but that *Egypt* was peopled within 200. yeares after the creation; at lesse, that both it, and the most parts of the world were peopled before the flood.

**B**UT whereas *Pererius* seeketh to ouerthrow this Antiquitie of the *Egyptians*, touching their *Dynasties*, (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not finde any great strength in this opinion of *Pererius*; (to wit) that it was either vnlikely or impossible that *Egypt* should bee peopled within 100. or 200. yeares after *Adam*, in the first age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall flood, I doe verily beleue the contrarie: and that not only of *Egypt*, but the better part of all the world was then peopled: *Pererius* his wordes are these. *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos ADAMI proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Aegyptum usque habitandum & complendum propagata sit, &c.* For how could the children of *ADAM* be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred yeares of the world, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill *Egypt*? for allowing this (saith *Pererius*) we must also confesse, that there were then both the *Assyrians*, and other Nations.

Now seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our fauouring beleefe, it is lawfull for euery man to bee guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I doe not gainsay any mans opinion out of any crossing or cauelling humour: for I thinke it the part of euery Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibilitie of union, then out of froward subtiltie, and preiudicate resolute-nesse, to maintaine factions needlesse, and dangerous contentions.

First, therefore to this opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted so soone after *Adam*, no, not at all before the flood, I say that there is no reason why wee should giue a lesse increase to the sonnes of *Adam*, then to the sonnes of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the flood double, and (after a few yeares) treble, is an infallible proofe of their strength and abilitie, to beget many children: and at that time they obserued no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinitie. And that there was a speedie increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appeare by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearefull that the death of *Abel* would haue bene reuenged on him) withdrew himselfe from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the land of *Nod*, and there, by the helpe of his owne if- sues built a Citie, (called *Enoch*) after the name of his first borne. Now if it be ga- thered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinar* with so many multitudes, as suf- ficed to build the Citie and Tower of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was gi- uen but 130. yeares by *Berosus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly vnderstood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phalegh*) but one hundred and one yeare: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancy of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, euen within 130. yeares, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. yeares af- ter (that is, by such time as the world had stood 200. yeares) aswell *Assyria*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* might be posselt before the flood, as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance, or true storie of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire, that all those people, which were increased in the first hundred or 130. yeares after the flood, came into *Shinar* and *Babylonia*. For that e- uer *Noah* himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authoritie to proue it, so all probable coniecture and reason it selfe denies it. Again, those mul- titudes and powerfull numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her owne Armie of three Millions, (and since left not

all her Kingdomes emptye) doe well proue, that if the world had such plentie of people in so few yeares after the flood, it might also bee as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account *Ninus* gouerned *Babylonia* and *Assyria* but 292. yeares after the flood of *Noah*. And these troupes of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Easterne Kingdomes, from *Media* to the *Mediterran* Sea; when there had now past from the flood to the time of this her inuasion, somewhat lesse or more then 360. yeares: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of *Semiramis* Armie, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be given. And if but the one halfe be true of that which is said, That her Armie consisted of 1300000. footmen, and 500000. horsemen, it must needs bee, that long before *Semiramis* raigne, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Armie was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it selfe (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of *Semiramis* haue bene plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* hauing a determination to make himselfe Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in league with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also be peopled. Now if wee may beleue *Trogus Pompeius* (*Epitamis* by *Iustine*) *Egypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was borne. For these be his owne wordes, speaking of *Ninus*. *Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus VEXORIS Rex Egypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient VEXORIS King of Egypt, and TANAIS King of the Scythians: of which the one invaded Pontus, the other Egypt. And how full of people all that part of the world was, the conquests of Ninus witness, who subdued with no small force the Armenians, the Medes, and afterwards the Bactrians; yea, all that whole body of Asia on this side India. For Diodorus out of Ctesias numbred the Armie, wherewith Ninus invaded Zoroaster, at 1700000. footmen, and 200000. horsemen: and the storics generally shew, that though Zoroasters Armie was farre short of this, yet it was greater then any that those parts of the world euer since beheld. But to what end should I seeke forraine authoritie? for no man doubteth but that Egypt was possesst by *Mizraim*, the sonne of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell vs. And sure to prepare and cultivate a desolate and ouergrowne ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and pollicies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few dayes: and therefore it must bee inhabited in a lesse time then 200. yeares after the flood; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the flood: for so many Millions of men were found within 300. yeares after the generall flood; so as not only *Babylon*, and *Assyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palestina*, yea the farre-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Seybia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those nations be compressed, which 1656. yeares brought forth before the flood? euen necessitie, which cannot bee resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne world; especially, where Death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till he had beheld liuing Nations of his owne body.*

†. V.

Of some other reasons against the opinion of *PERERVS*.

For what a strange increase did the long liues of the first age make, when they continued 800. or 900. yeares. Surely, we haue reason to doubt, that the world could not containe them, rather then that they were not spread ouer the world. For let vs now reckon the date of our liues in this age of the world: wherein if one exceede 50. yeares, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we finde no want of people;

people; nay, we know the multitude such, as if by warres or pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the earth with all the industrie of man could not giue them food. What strange heapes then of foules had the first ages, who enioyed 800. or 900. yeares, as aforesaid. These numbers, I say, cannot bee counted nor conceiued. For it would come to the time reckoning in effect, as if all those which haue bene borne in *Brittaine* since 3. or 4. hundred yeares before the *Norman Conquest* (sauiug such as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now aliue; and if to these there were added as many as by *Polygamie* might haue bene increased. For (to omit, that the Giants and mightie ones of the first age obserued no law of matrimonie) it is to be thought that those louers of the world and of pleasure, when they knew the long and liberrall time which Nature had giuen them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could flee from or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswasion to make men carelesse of life, and fearelesse of death, then the little time which keeps them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many paines and discases, which this enuious old age of the world mingleth together, and soweth with the seedes of mankind?

Now if that *Berosus* or *Ammius* may be alleged for sufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himselfe in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Iosephus* confirmed, that the Citie of *Enoch* was located neare *Lybanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I see no cause why *Palestina* (which is also a Prouince of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could bee left desolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all those times betwene his death and the flood, which were by estimation 700. or 800. yeares. And sure though this Fragment of *Berosus* with *Ammius* his Comment bee very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to bee reiected. Therefore *St. Hierome* for such Authours giues a good rule. *Benz eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria, Let vs choose what is good in them, and reiect the rest.* And certainly in the very beginning of the first Booke, *Berosus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moses*, touching the generall flood: and in that first part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those mightie Men and Giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded ouer all Nations, and subiected the vniuersall world: and though that phrase (*of all the world*) be often vsed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the *Acts*. *That there were dwelling at Hierusalem Iewes, men that feared God of euery Nation vnder heaven:* yet by wordes which follow in *Berosus*, it is plaine that his wordes and sense were the same: for hee addeth from the Sunnes rising to the Sunnes setting, which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely coniecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the world among his sonnes at aduicement, or left them as discoverers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had bene inhabited. And it cannot be denyed that the earth was more passable and easie to traualle ouer before the flood, then after it. For *Pererius* himselfe confesseth that *Attica* (by reason of mudde and slime which the water left vpon the earth) was vninhabited 200. yeares after *Ogyges* flood; whereby wee may gather that there was no great pleasure in passing into farre Countries after the generall deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) inclosed for 100. or 130. yeares together. And therefore was the face thereof in all coniecture more beautifull, and lesse cumbersome to walke ouer, in the first age then after the generall ouerflowing.

§ 2

P 2

†. VI.

## ¶. VI.

of the wordes of MOSES, GEN. IO. V. ultima, whereupon PERERIUS grounded his opinion.

**L**ASTly, whereas Pererius draws this argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of Genesis. And out of these were the Nations divided after the flood: *Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium, By which it appeareth (saith Pererius) that there was no such division before the flood;* which he also seeketh to confirm out of the eleventh of Genesis, because the division of tongues was cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, *quo significatur, &c.* seemeth to me very weak: the text it selfe rather teaching the contrarie: *for out of these (saith MOSES) were the Nations divided in the earth after the flood;* inferring, that before the flood the Nations were divided out of others, though after the flood out of these only. But whatsoever sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawne to the times before the flood, or to any plantation or diuision in that age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could be diuided after the flood, but Noahs Sonnes, wherein doth that necessarie diuision controule the planting of the world before it? And whereas it is alleaged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion, it is true, that it was so for that present; but if Babel had neuer bene built, nor any confusion of languages at all, yet increase of people and time would haue enforced a farther-off and generall plantation: as Berofus saies well, that when mankind were exceedingly multiplied, *ad comparandam nouam sedes necessitas compellerebat. They were driven by necessity to seeke new habitations.* For wee finde (as is before said) that within 300. yeares after the flood, there were gathered together into two Armies, such multitudes as the valley about Babylon could not haue sustained those numbers with their increase for any long time: all Asia the greater and the lesser; all Syria, Arabia, Palestina, and Egypt, with Greece, and the Islands thereof; Mauritania and Libya being also at that time fully peopled. And if we beleue Berofus, then not only those parts of the world, but (within 140. yeares after the flood) Spaine, Italie, 30 and France were also planted: much more then may wee thinke, that within 1656. yeares before the flood, in the time of the chiefe strength of mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainly seeing all the world was ouerflowne, there were people in all the world which offended.

## ¶. VII.

A conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian antiquities: with somewhat of PERIUS (another Sonne of HAM) which peopled Libya.

**T**HEREfore, for the Antiquitie of the Egyptians, as I doe not agree with Mercator, nor iudge with the Vulgar, which giue too much credit to the Egyptians antiquities: so I doe not thinke the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either Pererius or other men conceit it. But I rather incline to this, That Egypt being peopled before the flood, and 200. or 300. yeares, more or lesse after Adam, there might remaine vnto the Sonnes of Mizraim some monuments (in Pillers or Altars of stone or metall) of their former Kings or Gouvernours: which the Egyptians hauing added to the list and rolle of their Kings after the flood, in succeeding time (out of the vanitie of glorie, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memorie of antiquitie was in such sort persuered, Berofus affirmeth it of the Chaldeans, and so doth Epigenes. For they both write, that the vse of Letters and the Art of Astronomie was knowne to the Babylonians 3634. yeare before Alexanders conquest: and this report Annius findeth to agree

agree and reach to the time of Enos, who was borne 1034. yeares before the flood, and wrote of the worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of Christs comming in iudgement, as St. Iude hath witnessed. But leauing these Antiquities to other mens iudgements, and euery man to his owne reason, I will conclude this plantation of Egypt. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by Mizraim, and that it tooke the name of Egypt from Egyptus the sonne of Belus, as aforesaid. Being diuided into two Regions, that part from Memphis or Nicopolis to the Mediterranean Sea, was called the inferior Egypt; surnamed alio Delta: because the feuerall branches of Nilus breaking asunder from one body of the Riuer, gaue it the forme of the Greeke letter Delta, which is the forme of a Triangle. That branch, which ranne toward the North-east and embraced the Sea, next vnto the Deserts of Sur and Pharan, had on it the Citie of Pelusium, where Senacherib was repulsed: The other branch, which yeeled it selfe to the salt water towards the North-west, is beautified by that famous Citie of Alexandria: The vpper part of Egypt is bounded betwene Memphis and Syene neare Ethiopia, and had the name of Thebaida, of that ancient Citie of Thebes, which (according to Homer) was adorned with 100. gates: and therefore called Cinitas centum portarum; and by the Greekes Diopoliis; in the Scriptures No-hamon, which signifieth multitudes of inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. Iosephus calls Egypt Mesin of Mizraim: and Herodotus affirms that it had once the name of Thebas.

Ioseph. l. i. Ant. cap. 7.  
Herod. Euterpe.

Phut the third sonne of Ham tooke the next portion of land to his brother Mizraim, and inhabited Libya: whose people were anciently called Phutis; (sayth Iosephus) and Plinie mentioneth the riuer Fut in Mauritania: which riuer from the mountain Atlas (knowne to the inhabitants by the name of Dyris) he maketh to bedilant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth chapter of Ezechiel, that Phut, Chus, and Lud were contermini and associates with the Egyptians.

L. s. c. i.

## ¶. XII.

Of the eleuen Sonnes of CANAAN, the fourth sonne of HAM.

## ¶. I.

Of the bounds of the land of Canaan: with the names of his eleuen Sonnes.



**C**ANAAN (the fourth sonne of Ham) posselt all that Region called by the Romanes Palestina; in the Scriptures Galilee, Samaria, and Iudaea; in the latter times knowne by the name of the Holy Land and Iurie: the limites whereof are preciselie set downe by Moses, Genesis the tenth. Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goest to Gerar vntill Azubah, and as thou goest vnto Sodome and Gomorh, and Admah, and Zeboim, euen vnto Lasha. Now howsoeuer these words of the Hebrew Text (as thou goest) be conuerted, Moses meaning was that Gerar was the South bound of Canaan and Zidon the North; Sodome and Gomorha the East, and the other Cities named flood on the frontiers thereof. For Gerar standeth in a right line from Gaza in the way of Egypt, the vttermoost territorie of Canaan Southward: and this was properly the land of Canaan.

Now the sonnes of Canaan which posselt this Countrie, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleuen:

1. *Zidon.*
2. *Heth* or *Cethus.*
3. *Iebusi* or *Iebusius.*
4. *Emori* or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus.*
5. *Girgasi* or *Girgeseus.*
6. *Hewi* or *Chineus.*
7. *Arki* or *Harkus.*
8. *Seni* or *Sinaus.*
9. *Aradi* or *Aradeus.*
10. *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or *Tzemareus*
11. *Hamathi* or *Hamathus*, or *Chanathaus.*

Of which the most renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergesites*, *Amorites*, *Hewites*, *Iebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or from some of his.

## †. II.

Of the portions of *ZIDON* and *HETH*.

**Z**IDON the first borne of *Canaan*, built the famous Citie of *Zidon* in *Phœnicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Asher*: for *Asher*, *Zabulon*, and *Neptali* had a great part of the ancient *Phœnicia* distributed among them; but the *Asherites* could neuer obtaine *Zidon* it selfe.

The second sonne of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those feuen principall Nations (commaunders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, and *Hewites*, and the *Iebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron* neere the Torrent *Befor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the vtermost limit of *Canaan*, hauing the Desert of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Puteus iuramenti*) foure miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his posteritie, as farre to the Northeast as *Hebron*, and *Alamre*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buie the field of *Sarabs* buriall. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her selfe to *Isaac*, saying, *That shee was wearie of her life for the daughters of HETH*. The Giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of *Israel* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the fourth of the Kings; *Israel hath hired against vs the Kings of the Hittites*.

## †. III.

Of the *Iebusites* and *Amorites*.

**I**EIVSUS, the third sonne of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Iebusites*, and whose principall seat was *Iebus*, (afterward *Hierusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their Citie and the Countie neere it, till such time as *Dauid* by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Iebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Salomon*.

*Amoreus* was the fourth sonne of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* tooke name, who inhabited that land to the East of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, hauing *Arnon* and the mountaines of *Galaad* on the East, and *Jordan* on the West: of whom *Og* (King of *Basán*) and *Sihon* (ouerthrowne by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the boundes of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus* in the edge of *Celestria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their

their being in the mountaines of *Juda*, and in *Idumæa* neere the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And herofit came that all the *Canaanites* were sometime called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fiftenth, for the wickednesse of the *Amorites* is not yet full. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, wee finde in the Prophet *Amos*; *Tet destruido I the Amorite before them, whose heighth was like the heighth of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oaks.*

## †. IIII.

Of the *Gergesites*, *Hewites* and *Harkites*.

**T**He fift sonne of *Canaan* was *Gergefeus* or *Gergesin*, (otherwise *Girgasi*) who inhabited on the East side of the lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptoleme* sets the Citie *Gerasa*, which *Iosephus* calles *Gesera* in the territorie of *Decapolis*. Here it was that *Christ* disposed the possessed with *Diuels*; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their coastes: because their swine filled with the euill spirits drowned themselves in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergefeus* also built *Berytus* (sometime *Geris*) afterward *Felix Julia*, three miles from the riuer *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*: in which the *Romanes* held a garrison: and to which *Augustus* gaue manie large priuiledges.

*Hecus* the sixth sonne; and Father of the *Hewites*, inhabited vnder *Libanus* neere *Emath*. These *Hewites*, howfouer the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomie* the second is remembered) yet many of them remained all the warre of *Iosua*, and afterward to the time of *Salomon*. For God was not pleased vtterly to roote out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the *Israhelites*, and at other times serued (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written *Iudges* the third; *They remained to proue ISRAEL by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God.*

The feuenth sonne was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who betwene the foote of *Libanus* and the *Mediterran* Sea, (ouer against *Tripolis*) built the Citie of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

## †. V.

Of *Sini* and *Aradi*.

**S**INEVS the eighth Sonne *Hierosolymitanus* sets at *Caparofa*, which *Ptoleme* finde in *Judæa* not farre from *Iebus*; to the South thereof, saith *Iunius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which *S. Hierome* calls *Sim*; *Ptoleme* *Simyra*: *Me-la* and *Plinie* *Simyris*: *Brochard* *Sycan*, (called *Synachis*) neere *Arca*. *Petrus* thinkes that *Sineus* inhabited the Deserts of *Sinai* or thereabout; but herof there is no other certaintie then the report of *Brochard*, who rooke vew of all these places, affirming that *Sineus* built *Synachis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini* (written with the letter *C*. otherwise *Kenai*) who descended of *Hobab* the Sonne of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israhelites* in their conduction through the wilderness of *Pharan*. But these *Cinei* were admitted among the *Israhelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Neptalims*, beside their habitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinei* *Balaam* prophced, that they should be destroyed by the *Affyrians*.

The ninth Sonne was *Aradeus* or *Aradeus*, who in the Isle of *Aradu* built the Citie *Arados*: opposite against which Island on the maine of *Phœnicia*, they founded another Citie of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this Citie came *S. Peter* (saith *Clement*) and in this Ile preached the Gospel: and founded a Church in honour of our Ladie: but wee finde no such worke of

of his in the Acts of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous; and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembreth in his prophecies against the *Tyrrians*. The inhabitants of *Zidon* and *Arad* were thy *Mariners*.

c. 7. v. 8.

†. VI.  
OF ZEMARI.

OF *Samaricus*, or *Zemri*, the tenth Sonne, there are diuers opinions. Some thinke that he first inhabited in *Celestria* at *Edeffa*, and founded *Samarium*, 13 of which in *Iosua* is placed in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. There is also *Samarajm* (of the same Orthographie) vpon the mountaines of *Ephraim* (saith *Beroldus*) mentioned in the second of *Chronicles* c. 13. v. 4. which the Latine conuerteth amisse (saith hee) by *Semerom*. The Hierosolymitan Paraphrast makes *Samaricus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emisiani*, which *Plinie* calls the *Hemisceni*, in *Celestria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samarita*, both the Hebrew Orthographic, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omri*) disproueth. And he bought the mountaine *Samaris* or *Shemerom* of one *SHENER*, for two talents of silver, and built in the mountaine: and called the name of the Citie which he built, after the name of *SHENER*, Lord of the mountaine *Samarita*. But of all these places I shall speake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of *Israel*. Of whomsoever the *Samaritanes* were descended, sure I am, that they were euer a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the *Jewes* stood vp, they alwaies called themselves *Jewes*: when it suffered or sank, they then vtterly denyed to be of that Nation or Familie; for at such times as they were returned from their first captiuitie, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Affrians*; and partly of the naturals.

Berold. in Chron. lib. 4.

1. Kings 16. 38.

†. VII.  
OF HAMATHI.

THE last of *Canaan* Sonnes was *Hamathicus*, or (according to the Hebrew) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath*: (saith *Beroldus*) of which (the aspiration taken away) the name is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamathicus* was parent. *Iosephus* and *S. Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*, not that *Antioch* which standeth on the River *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, betwene the mountaine *Cassius* and the Prouince of *Pieria*, and *Seleucia*, of which *S. Peter* was Bilhop, and in which *S. Luke* and *Ignatius* were borne: but *Antioch*, surnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroldus* supposeth, which standeth betwene *Apamea* and *Emesa* in *Cassiotia*. Yet, indeede, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* vpon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emesa*, are farther off, rated from *Canaan*, then euer any of those Nations stragled. And whereas *S. Hierome* setteth *Emath*, which hee confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephthali*; it is manifest, that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emesa*, hath all the Prouince of *Laodicea*, betwene it and any part of the land diuided. And if *Libanus* it selfe were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong vnto them: for both the Prouinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica*, are betwene *Epiphania* and any part of the holy Land. and therefore *Emath* so taken could not be a part of *Nephthali*, as in the thirteenth of *Iosua* is directly proued. For *Iosua* counting the lands that remained vnpossessed, reckoneth all mount *Libanus* towards the Sunne rising from *Badag* vnder mount *Herman*, vntill we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is vsed, that *Emath* was not in *Nephthali*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: because *Dauid* accepted the presents of

2. Sam. 8. 9.

Tobu

*Tobu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which hee would not haue done, if that Territory had euer belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would haue recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great waight. For if the promise which God made be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomie*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though seated altogether without the bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of *Moses* and *Iosua*: for *Emath* is indeede situate on the other side of the mountaine of *Herman*, which ioyneth to *Libanus*: and is otherwise called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Iosua* the 19. v. 35. and written in the Latine conuersion *Emath*, therein (saith *Beroldus*) was *S. Hierome* mistaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that ouer the mountaines, and the Citie in *Nephthali* should be written *Hamath*: and so the *Septuagint* (vnderstanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the same which indeede belonged to the *Nephthalims*, seated on the fourth side of *Libanus*, to the East of *Affedim*: which *Cittie* *S. Hierome* writes *Emath*, *Iosephus* *Hamath*, others *Emathin*, or *Amathees*, and the people *Amathein*; of which (as I take it) *Rabshakeb* vaunteth in the second of *Kings*. Where is the God of *Hamath*.

c. 11. v. 34.

c. 13. &amp; 19.

¶. XIII.

Of the Sonnes of *CHUSH* (excepting *NIMROD*) of whom hereafter.

The sonnes of *Chush* were, 

Seba,	} And the sonnes of <i>Raama</i> were,	Sheba,
Hauila,		and
Saba,		Dedan,
Raama,		
Sabtea,		

*Nimrod*.

†. I.

That the most of the Sonnes of *CHUSH* were seated in Arabia the Happie: and of the *Sabaans* that robbed *Iob*: and of the Queen that came to *SALOMON*.

**S**EBA of *Saba* was the eldest Sonne of *Chush*, the eldest Sonne of *Ham*, to make a difference betwene him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the Sonne of his brother *Raama*, or *Regma* (or *Regma* after *Montanus*) his name is written with a single (*S*) *Samech*, and *Sheba* the Sonne of *Regma* with an (*S*) aspirate, which is the Hebrew *Schin*. *Seba* the eldest sonne of *Chush*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Regma* possesse both the shores of Arabia Felix. *Saba* tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as nearest his Father *Chush*, and the land of the *Chusites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the East coast of the same Arabia which looketh into the Gulf of *Persia*; of which *Plinie*. *Sabai Arabum populi propter thura clarissimi ad vtrique maria portusque gentibus habitant*. The *Sabaans* people of Arabia, famous for their Frankincense, extending their Nations dwell along both the Seas (to wit) the Persian, and the Arabian, or Red Sea. This Countrey was afterwards called Arabia, à populi mixtione, saith *Possellus*. To this agreeeth *Ptolomie*, who setteth the Citie of *Saba* towards the Arabian or Red Sea, and the Citie *Rhegama* towards the Persian, with whom also wee may leaue *Saba*: for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolomie*, because he remembreth a Nation (called *Stabei*) neare the Persian Sea; and *Massabatha* which descended of them. But *Montanus* hath sent *Regma*, or (as he calls him *Rahma*) into *Carmania*, for which I see no reason. *Iosephus*, who only attended his owne fancies, hath banished *Saba* or *Sebato* the border of *Ethiopia*.

But

But *Berosus* thinks it strange, that the *Saba*, which stole away *Iob's* Cattle, should runne through all *Aegypt* and all *Arabia Petraea*, and finde out *Iob* in *Tracenis* betweene *Palatyna* and *Calceyria* 1200. miles off. Now as this coniecture was more then ridiculous, so doe I thinke, that neither the *Saba* on the Red Sea, nor those toward the *Persian* Sea, could by any means execute the stealth vpon *Iob*, which fouer *Berosus* shall take for nearest. But these were the *Saba* of *Arabia* the Desert, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Cittie *Saba* is seated: the same which *Ptolomie* calls *Saua*, now *Semifasac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the Desert, came those *Magi* or *Wise-men* which worshipped *Christ*, faith *Melchior*, whose wordes are these. *The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia* (as 10 *Chrysostome*, *Hierome*, and *Ambrose* supposed) nor out of *Arabia* the Hapic, as many wise men doe beleue, but out of *Sabain* *Arabia* the Desert: which Cittie when my selfe was there was (as I iudged it) called *Semifasac*. And to approue this opinion of *Guilandinus* it appeareth that these *Sabai* were neighbours to *Iob*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the *Persian* Sea, as those on the Red Sea) are so disioyned with large Deserts, as there is no possibilitie for strangers to passe them, especially with any numbers of Cattle, both in respect of the mountaynes, of the lands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts. *Vbi nec homines nec bestiae videntur, nec aues, imo nec arbores, nec germen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosi, alijssimi, asperissimi, ibi herbe there are found neither men nor beasts, no not so much as birds, or trees, nor any pasture or grasse, but only sharpe, and high stone, and craggie mountaines.* *Berosus* and *Pererius* conceiue, that the Queene of *Saba* which came to visite *Salomon*, was of the *Saba* on the East side of *Arabia Felix*; but the contrarie seemeth more probable, and that shee was Queene of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Salomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, twixt *Idumaea* and the Red Sea, as farre downe as *Adnan* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this Queene of *Saba* which inhabited the West part of *Arabia Felix*, being his neighbour might without any farre traualle enter his Territories, free from all danger of surpris by any other Prince or Nation.

But to auoide tediousnesse, it is manifest that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabia*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, 30 with his Sonnes *Sheba*, and *Debar*, and *Sabiera*, were all the posselours of *Arabia* the Hapic and the Desert: only *Hanilah* and *Zimrod* dwelt together on the East side of *Chus*, who held *Arabia Petraea*. Now for *Sabita*, there is found of his name the Cittie of *Sabbatha* or *Sabotia* in the same *Arabia*: of which both *Plinie* and *Ptolomie*; who withall nameth *Sabotia*, within the wals whereof there were sometimes found sixtie Temples. *Ezechiel* ioyneth the Father and the Sonne together, *The Merchants* of *Sheba* and *Raama* were thy Merchants. And that they were the Eastern *Arabians* their merchandise witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradis*. For *Iosephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the parent of the *Ethiopsians* about *Meroe*, and *Saba* of the *Ethiopsians* *Asabari*, they be not worthe any farther answer then hath already beene giuen: especially seeing these Citties preferring the memorie of the names of *Saba* and of *Sabain* in *Arabia* were yet remaining in *Ptolomies* time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adioyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of *Cush*, with little alterations are preserved. In *Arabia* the Desert is found the Cittie *Saba* or *Saua*, (now *Semifasac*) with the Cittie of *Rhegma* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolomie* himselfe called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the Hapic is found the Cittie of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*, which also keepeth the sound of *Rhegma*, the Cittie of *Saptha* or *Sipthah*, not far from the East coast of *Arabia*: as also the *Metropolis* and chiefe citie, in the body of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*; and to the West of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea the great Citie of *Saba*; and the Nation adioyning, *Sabai*: and to the south thereof againe toward the frowther entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Saba*. To all these his Brothers and Nephewes which were seated on the East side of *Arabia*, *Hanilah* by the passage of *Tigris* was a neighbour, to whom he might passe by boat

Plin. l. 5. c. 12.  
Ptol. l. 6. c. 12.

Ezech. 27. 22.

cuen vnto *Rhegma* the Cittie of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, set neare the Riuer of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Persian* Sea, which stood in *Ptolomies* time.

# ¶. II.

*IOSEPHVS* his opinion of *DEDAN*, one of the issue of *CHUS* to haue beene seated in the West *Ethiopia*, disproued out of *EZECH*: and *HEREMIE*.

10 **A**ND whereas *Iosephus* (whom in this *S<sup>t</sup> Hierome* followeth, as not curious heron) sent *Dedan* the sonne of *Raamah* into West *Ethiopia*, it is strange that *Ezechiel* should couple *Sheba*, *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. verse, and *Sheba* and *Raamah* in the 22. verses to be the merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in West *Ethiopia*, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* the habitation of his father and brother) about 4000. miles. Besides which the Merchandise that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked Black-mores. For they of *Dedan* (faith *Ezechiel*) were thy merchants in pretious clothes for thy charriots; and these Westerne *Ethiopsians* neuer saw cloth, till the *Portugals* seeking those Coastes traded with them: the merchandise of the Countrey being Hides, Elephants teeth, some 20 Gold and Amber, Cuert cattes, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all these they exchanged for linnen, or iron cheely.

But in those daies the West part of *Africa* within the body of the land was known only by imagination: and, being vnder the burnt Zone was held vnhabitable. And therefore that the *Negros* of the West *Ethiopia*, which inhabit about *Serra Lima*, or *Niger*, could either passe by Sea or Land to *Tyre* in the bottome of the *Mediterranean* Sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancie. Now to put it out of dispute that *Dedan* also dwelt by the rest of the children of *Chus*, which seates they held by that name in the time of *Heremie* the Prophet let vs heare *Heremie* his own words. *Hee* *see* inhabitants of *Dedan*, for I haue brought the destruction of *ESAV* vpon him. 30 Heereby it appeareth that *Dedan* was a neighbour to the *Idumaeans*: and *Idumaea* is a Province of *Arabia Petraea*: and *Dedan* which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Felix*, ioyned in that part to *Petrea*, the seat of his Grand-father *Chus*, which neigbor-hood and fellowship of *Dedan* and the *Idumaeans* is also confirmed by *Ezechiel*. *Ezech. 25. 15.* I will stretch out mine hand vpon *Edom*, and destroy *Man* and *Cass* out of it, and I will make it desolate from *Teman*: and they of *Dedan* shall fall by the sword.

# §. XIII.

Of the issue of *MIZRAIM*: and of the place of *HEREMIE* Chap.

# 9. Verſ. 7.

**A**FTER *Chus* it followeth to speake of *Mizraims* sonnes, whose names (faith *Saint Augustine*) were plurall, to signifie the Nations, which came of them. *Ludim* the eldest sonne of *Mizraim* was the father of the *Lybians* in *Africa*: and the rest of his brothers disperſed themſelues into all Regions adioyning. Among the Sonnes of *Shem* there is also *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the sonne of *Mizraim* by the singular number: the sonne of *Shem* being written *Lud*, the sonne of *Mizraim* *Ludin*: and yet these names and nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference 50 both of names and nations. For that *Ludin* the sonne of *Mizraim* was the parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that hee was seated not farre from *Mizraim* his father, appeareth by the Prophet *Heremie*, who ioyneth them in this sort together. *Come ye ye Horse, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-moors, and the Lybians which beare the shield*: for those Nations assisted the *Egyptians* being of

The termin-  
tion in the  
Hebrew, is  
commonly a  
ſigne of the  
plural num-  
ber, as can be  
ſeene of the  
dual.

Ezech. 25. 15.

oue

one parent descended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joyned together. *Æthiopia* (or *Chus*) *Ezechiel* c. 30. v. 3. And *Phut* and *Lud*, and all the common people, and the men of the land that are in league shall fall with them by the sword: which is as much to say, as the sonnes of *Chus*; (which were the *Chusites*) the Sonnes of *Mizraim*, (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Lybians*, (descended of his sonne *Lud*) with other the inhabitants of *Ægypt* and *Africa* shall fall together. *Hieronymus* finds also in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lydians*. And I beleue it: because *Hieremie* ioyneth the *Lybians* and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Lybia* in *Africa* is by the Hebrew called *Ludim* (saith *Arias Montanus*) though 2. *Chron.* 12. 3. they seeme to be called *Lubim* or *Lubai*, a name somewhat nearer the word *Lybies*, and by which it may seeme that the truer writing is, not *Lybies*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (upon the thirtieth of *Ezechiel*) vnderstandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Lybians* at all: for he will haue this threatening to be meant against the people of *Lyda*, a Cittie (saith he) betwene *Ægypt* and *Palestina*, which opinion I could not mislike if the Cittie of *Lyda* were so seated. But *Lyda* (which should be written *Lydda* with a double *D*, and is the same Cittie which was afterward *Tiropolis*, in which *S. Peter* cured *Aeneas* of the palsy) standeth neare the *Torrent Gaze*, not farre from *Ioppe* the Port of *Hierusalem*. Yet it is not impossible but that this Cittie might haue *Lud* for the Founder. For there are many Citties of one name founded in all the Regions of the world, and farre asunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Selenus*, and *Antiochus*, many Citties called *Alexandria*, *Selenia*, and *Antiochia*, so of diuers others. *S. Hierome* maketh *Lebaim* to be the Father of *Lyba* who was the third sonne of *Mizraim*: and so doth *Positellus*; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of *Mizraim*'s Sonnes haue no proper Countries giuen them in the Scriptures, sauing *Casubim* and *Caphorim*, of whom came the *Philistims*, whom the Scriptures call *Peleset*.

These *Casubim* inhabited *Casotis*, a region lying in the entrance of *Ægypt* from *Palestina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis* and the mountaine *Casius* are found: not farre from whence *Pompey* was buried.

*Caphorim* seated neare *Casubim* in that Tract of *Ægypt* called *Sethroitis*, not farre from *Pelusium*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethroitis*; *Stephanus* and *Plinie* *Sethroites*, of the Cittie *Sethron*: which *Orelus* takes to be the same which *Ptolomie* calls *Hercules parus*. Of the *Casubim* and *Caphorim* came the *Philistims*, which are called by the *Septuagint* *Allophylis* (which is) *Alienigenæ*, strangers, or of a strange kindred. These *Philistims* inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards *Ægypt*, of whom *Palestina* took name. For the Hebrews (saith *Isidore*) doe not vse the letter (*P*) but in stead of it (*ph*). Their principall Citties were *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the people of them called *Gasai*, *Ascalonites*, *Azotij*, *Gethai*, and *Accaronites*. *Isidore* affirms that *Ascalon* was first called *Philistim*: and of that Cittie the Countie adioyning. But where *Isidore* had it, I know not.

The first knowne King of the *Philistims* was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abraham*'s wife; with whom *Abraham* made a couenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeede at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written that hee was also King of the *Philistims*, in these wordes. *Wherefore Isaac* went to *Abimelech* King of the *Philistims* into *Gerar*. Now in regard that this or some ancienter *Abimelech* gouerned the commonwealth greatly to his glorie, the rest of his successours called themselves by the same name. The *Philistims* commanded that Tract of land vpon the *Mediterranean* Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of *Phigirma* (otherwise *Casarea* *Palestina* or *Tyrris* *Stratonius*) which was the fourth border of *Phœnicia*, to *Gaza* or to the River of *Ægypt*. The *Anaks* or strong Giants were of these *Philistims*: and *Goliath* was of *Geth* one of the five Citties aboue named. They had sometimes five Kings, saith *Liranus*. They mastered the *Israelites* at severall times about 150. yeares, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampson* and *Samuel*, but

hast vpon the  
33. Psalm.  
Hierome vpon  
the 27. of *Ezechiel*.

in the end this yoke was taken off by *DAVID*, and layed on themselves.

It is objected, that because these Citties and the Countie adioyning were held by the sonnes of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispossesse the sonnes of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this faith *Pererius*, that although the *Palestines* or *Philistims* held it in the time of *Iesus*, yet at the time of the promise it was posselt by the *Canaanites*; as in the second of *Deuteronomie*. The *Heuteis* dwelt in the Villages vnder *Gaza*. And what meruaile if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistims* were of *Caphor*, and so of *Mizraim* and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses* the Prophet *Hieremie* witnesseth. The Lord will destroy the *Philistims*, the remnant of the issue of *Caphor*: and in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philistims* are said to be the reliques of *Caphorim*; haue not I brought vp *ISRAEL* out of the land of *Ægypt*, and the *Philistims* from *Caphor*, and *ARAM* from *Kir*? So I reade this place with diuers of the learned. For whereas the *Fulgur* hath, & *Palestinos* de *Cappadocia*, & *Syros* de *Cyrene*, this conuersion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Caphor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a Cittie directly West from *Ægypt*, betwene *Ptolomais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*: but *Kir* in *Asia* vnder the *Assyrians*: *Iunius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*: and so hath the *Genea*. But *Pererius* calls *Caphorim* *Cappadocia* according to the *Fulgur* translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he meane *Cappadocia* in *Palestina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pontus* in the North of *Asia* the lesse. For whether they inhabited *Sethroites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palestina*, it is not certainly knowne. And sure in this manner hee may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Teglathphalaser* King of the *Assyrians* carryed away the inhabitants of *Damascus* into *Kir*: and so *Iosephus* seems to vnderstand this *Kir*, for *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene Media superior*: for it was the manner and pollicie of the *Assyrians* to transplante the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof so it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-media*: because the *Syrians* by the *Assyrians* were therein captiued.

Hierom. 4. p. 4.

Amos. c. 9. v. 7.

Of which see  
in the second  
Booke. chap. 7.  
p. 3. l. 5.

c. 16. v. 9.

†. X V.  
Of the issue of *SEM*.

†. I.  
Of *ELAM*, *ASSUR*, *ARPHAXAD*, and *LUD*.

It remaineth lastly to speake of the Sonnes of *Sem*, who were these:

1. *Elam*, or *Elam*.
2. *Assur*.
3. *Arphaxad*.
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

He posteritie of *Sem* *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them hee proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and storie of the Hebrews. For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.

Of these five Sonnes the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him and *Aram*, the rest



Q are

are barely spoken of by rehearsal of their names, saying that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Nimrod*) was also said to be the Father of the *Assyrians*, whose issues, and the issues of *Cham* instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the *Assyrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the virtue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth vs, that all the East parts of the world were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud*, (saying *India*) which Ibeleuee *Noah* himselfe first inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the sonnes of *Ioctan* afterward repaired. *His filij Sem ab Euphrate fluuij partem Asiae usque ad Oceanum Indicum tenebant*, These sonnes of *SEM* (saith *S. Hierome*) held all those Regions from Euphrates to the Indian Ocean.

*Iosephus* and *1. c. 7* Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembered *Acts* the 2. v. the 9. and the Princes of *Persia*, which name then beganne to bee out of vyle and lost, when the *Persians* became Masters of *Babylonia*: the East Monarchie being established in them. Some prophane writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the Scriptures call *Susan*) in *Elam* was the Kings seat of *Persia* (witnesseth *Daniel*). And *I saw* (saith he) *in a vision, and when I saw it I was in the Palace of S. V. SAN, which is in the Province of Elam*. This Citie is embraced by the River *Eulais* (according to *Ptolomie*) in *Daniel*, *Plai*: and seated in the border of *Susima*.

C. 8. v. 3.  
Prot. Asia. ch. 5.  
Dan. 8. v.

*Assur* (as most Historians beleue) the second sonne of *Sem*, was Father of the *Assyrians*, who displaying the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Nine*, of equal beaurtie and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place dispute that opinion. Every mans hand hath bene in this Story, and therefore I shall not neede herein to speake much: for the *Assyrians* so often inuaded and spoiled the *Israelites*, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captiues, as both in Diuine and Humane letters there is large and often mention of this Nation.

But howsoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with ample Dominion: yet was not the State of the *Assyrians* of any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* lost the Empire: For *Senacherib* who was one of the powerfullst Princes among them, had yet the mountaine *Taurus* for the vtmost of his Dominion toward the North-east; and *Syria* bounded him toward the West, notwithstanding those vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Esay* the 37. *Hane the Gods of the Nations deliuered them whom my Fathers haue destroyed: as Gozan, and Haran, and Reseph, and the Children of Eden which were at Telassar. Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and the King of the Cittie Sepharuaim, Hena and Iub?* All these were indeede but petty Kings of Citties, and small Countries; as *Herae* in *Mesopotamia*: *Reseph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Iturae* vnder *Libanus*: the Isle of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this sort. Yea *Nabuchodonosor*, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of *Aegypti* had but *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palestina* and *Phenicia* parts thereof. But in this question of *Assur*, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose plantation I haue omitted among the rest of the *Chusites*, because hee established the first Empire: from whom the most memorable storie of the world taketh beginning.

¶ 11.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, saith *S. Hierome*, and *Iosephus*, but it must bee those *Chaldeans* about *Yr*: for the sonnes of *Cham* posselt the rest. It is true that hee was the Father of the Hebrewes: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela* *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud* the fourth Sonne of *Shem*, gaue name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the lesse, is the common opinion, taken from *Iosephus* and *S. Hierome*; but I see not by what reason he was moued to straggle thither from his friends.

¶ II.

¶ II.

Of ARAM, and his sonnes.

ARAM the first and last Sonne of *Shem* was the parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damasus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrius* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Iosephus*) which *Syrius* liued before *Moses* was borne; in the same which others call the sonne of *Apollo*. *Mesopotamia* also being but a Province of *Syria* had the name of *Aram Naharaym*, which is as much to say, as *Syria duorum* fluuioium, *Syria compassed with two Rivers*: (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the Greeks *Mesopotamia* simply.

*Arise and get thee to Padan Aram* (saith *Isaac* to *Jacob*) *to the house of BETHUEL thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife*. *Strabo* also remembereth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramet*, as these his owne wordes conuerued witnesseth. *Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipsi Syri Aramensis & Arameos vocant, Those which we call Syrians* (saith he) *theymselfes call Aramenians and Arameans*.

Gen. 28. a. See  
Gen. 31. 10. Also  
Deuter. 23. 4.  
Iudg. 31.  
Psalm. 7. 19.  
Plalm. 59.  
Strabo. l. 11.

Against this opinion that *Aram* the sonne of *Sem*, was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in general; (and not only of those in *Syria inter-amnis*, which is *Mesopotamia*) some reade *Gen. 22. 21. Kemuel*, the father of the *Syrians*: where other out of the originall reade *Kemuel*, the sonne of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconuenience for vs to vnderstand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some one of note; the rather, because in the Historie of *Abraham* and *Isaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuels* posteritie could bee famous) wee finde *Mesopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: sometimes with *Naharaym*, and sometimes of *Padan*, to distinguish it from another *Aram*, which (as it seemes) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Iunius* thinks in his note vpon *Gen. 25. 20.* that *Padan Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptolomie* calls *Ancobartus* (so called from the River *Chaboras*, which diuiding it runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous vse of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Naharaym* (which latter appellation questionlesse comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seeme to refute this opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this Region: because the two Riueres (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The reliques of the name *Padan* appeare in the name of two Citties in *Ptolomie*, called *Aphadana*: (as *Iunius* hath well noted) the one vpon *Chaboras*, the other vpon *Euphrates*.

40 The Sonnes of ARAM were { *Vz* or *Hus*,  
Hul,  
Gether, and  
Mefchor Mes.

*Vz* or *Hus* inhabited about *Damasus*, and built that Citie, saith *Iosephus* and Saint *Hierome*. But *Toilat*us misliking this opinion, both in them and in *Lzra*, who also followeth *Iosephus*, affirmeth that *Abraham* Steward *Eliezer* was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus* the eldest sonne of *Aram* dwelt neare vnto his father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the same, adioyning to *Arabia* the Desert, and to *Batanea* or *Tracemitis*: whereof the Prophet *Hieremie*.

Hierom. in trad.  
Hebraica.

*Reioyce and be glad O daughter of Edom that dwellest in the land of Hus. Hus therefore is seated beyond Iorday, in the East Region of Tracemitis, adioyning to Basan, hauing Batanea Gaulonitis, and the mountaine Seir to the East, Edrai to the South, Damasus North, and Iordan West: hauing in it many Citties and people, as may also bee gathered out of Hieremie: And all sorts of people: and all the Kings of the Land of Hus.*

Hierom. Euseb.  
c. 4. v. 21.

In

Q 2

In this Region dwelt *Iob*, descended of *Hus*, the sonne of *Nabor*, the brother of *Abraham* (saith *S<sup>r</sup>. Hierome*) and married *Dina* the daughter of *Jacob*, saith *Philo*.

*Hul* the second Sonne of *Aram*, *S. Hierome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*: and *Geher* the third Sonne, parent to the *Armenians* or *Carians*: which opinion, (because I finde not where to set him) I doe not disprove, though I see no reason why *Geher* should leaue the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among strangers in *Asia* the lesse. *Iunius* giues *Hul* (whom hee writes *Chul*) the Desert of *Palmyrena*, as farre as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolome* setteth the Cittie of *Chelle*.

*Geher* (saith *Iosephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Iosephus* gaue all *Noahs* children feathers, to carry them farre away in all haste. For mine owne opinion I alwaies 10 keepe the rule of neighbourhood, and thinke with *Iunius*: (to wit) That *Geher* seated himselfe neare his brothers, in the body of *Syria*, and in the Prouince of *Cassiotus*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolome* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Plinie* called *Gindareni*.

*Iunius* also giueth to *Mes* or *Meshe* the North part of *Syria*, betweene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, neare the mountaine *Mafius*. The certainty of those plantations can no otherwise be knowne then by this probability, that *Aram* the Father (of whom that great Region tooke name) planted his sonnes in the same land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territorie for himselfe and them; neither then when the world was newly planted, nor in many hundred yeares after: and therefore there 20 is no reason to cast them into the desert parts of the world, so farre asunder. And as necessitie and policie held them together for a while: so Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children set them asunder. For although these sonnes of *Aram*, and the sonnes of the rest of *Noahs* children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large Kingdome; yet therein euery one also sought a Prouince a part, and to themselves; giuing to the Citties therein built their owne names, thereby to leaue their memorie to their posteritie: the vse of letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Prouinces: euery one emulating and disdayning the greatnesse of other, as they are 30 thereby to this day subiect to inuasion, expulsiō, and destruction: so as (*Noua Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, because those Countries are vnaccessable to strangers) an easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

*Mes* the fourth Sonne is made the parent of the *Maeonians*: of whom something hath bene spoken already. *Arphaxad* the third Sonne of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two sonnes, *Phaleg* and *Ischan*: and in *Phaleg* time was the earth diuided.

Chap. 8. §. 7.

### † III.

Of the diuision of the earth in the time of *Phaleg*, one of the Sonnes of *Heber*, of the issue of *SEM*.

THE many people which at the diuision (at *Phaleg*'s birth) were then liuing, and the through plantation of all the East part of the world (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the earth were diuided at either. The *Hebrewes* (saith *Pererius* out of *Sealar Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirme that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was borne in the yeare after the flood 101. and liued in all 239. yeares, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it so many yeares after the flood, ere the children of *Noah* leuered themselves. But 50 to this opinion of the *Hebrewes*, and the doubt they make how in so few yeares as 101. (the time of *Phaleg*'s birth) so many people could be increased, *Pererius* giues this answer, that if 70. persons of the familie of *Jacob* increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. yeares, (besides women, children, and impotent persons) how much more

more is it likely, that so soone after the flood the children of *Noah* might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, hauing receiued the blessing of God. Increase and multiply, and fill the earth? What strength this answer hath, let others iudge: for the children of *Israhel* were 70. and had 215. yeares time: and the sonnes of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceiue that *Phaleg* tooke that name after the diuision, in memorie thereof: as *Iosephus* and *S<sup>r</sup>. Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the diuision were at *Phaleg*'s death (which happened in the yeare, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12. yeares before his birth) then was the diuision 38. yeares after *Ninus*, who gouerned 52. yeares: in the 43. yeare of whose raigne *Abraham* was borne. But when *Ninus* beganne to rule the *Assyrians* 80. yeares before this diuision (as this diuision is placed by the *Hebrewes*, *Hierome* and *Chrysostome*) then wast the earth so peopled in all the East and Northerne parts, as greater numbers haue not bene found at any time since. For *Ninus* associating to himselfe *Ariceur* King of *Arabia*, a people who at that time (saith *Diod. Siculus*) plurimum opibus atque armis prestant, Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men, subdued many Citties in *Armenia*; receiued *Barzanis* into grace; then 20 inuaded *Media*; and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his wife and seuen children; vanquished all those Regions betwene *Nilus* and *Tanis*, the *Aegyptians*, *Phenicians*, the Kingdomes of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Euxycanian* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembered out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoraster* and others: and *Zoraster* on the other side, who made resistance with foure hundred thousand, proue it sufficiently that if the diuision had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diuision at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they sought to be Masters of all; and greater Armies were there neuer gathered then by *Ninus* and *Semiramus*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit that if the diuision had bene made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was neuer meant 30 that the earth could be filled euery where at the instant, but by times and degrees: And surely whatsoeuer mens opinions haue bene herein, yet it is certaine, that the diuision of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the worke at *Babel*: and that the enterprise of *Babel* was left off instantly vpon the confusion of languages, where followed the execution of the diuision; and so neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was borne in the yeare 101. after the flood, which was the yeare that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or 10. yeares after he arrived, saith *Berosus*.

Now if it bee objected that *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth diuision) must haue liued without a name, except the name had bene giuen him at 40 the time of this confusion and partition: to this objection it may be answered, That the change of names vpon diuers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Jacob* was called *Israhel* after he had wrestled with the angell; *Abraham* was first *Abraha*, and *Edom* *Esaus*; and that *Phaleg* being a principall man in this diuision had his first name vpon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly whereas the *Hebrewes* *S. Hierome* and *Chrysostome* account *Heber* a great Prophet, if that by giuing his sonne the name of *Phaleg*, he foretold the diuision which followed: to this I say, I doe not finde that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his sonne: for diuision and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessitie; and this prophesie (if any such had bene) might 50 also haue reference to the diuision, which afterwarde fell among the *Hebrewes* themselves.

But if we giue a reasonable time to the building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, by which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative proofe) might be increased: and that vpon the fall thereof the confusion and diuision followed (where-

*Ioseph. l. x. Ant. Aug. de Civitat. Dei. l. x. c. xi.*

*Torch. in Gen. l. i. c. io.*

vpon Phaleg tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous

†. IIII.

Of the sonnes of IOCTAN, the other sonne of HEBER.

The sonnes of IOctan were

1. Elmodad.
2. Sa'eph, or Selep, or Sheleph.
3. Asamath, or Chatzar.
4. Iare, or Iarab, or Ierath.
5. Haderam.
6. Vzal, or Vzal.
7. Dicklach, or Diela.
8. Obal, or Ebal, or Hobal.
9. Abimael.
10. Sheba, or Seba.
11. Ophir, or Opir.
12. Haulia, or Chawila, and
13. Iobab.

ALL those sonnes of IOctan (according to St. Hierome) dwelled in the East partes of the world, or India, euen from the riuer Copbe or Choas, which is one of the branches or heads of Indus.

But the certaine places of those thirteene Sonnes cannot bee gathered out of the Scriptures, the wordes of Moses being generall. *And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest vnto Sephar a mount in the East.* Of all these thirteene Sonnes, there were only three memorabable, (to wit) Sheba, Ophir, and Hauliab. Concerning whose names to auoide confusion it is to bee obserued, that among the Sonnes of Chus, two of them had also the names of Seba and Hauliab. Abraham had also a third Saba or Sheba, his grand-child by his wife Ketura. But Seba the sonne of Chus, and Sheba the sonne of Rhegma his Nephew, wee haue left in Arabia Felix: and Hauliab the sonne of Chus vpon Tigris. Saba the grand-child of Abraham was (as some haue thought) the Father of the Sabaeans in Persia: of which Nations Dionysius de Orbis situ maketh mention. *Primum Sabai; post hos sunt Passagarda, prope vero hos sunt Tasci, The first are Sabaeans: after these be Passagarda; and neare these the Tasci.* And whereas it is written: *But vnto the Sonnes of the Concubines which ABRAHAM had, ABRAHAM gaue gifts, and sent them away from ISAAC his sonne (while he yet liued) Eastward to the East Countrie:* hereupon it is supposed, that this Saba the sonne of Abraham wandered into Persia: for Persia was accounted the furthermost East Countrie in respect of India; which also Ouid setteth vnder the Sunne-rising. Yet seeing the rest of Abrahams Sonnes seated themselves on the borders of India, I rather choose to leaue Saba the sonne of Abraham in Arabia the Desert, where Ptolomeus setteth a Cittie of that name.

But Saba the sonne of IOctan, the sonne of Heber, (as I conceiue) inhabited India it selfe. For Dionysius Afer in his Periegesis, (or description of the world) which he wrote in Greeke verse, among the Regions of India findeth a Nation called the Sabai. *Taxilus hor inter medios habitatus, sabans, In the midst of these dwell the Sabai, and the Taxili, saith this Dionysius.*

†. V.

†. V.

Of OPHIR one of IOCTANS sonnes and of PERU and of that voyage of SALOMON

OPHIR also was an inhabitant of the East India, and as (St. Hierome vnderstandit) in one of the Ilandes plentifull of gold, which are now known by the name of Molucca. Iosephus vnderstandes Ophir to bee one of those great head-landes in India, which by a general name are called Chersonesi, or Peninsula: of which there are two very notorious; Calicut, and Malacca. Ptolemy takes it rightly for an Island, as St. Hierome doth, but he sets it at the head-land of Malacca. But Ophir is found among the Moluccas farther East.

Arius Montanus out of the second of Chronicles, the third chapter and sixt verse, gathers that Ophir was Peru in America, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called Mare del Sur or the South Sea; by others Mare pacificum. The wordes in the second of the Chronicles are these, *And hee ouerlaid the house with precious stones for beantie; and the gold was gold of Parauaim.* Iunius takes this gold to bee the gold of Hauliab, remembered by Moses in the description of Paradise: *And the gold of that Land is good: finding a towne in Characene a Prouince of Susiana* Gen. 2. 11 & 12. *called Babelus, so called (as he thinkes) by corruption for Parauaim: from whence those Kinges subiected by David brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which David preserved for the enriching of the Temple.* Plin. 6. 2. 28.

But this fancie of Peru hath deceived many men, before Montanus, and Plessis, who also tooke Ophir for Peru. And that this question may bee a subiect of no farther dispute; it is very true, that there is no Region in the world of that name: sure I am that at least America hath none, no not any Cittie, Village, or mountaine so called. But when Francis Pizarro first discovered those landes to the South of Panama, arriving in that Region which Atabaliba commanded (a Prince of magnificence, riches and Dominion inferiour to none) some of the Spaniards vtterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signes (as they could) the name of the Countrie, and pointing with their hand athwart a riuer, or torrent, or brooke that ran by, the Indians answered Peru which was either the name of that brooke, or of water in generall. The Spaniards thereupon conceiuing that the people had rightly vnderstood them, set it downe in the Diurnall of their enterprize, and so in the first description made, and sent ouer to Charles the Emperour, all that West part of America to the South of Panama had the name of Peru, which hath continued euer since as diuers Spaniards in the Indies assured me; which also Aesop the Iesuite in his naturall and morall Historie of the Indies confirmeth. And whereas Montanus also findeth, that a part of the Indies (called Iucatan) tooke that name of IOctan, who as hee supposeth nauigated from the vtmost East of India to America: it is most true, that Iucatan, is nothing else in the language of that Countrie, but [What is that] or [What say you] For when the Spaniards asked the name of that place (no man conceiuing their meaning) one of the Saluages answered Iucatan (which is) *What aske you, or what say you?* The like hapned touching Paria, a mountainous Countrie on the South side of Trinidad and Margarita: for when the Spaniards inquiring (as all men doe) the names of those new Regions which they discovered, pointed to the Hilles as farre off, one of the people answered, Paria, which is as much to say, as high hilles or mountaines. For as Paria begins that meruallous ledge of mountaines, which from thence are continued to the Strait of Magellan: from 8. degrees 50 of North latitude to 52. of South; and so hath that Countrie euer since retained the name of Paria.

The same hapned among the English, which I sent vnder Sir Richard Greeneuile to inhabit Virginia. For when some of my people asked the name of that Countrie, one of the Saluages answered Wingandaton, which is as much to say, as, you weare good

good clothes, or gay clothes. The same hapned to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Island *Trimaado*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that felse place which the Sea compassed, they answered *Caeri*, which signifieth an Island. And in this manner haue many places newly discouered bene intituled: of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we must leaue *Ophir* among the *Moluccas* whereabout such an Island is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in *Arabia* it felse (towards *Persia*) in *Haulah*, now *Susana*, and all along that East *Indian* shore; yet the greatest plentie is taken vp at the *Philippines*, certaine Islands planted by the *Spaniards* from the West *India*. And by the length of the passage which *Salomons* ships made from the Red Sea, (which was three yeares in going and coming) it seemeth they went to the vttermost East, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeede these that now goe from *Portugall*, or from hence, finish that nauigation in two yeare, and sometimes lesse: and *Salomons* ships went not about a tenth part of this our course from hence. But we must consider, that they euermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the vse of the *Compass* was knowne, it was impossible to nauigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomons* ships could not finde *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull for the *Spaniards* themselves (had it not bene for the plentie of gold in the East *India* Islands, farre about the mines of any one place of *America*) to saile euery yeare from the West part of *America* thither, and there to haue strongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those Islands: wherein they haue built a Citie called *Manilla*. *Salomon* therefore needed not to haue gone farther off then *Ophir* in the East, to haue sped worke: neither could hee nauigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas he had no coast to haue guided him:

*Tositatus* also gathereth a fantastical opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Countie, whose mountaines of gold are kept by *Griffins*: which mountaines *Salinus* affirmeth to be in *Syria* *Asiatica*, in these wordes. *Nam cum auro & gemmis affluant, Griffes teneant vniuersa, adites ferocissima, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c.* For whereas these Counties abound in gold, and rich stone, the *Griffins* defend the one and the other: a kinde of Fowle the fiercest of all other; with which *Griffins* a Nation of people called *Arimaspi* make warre. These *Arimaspi* are said to haue bene men with one eye only, like vnto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclopes* *Hierodotus* and *Aristeus* make mention: and so doth *Lucan* in his third Booke: and *Valerius Flacens*: and *D. Scudus* in the storie of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine owne opinion) I beleue none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it that this name signifying One-eyed was first giuen them by reason that they vied to wear a vizard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serue both eyes; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Salinus* borroweth these things out of *Plinie*, who speaks of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Gisulitren*, or the Caue of the Northeast winde. For therest, as all fables were commonly grounded vpon some true stories or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* recieue this Morall. That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this world, had their perfect senses, and were not deprivied of halfe their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason and vnderstanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subiect themselves to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be faigned in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the world, where wild beasts or Serpents defend mountaines of gold, it might be auowed: For there are in many places of the world, especially in *America*, many high and impassable mountaines which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited only with *Tigers*, *Lyons*, and other rauinous and cruell beasts: into which if any man ascend (except his strength bee very great) hee shall bee sure to finde the same warre, which the *Arimaspi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of gold,

Flacus l.  
Dind. Scud. l. 1.

gold, or seeke to defend that mettall, but being disquieted, or made afraide of themselves or their young ones, they grow irraged and aducturous. In like sort it may be said that the *Alegatos*, (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend those Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore *Indians* are eaten vp by them, when they die for the pearle. And though the *Alegatos* know not the pearle, yet they finde fauour in the flesh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they deuoure.

10

† VI.

OF *HAVILAH* the sonne of *IOCTAN*, who also passed into the East Indies: and of *MESHA* and *SEPHER* named in the bordering of the families of *IOCTAN*: with a conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the world.

OF *Haulah* the sonne of *Ioctan*, there is nothing else to be said, but that the generall opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East *India* in the Continent, from which *Ophir* pass into the Islands adioyning. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Haulah*, it is meant by *Haulah* in the East *India*, which tooke name of *Haulah* the sonne of *Ioctan*: but *Haulah*, which *Pison* compasseth, was so called of *Haulah*, the sonne of *Chus*, as is formerly proued by this place of Scripture. *SAV I smote the Amalekites from Haulah, as thou comest to Shur, which is before Egypt.* But that *Saul* cuer made warre in the East *India*, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteene sonnes of *Ioctan*, these three *Saba*, *Haulah*, and *Ophir*; though at the first seated by their brethren about the Hill *Mafius* or *Mes*, *Gen. 10. 30.* (to wit) betwene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet at length either themselves or their issues removed into East *India*, leaving the other families of *Ioctan*, to fill the Countie of their first plantation, which the Scripture defines to haue bene from *Mes* vnto *Sephar*. And although *S. Hierome* take *Mes* to bee a Region of the East *India*, and *Sephar* a mountaine of the same (which mountaine *Montanus* would haue to be the *Andes* in *America*) those fancies are farre beyond my vnderstanding. For the word (East) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Iudea*, is neuer farther extended then into *Persia*. But *Mes* is that part of the mountaines of *Mafius* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the Riuer *Chabor* as springeth which runneth by *Charan*: and in the same Region we also finde for *Sephar* (remembered by *Moses*) *Siphara* by *Ptolomie*, standing to the East of the mountaines *Mafius*; from whence *Ioctan* hauing many sonnes, some of them might passe into *India*, hearing of the beatic and riches thereof. But this was in processe of time.

The other fashion of planting I vnderstand not, being grounded but vpon mens imaginations; contrarie to reason and possibilitie. And that this mountaine in the East was no farther off then in those Regions before remembered, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is vsed: as in *Numbers 23. Balaam the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the mountaine of the East*; which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balaam* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia*, (witnesseth this place of *Deuteronomie*.) Because they hired *Balaam* the sonne of *Beor*, of *Pethor* in *Aram Naharajim*, to curse thee: for *Aram Naharajim* was *Syria* *Naharajim*, which is *Mesopotamia*, as afore said.

This plantation of the world after the flood both best agree, (as to me it seemes) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these bee the reports of reason and probable coniecture; the guides which I haue followed herein, and which I haue chosen to goe after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies: be they ancient or moderne. Neither haue I any end herein, private; or publicke, other then the discouerie of truth. For as the partialitie of man to himselfe hath disguised all things: so the factious and hireling Historians

1 Sam. 15. 7.

Gen. 10. 30.

of

of all Ages (especially of these latter times) haue by their many volumes of vntue reports left Honour without a Monument, and Vertue without Memorie: and (in steade thereof) haue erected *Statues* and *Trophies* to those, whom the darkeſt forgetfulneſſe ought to haue buried, and couered ouer for euermore. And although the length and diſſoluing nature of time hath worne out or changed the names and memorie of the worlds firſt planters after the ſound (I meane the greateſt number and moſt part of them) yet all the footſteps of Antiquitie (as appeares by that which hath bene ſpoken) are not quite worne out nor ouergrowne: for *Babylon* hath to this day the ſound of *Babel*; *Phoenicia* hath *Zidon*, to which Cittie the eldeſt Sonne of *Canaan* gaue name; ſo hath *Cilicia* *Tharſis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hiberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumeans*, *Libyans*, *Moors*, and other Nations, haue preferred from the death of forgetfulneſſe ſome ſignes of their firſt Founders and true Parents.

## CHAP. IX.

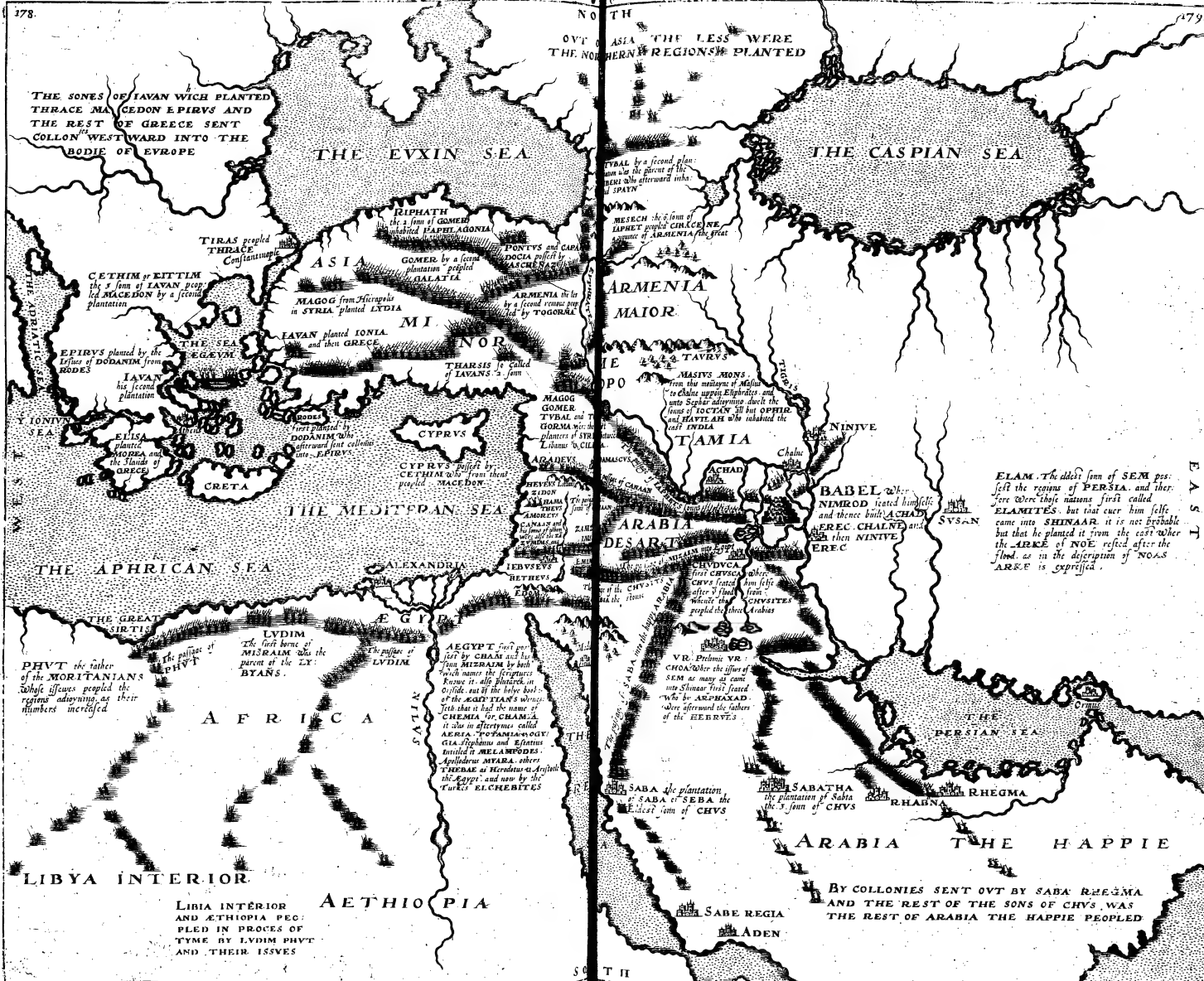
Of the beginning and eſta bliſhing of  
Gouernement.

## §. I.

Of the proceeding from the firſt Gouernement vnder the eldeſt of families to  
Regall, and from Regall absolute to Regall tempered  
with Lawes.



It followeth now to entreate how the world beganne to receiue Rule and Gouernement, which (while it had ſcarcitie of people) vnder-went no other Dominion then Paternitie and Elderſhip. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldeſt of families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (Elder) was alwaies vſed both for the Magiſtrate, and for thoſe of age and grauitie: the ſame bearing one ſignification almoſt in all languages. For in the eleuenth of *Numbers* God commanded *Moses* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and Gouernours ouer them: the Hebrew bearing the ſame ſenſe, which the Latine word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Iſaia*, Then the Aſſembly beleued them as thoſe that were the Elders and Iudges of the people. And ſo in the words of thoſe falſe Iudges and witneſſes to *Daniel*, Shew it vnto vs, ſeing God hath giuen thee the office of an Elder. Demosthenes vſeth the ſame word for the Magiſtrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Ca* giueth two other reaſons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedemonios qui ampliffimum inſiſtrum gerunt, ut ſunt, ſic etiam appellantur Senes*, Among the *Lacedemonians* the cheefe Magiſtrates, as they are, ſo are they called Eldermen: and againe, *Ratio & ſenectus eſt eſſent in ſenectus vultu ſummum Concilium Maiores noſtri appellabant Senatum*, If reaſon and aduſement were not in old men, our Anceſtors had neuer called the beſt Counſell by the name of a Senate. But though theſe reaſons may well be giuen, yet we doubt not but in this name of (Elders) for Gouernours or Counſailers of State, there is a ſigne that the firſt Gouernours were the Fathers of families; and vnder them



THE SONS OF JAVAN WHICH PLANTED THRACE MACEDON EPIRVS AND THE REST OF GREECE SENT COLON WESTWARD INTO THE BODIE OF EVROPE

THE EVXIN SEA

THE CASPIAN SEA

CETHIM or KITTIM the 2 son of JAVAN possesed MACEDON by a second plantation

ASIA  
GOMER by a second plantation peopled  
MAGOG from Hircania in SYRIA planted LYDIA

TYBAL by a second plan-  
tion was the parent of the  
HEMI who afterwards into  
PAIN  
RETECH the 2 son of  
JAPHET peopled CIRCENE  
the parent of ARSINIA the great

EPIRVS planted by the  
Leibes of DODANIM from  
NODUS  
JAVAN his second  
plantation

MAIOR  
TAVRVS  
MAIUS MONS  
from the mountains of Mafius  
the 2nd son of JAPHET and  
into Sogdiana adyninge dueth the  
sons of ISACAN 2d son of OPHIR  
and PLATE AIR who inhabited the  
East INDIA

ARMENIA  
MAIOR  
TAVRVS  
MAIUS MONS  
from the mountains of Mafius  
the 2nd son of JAPHET and  
into Sogdiana adyninge dueth the  
sons of ISACAN 2d son of OPHIR  
and PLATE AIR who inhabited the  
East INDIA

ELISA  
planted  
MOPEA and  
the Islands of  
GOREE  
CRETA

THE SEA  
EKEVIM  
DODANIM who  
afterward sent colonies  
into EPIRVS  
CYPRVS peopled by  
CETHIM 2d son of JAVAN  
MACEDON

ARMENIA  
MAIOR  
TAVRVS  
MAIUS MONS  
from the mountains of Mafius  
the 2nd son of JAPHET and  
into Sogdiana adyninge dueth the  
sons of ISACAN 2d son of OPHIR  
and PLATE AIR who inhabited the  
East INDIA

THE APHRICAN SEA

THE MEDITERRAN SEA

ARMENIA  
MAIOR  
TAVRVS  
MAIUS MONS  
from the mountains of Mafius  
the 2nd son of JAPHET and  
into Sogdiana adyninge dueth the  
sons of ISACAN 2d son of OPHIR  
and PLATE AIR who inhabited the  
East INDIA

PHVT the father  
of the MORITANIAN  
whyle offespe people the  
regions adyninge as their  
numbers interced

EGYPT  
The first borne of  
MISRAIM was the  
parent of the LY-  
BYANS

ARMENIA  
MAIOR  
TAVRVS  
MAIUS MONS  
from the mountains of Mafius  
the 2nd son of JAPHET and  
into Sogdiana adyninge dueth the  
sons of ISACAN 2d son of OPHIR  
and PLATE AIR who inhabited the  
East INDIA

AFRICA

EGYPT  
The first borne of  
MISRAIM was the  
parent of the LY-  
BYANS

ARMENIA  
MAIOR  
TAVRVS  
MAIUS MONS  
from the mountains of Mafius  
the 2nd son of JAPHET and  
into Sogdiana adyninge dueth the  
sons of ISACAN 2d son of OPHIR  
and PLATE AIR who inhabited the  
East INDIA

LIBYA INTERIOR

EGYPT  
The first borne of  
MISRAIM was the  
parent of the LY-  
BYANS

ARMENIA  
MAIOR  
TAVRVS  
MAIUS MONS  
from the mountains of Mafius  
the 2nd son of JAPHET and  
into Sogdiana adyninge dueth the  
sons of ISACAN 2d son of OPHIR  
and PLATE AIR who inhabited the  
East INDIA

LIBIA INTERIOR  
AND AETHIOPIA PEC-  
PLED IN PROCES OF  
TIME BY LYDIM PHVT  
AND THEIR ISSUES

EGYPT  
The first borne of  
MISRAIM was the  
parent of the LY-  
BYANS

ARMENIA  
MAIOR  
TAVRVS  
MAIUS MONS  
from the mountains of Mafius  
the 2nd son of JAPHET and  
into Sogdiana adyninge dueth the  
sons of ISACAN 2d son of OPHIR  
and PLATE AIR who inhabited the  
East INDIA

ELAM The eldest son of SEM pos-  
sessed the regions of PERSIA, and ther-  
fore were they nations first called  
ELAMITES but that ever him selfe  
came into SHINAR it is not probable  
but that he planted it from the east where  
the ARKE of NOE rested after the  
flood as in the description of NOAH  
ARKE is expressed

ARMENIA  
MAIOR  
TAVRVS  
MAIUS MONS  
from the mountains of Mafius  
the 2nd son of JAPHET and  
into Sogdiana adyninge dueth the  
sons of ISACAN 2d son of OPHIR  
and PLATE AIR who inhabited the  
East INDIA

THE PERSIAN SEA

ARABIA THE HAPPIE

BY COLONIES SENT OVT BY SABA RHEGMA  
AND THE REST OF THE SONS OF CHVS WAS  
THE REST OF ARABIA THE HAPPIE PEOPLED

ARMENIA  
MAIOR  
TAVRVS  
MAIUS MONS  
from the mountains of Mafius  
the 2nd son of JAPHET and  
into Sogdiana adyninge dueth the  
sons of ISACAN 2d son of OPHIR  
and PLATE AIR who inhabited the  
East INDIA

THE PERSIAN SEA

SABA REGIA  
ADEN

them the eldest Sonnes. And from thence did the French, Italian, and Spaniard take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to *Loyseau*) puissance in proprietic, or proper power. The kindes of this *Seignourie*, *Seneca* makes two: the one, *Potestas aut imperium*, Power or command: the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*, Proprietie or mastery; the correlative of the one is the subiect, of the other the slave. *Ad Cæsarem* (saith he): *potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietates*, *Cæsar hath power over all; and every man proprietic in his owne*: and againe, *Cæsar omnia imperio possidet, singula dominio*, *Cæsar holdeth all in his power, and every man possesseth his owne*. But as men and vice beganne abundantly to increace: so obedience, (the fruit of naturall reuerence; which but from excellent feede fel-dome ripeneth) being exceedingly ouerhadowed with pride, and all examples vterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternall persuasions (after mankind beganne to neglect and forget the originall and first giuer of life) became in all ouer-weake, either to resist the first inclination of euill, or after (when it became habituall) to constraîne it. So that now, when the hearts of men were only guided and steered by their owne fancies; and tost too and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wisdom was seuered from power, and strength from charitie: Necessitie (which bindeth euery nature but the immortall) made both the Wife and Foolish vnderstand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become farre more miserable then that of beasts, and that a generall flood of confusion would a second time ouerflow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order and dominion preuent it. For the Mightie, who trusted in their owne strengths, found others againe (by interchange of times) more mightie then themselves: the feeble fell vnder the forcible; and the equall from equall receiued equall harmes. In so much that licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a libertie vpon the first acquaintancy) proued vpon a better triall; no lesse perilous then an vniudurable bondage.

*Necessitas fr-*  
*mum iudicium,*  
*& immutabilis*  
*providentie po-*  
*testas.*

These Arguments by Necessitie propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perswaded all Nations which the Heauens couer, to subiect themselves to a Master, and to Magistracie in some degree. Vnder which Gouvernement, as the change (which brought with it lesse euill, then the former mischiefs) was generally pleasing: so time (making all men wise that obserue it) found some imperfection and corollue in this cure. And therefore the same Necessitie which inuented, and the same Reason which approued soueraigne power, be thought themselves of certain equall rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundlesse) might also discern her owne limits. For before the inuention of Lawes, priuate affections in supreme Rulers made their owne fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this yard, and weighing in this balance both good and euill.

For as wisdom in Elderhip preceded the rule of Kings: so the will of Kings fore-went the inuentions of lawes. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum prolegibus erant*, *The people were not gouerned by any other lawes then the willes of Princes*: Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to bee good, neither did those mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those mens vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt, Loue sees one while too much, another while sturke no: thing*. Hence it came to passe, that after a few years (for direction and restraint of Royall power) Lawes were established: and that gouernement which had this mixture of equalitie (holding in an even balance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall: the one God established in fauour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regall authoritie, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues only: so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (saith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia iusti erant, & religionibus dediti, iure habiti*, *Dij & dicti*, *Princes, because they were iust and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods*. De vno seculo, Part. 1.

And

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to reason and necessity; yet it was God himselfe that first kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they saw that they could not live and bee preferred without a Ruler and Conduktor: God himselfe by his eternall providence hauing ordaind Kings; and the law of Nature leaders, and Rulers ouer others. For the verie Bees haue their Prince; the Decree their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their owne safetie. *The most High beareth rule ouer the Kingdomes of men, and appointeth ouer it whomsoever he pleaseth. By me (saith Wisdome, spoken by the Son of God) Kings reigne; by me Princes rule; and it is God (saith Daniel) that setteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings; and that this power is giuen from God, Christ himselfe witnesseth, speaking to Pilate. Thou couldest haue no power at all against mee, except it weree giuen thee from above.*

It was therefore by a threefold iustice that the world hath beene gouerned from the beginning, (to wit) by a iustice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of families gouerned their children, and nephewes, and families, in which gouernement the obedience was called naturall pietie: againe, by a iustice diuine, drawne from the lawes and ordinances of God: and the obedience herunto was called conscience; and lastly by a iustice ciuill, begotten by both the former: and the obedience to this we call dutie. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded: and that the rule in general was paternall, it is most euident: for *Adam* being Lord ouer his owne children, instructed them in the seruice of God his Creator; as were *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of mankind.

## §. II.

*Of the three commendable sorts of Governement with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane societie.*



What other policie was exercised, or state founded after such time as mankind was greatly multiplyed before the flood, it cannot bee certainly knowne, though it seeme by probable coniecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first age: it being possible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembered among their antiquities) were before the generall flood; and very likely, that the cruell oppressions in that age proceeded from some tyrannic in Governement, or from some rougher forme of rule, then the paternall.

*Berosus* ascribeth the rule of the world in those dayes to the Giants of *Libanus*, who maltred (saith he) all Nations from the Sunne-rising to the Sunne-set. But in the second age of the world, and after such time as the rule of Eldership failed, three severall sorts of Governement were in severall times established among men, according to the diuers natures of places and people.

The first, the most ancient, most general, and most approued, was the Governement of one, ruling by iust lawes, called *Monarchie*: to which *Tyrannie* is opposed, being also a sole and absolute rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or obseruation of the lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the keeper of right and equitie: and of this condition ought euery Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word. *Judges and Officers shall thou make thee in thy Cities: And these shall iudge the people with righteous iudgement.*

The second Governement is of diuers principall persons established by order, and ruling by lawes, called *Aristocracie*, or *Optimum potestas*; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great ones) is opposed: as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The

The third is a State popular, (or Governement of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is opposed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent vniuersall ruling of the confused multitude, seditiously swaying the state, contrarie to their owne lawes and ordinances. These three kinds of Governement are briefly exprest by *Tholomaeus*; *Vnius*, *paucorum*, & *multorum*, Of one, of few, of many.

Now as touching the beginning and order of policie since the second increase of mankind, the same grew in this sort: First of all, euery Father, or eldest of the familie, gaue lawes to his owne issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These as they were multiplyed into many households (man by nature louing societie) ioyned their Cottages together in one common field or Village, which the Latines call *Vici*; of the Greeke *κωμ*, which signifieth a house, or of the word (*Vis*) because it hath diuers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first house grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a societie of diuers Villages) so called of the Greeke *παῖς*, which signifieth a fountaine: because many people (hauing their habitations not farre asunder) dranke of one spring or frame of water. To this word the English Hundreds, or (as some thinke) Shires answereth not vnfitly.

But as men and impietie beganne to gather strength, and as emulation and pride betweene the races of the one and the other daylie increased: so both to defend themselves from outrage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they beganne to ioyne and set together diuers of their Villages, innironing them first with banks and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being so compassed were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponendo se hostibus*, Because wals were opposed against enemies, or *ab opibus*, because thither they gathered their riches for safetie and defence: as also they were called *Urbes*, *ab orbe*, because when they were to build a Citie, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith *Varro*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Urbs* signified no other then the very wals and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Civis*; and that *ab eo quod multitudo conuit, of coming together*. But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Citizens, but only such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the Citie may by turnes become Officers and Magistrats thereof: the rest goe vnder the name of subiects, though Citizens by the same generall name of subiects are also knowne. For euery Citizen is also a subiect, but not euery subiect a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chiefe Magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens) is no subiect; but of this we neede not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken of *Magistro*, from a *Master*, and the word (Master) from the Aduerbe *Magis* (as also *magisteria*, precepts of art) or else from the Greeke word (*Μεγιστος*): and so the Greekes call them *Μεγιστανες*, whom the Latines call *Magistratus* or *Magistratus*.

The office and dutie of euery Magistrate *Aristotle* hath written in few wordes. *A Magistrate or Prince (saith he) is the keeper of right and equitie; but the same is best taught by St. Paul, who expresth both the cause efficient, and finally, (that is) by whom Magistrats and Princes are ordaind, together with their duties and offices. A Magistrate is the minister of God for thy wealth, but if thou doe euill, feare: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth euill. He also teacheth in the same place, That euery soule ought to be subiect to the higher powers, because they are by God ordaind; and that whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God, the giuer and fountaine thereof: and shall not only be therefore subiect to the iudgement and condemnation of Man, but of God: For whosoever must be subiect (saith he) not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake.*

The examples are not to be numbered of Gods punishments vpon those that haue resisted authoritie, by God ordaind and established. Neither ought any subiect therefore

R

therefore

therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with iniustice or crueltie: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the commandment of obedience is without distinction. The Prophets and Christ himselfe subiected themselves to the power of Magistracie. Christ commanded that all due to *Cesar* should be giuen vnto him: and hee payed tribute for himselfe and *Peter*. *Hieremie* commanded the *Israelites* (euen those that were captiues vnder Heathen Kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*; and *Isaac* blessed the King of *Egypt*. And it is acceptable in the sight of our Saniour (saith *Paul*) that ye make supplications and prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority: and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did *St. Chrysostome* in his Homilie to the people preferre Monarchicall Gouernement, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) then that they should bee wanting: *Prestat regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum, Better a tyrannous King, then no King*: to which also *Tacitus* subscribeth. *Prestat* (saith *Tacitus* in the first of his Historie) *sub malo principe esse, quam sub nullo, It is better to haue a bad Prince then none at all*. And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no libertie more safe, then to serue them. *Neque enim libertas tutior vlla est* (saith *Claudian*) *quam Domino seruire bono, No libertie* (saith he) *more safe for vs then to be seruants to the vertuous*. And certainly howeouer it may be disputed, yet is it safer to liue vnder one Tyrant, then vnder 1000000. Tyrants: vnder a wile man that is cruell, then vnder the foolish and barbarous crueltie of the multitude. For as *Ageslaw* answered a Cittizen of *Sparta* that desired an alteration of the gouernement, That kinde of rule which a man would disdayne in his owne houle, were very vnfit to gouerne great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembered) many houholds ioyned themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Citties: so when these Citties and Cittizens ioyned together, and established lawes by consent, afflicating themselves vnder one Gouernour and gouernment, they so ioyned were called a Commonwealth: the same being sometimes gouerned by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the people themselves.

## §. III.

Of the good Gouernement of the first Kings.

**N**ow this first Age after the flood, and after such time as the people were increased, and the families became strong, and dispersed into leuall parts of the world, was by ancient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Couetousnesse being as then but greene, and newly growne vp, the seedes and effects whereof were as yet but potentiall, and in the blowth and budde. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then fought for no larger Territorie then themselves could compass and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, then sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacie of fare, or curiositie of dyet, then to maintayne life: nor for any other apparell then to couer them from the cold, the Raine and the Sunne.

And sure if we vnderstand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicitie of our forefathers, this name may then truly bee call vpon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time then to another, (I meane to one limited time and none else) it may bee doubted. For good and golden Kings make good and golden Ages: and all times haue brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancie of Empire, (when Princes played their prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might bee called

called the golden Age: so may the beginning of all Princes times bee truly called golden. for be it that men affect honour it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deservings haue commonly the least impediments: and if euer Liberaltie ouerflow her banks and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by pollicie and example. But Age and Time doe not only harden and shrinke the openest and most *social* hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it layeth Princes torne estates before their eyes, and (withall) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there bee no Kings vnder the Sunne whose meanes are answerable vnto other mens desires; yet such as value all things by their owne respects, doe no sooner finde their appetites vnanswered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times inuious and yron. And as this falleth out in the raigne of euery King, so doth it in the life of euery man, if his dayes bee many: for our younger yeares are our golden Age; which being catcht vp by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeede) the grievous alterations in our felices, and the paines and diffeases which neuer part from vs but at the graue, make the times seeme so differing and displeasing: especially the qualitie of mans nature being also such, as it adordeth and extollet the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how iust focuer. *Fit humanae malignitatis vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, praesentia in fastidio sint, It comes to passe* (saith *Tacitus* in *Dial.* *de Orat.* *citius*) *by the vice of our malignitie, that we alwaies extoll the time past, and hold the present fastidious*: For it is one of the errors of wayward age. *Quod sint laudatores temporis acti, That they are praisers of forepassed times, forgetting this aduise of Salomon. Say Eccles. 3. not then why is it that the former dayes were better then these? for thou dost not inquire wisely of this thing: to which purpose Seneca. Maiores nostri quicquid sunt, et nos querimus, posteri queruntur, euos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum, et in omne nefas labi, Our Ancesters haue complained, we doe complaine, our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickednesse doth raigne, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all euill. These are the vsuall discourses of Age and misfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of Arnobius. Non res quandoq. vetus*

*30* *fact, et vetus temporibus quibus caput noua fuit et repentina, What focuer is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they tooke beginning were also new and sodaine. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times haue made golden, this wee may set downe for certaine, That as it was the vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gaue them Crownes: so the loue of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crownes on their heads. And as God gaue the obedience of subiects to Princes: so (relatiuely) he gaue the care and iustice of Kings to the Subiects; hauing respect, not onely to the Kings themselves, but euen to the meaneit of his Creatures. Nunquam* *40* *particulari bono seruit omne bonum, The infinite goodnesse of God doth not attend any one only: for he that made the small and the great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings haue of all theirs, which makes them beloued of all theirs; and by a generall loue it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience: For Potestas humana radicitur in voluntatibus hominum, All humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.*

## §. IIII.

Of the beginning of Nobilitie: and of the vaine vaunt thereof without vertue.



Vetus nobilitas  
non nascitur  
sed fit.

And with this supreme Rule and Kingly authoritie beganne also other degrees and differences among subiects. For Princes made election of others by the same rule, by which themselves were chosen; vnto whom they gaue place, trust, and power. From which employments and offices sprung those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which haue continued from age to age to these dayes. But this Nobilitie, or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning giuen to the succession of bloud, but to succession of vertue, as hereafter may bee proued. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were aduanced, to be knowne for the Sonnes of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, vpon whom glorie or worldly Nobilitie necessarily descended. Yet heretofore had Nobilitie denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in vertue were so called. *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute pra alijs notabilis*. But after such time as the deferred Honour of the Father was giuen in reward to his posteritie, St. Hierome iudged of the succession in this manner. *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent, I see no other thing to be affected in Nobilitie, then that Noblemen are by a kinde of necessitie bound not to degenerate from the vertue of their Ancesters*. For if Nobilitie be *virtus & antiqua diuitia*, Vertue and ancient riches, then to exceede in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glorie, and the like, doe no otherwise define Nobilitie, then the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Vives*) be a witnessse of vertue and well-doing: and Nobilitie (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of vertue in a race or lineage: then are those in whom vertue is extinguished, but like vnto painted and printed papers, which ignorant men worship in steade of *Christ*, our Ladie, and other Saints: men, in whom there remaine but the dregges and vices of ancient vertue: Flowers, and hearbes, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to weeds. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure fountaines, if in all the rest of their course they runne foule, filthie, and defiled? *Ex terra ferit productur aliquando cicuti & venosus, & ex terra sterilis pretiosum aurum*, Out of fruitfull ground ariseth sometimes poisoning hemlocke: and out of barren soile precious gold. For as all things consist of matter and forme, so doth *Charon* (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the race and lineage but the matter of Nobilitie: the forme (which giues life and perfect being) he maketh to be vertue, and qualitie profitable to the Commonweale. For hee is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publike vertue, seruing his Prince and Countrey, and being defended of Parents and Ancesters that haue done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the same Authour calleth personall, (the same which our selues acquire by our vertue and well deseruings) cannot bee balanced with that which is both naturall by descent, and also personall; yet if vertue bee wanting to the naturall, then is the personall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred: For (saith this *Charon*) this Honour (to wit) by descent, may light vpon such a one, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is also a third Nobilitie which he calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with siluer or fauour: and these be indeede but Honours of affection, which Kinges with the change of their fancies with they knew well how to wipe off againe. But surely if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthinesse, as we haue of vanitie in deriuing our selues of such and such Parents, wee should rather know such Nobilitie (without vertue) to be shame and dishonour, then Noblesse, and glorie to vaunt thereof.

What

What calamitie is wanting (saith *Bernard*) to him that is borne in sinne, of a possibler body and barren minde? for (according to the same Father.) *Dele suam fugacis honoris huius, & male coronatam interitum glorie, &c.* Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glorie, that then thou maist consider thy selfe nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Myster, or glistering with Jewels, or garnished with silkes, or adorned with feathers, or stufled with gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certaine morning cloudes, which doe or will soone passe ouer, thou shalt meete with a naked, and poore, and wretched, and miserable man, and blushing, because he is naked, and a weeping because he is borne, and reining because he is borne to labour, and not to honour.

For as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betwene it and dust: which if thou dost not beleene (saith *S. Chrysostome*) looke into the Sepulchers and Monuments of thy Ancesters, and they shall easily perswade thee by their owne example, that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seeme more Noble and beautifull then dust, this proceedeth not from the diuersitie of his nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.

For true Nobilitie standeth in the Trade  
Of vertuous life; not in the fleshly line;  
For bloud is brute, but Gentrie is diuine.

Phaser.

And how fouler the custome of the world haue made it good, that Honours be cast by birth vpon vnworthy issues: yet *Salomon* (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his fellow-Princes. There is an euill (saith he) that I haue seene vnder the Sunne, as an error that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth. Follie is set in great excellencie.

Eccles. 16.

## CHAP. X.

Of NIMROD, BELVS, and NINVS: and of memorable thinges about those times.

## §. I.

That NIMROD was the first after the flood that reigned like Soueraigne Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to haue bene of iust authoritie.



THE first of all that reigned as Soueraigne Lord after the flood was *Nimrod*, the Sonne of *Cush*, distinguished by *Moses* from the rest (according to *S. Augustine*) in one of these two respects: either for his eminencie, and because he was the first of fame, and that tooke on him to command others: or else in that he was begotten by *Cush*, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time then some of his Grand-children and Nephewes. Howsoever, seeing *Moses* in expresse wordes calleth *Nimrod* the Sonne of *Cush*, other mens coniectures to the contrarie ought to haue no respect. This Empire of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannical: the same beginning in *Babel*, (which is) confusion.

R 3

But

But it seemeth to mee that *Melanchton* conceived not amiss hereof: the same exposition being also made by the Authour of that worke called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirmes that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, *A bitter or severe Gouverneur*, because his forme of rule seemed at first farre more terrible then Paternall authoritie. And therefore is he in this respect also called *a mightie hunter*: because he tooke and destroyed both beasts and theeves. But *S. Augustine* understands it otherwise, and converts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mightie hunter against God. *Sic ergo intelligendus est Gigas ille, venator contra Dominum*, So is that Giant to be cōsidered, a hunter against the Lord. But howsoever this word (*a mightie hunter*) be vnderstood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into *Shinar*: so, this charge was rather giuen him, then by him vsurped. For it is no where found, that *Noah* himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne body came with this troupe into *Babylonia*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the yeares of his life excepted) in the succeeding storie of the Hebrewes: nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient troupe, or among the builders of *Babel*.

The same is also confirmed by diuers ancient Historians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Ischan* were the Capitaines and leaders of all those which came from the East. And though *Sem* came not himselfe so farre West as *Shinar* (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his sonnes Nephew *Heber*, the name and nation of the Hebrewes (according to the generall opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of *Chaldea* about the Citie of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea* were no partners in the vnbeleueing worke of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers coniecture) did they retain the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his issues. *In familia Heber remansit hec lingua*, In the family of *Heber* this language remained (saith *S. Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this language *Abraham* vied: yea it was anciently and before the flood the generall speech: and therefore first called (saith *Cassiodorus*) *lingua humana*: 30 the humane tongue.

We know that *Geropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Egyptius*, *Vergera*, and others, is of an other opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolue, that none of the godly seede of *Sem* were the chiefe leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by iust authoritie, then by violence of vsurpation.

## §. II.

That *NIMROD*, *BELVS*, and *NINVS* were three distinct persons.

**B**ENZO, and out of him *Nauclerus* with others make many *Nimrods*. *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*; and so doth *S. Hierome* vpon *osee*: and these words of *S. Augustine* seeme to make him of the same opinion. *Ibi autem NINVS regnabat post mortem patris sui BELI, qui primus illic regnauerat 65. annos; There did NINVS reigne after the death of his father BELVS, who first governed in Babylon sixtie five yeares.* But it could not be vnknowne to *S. Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the establisher of that Empire: *Moses* being plaine and direct therein. For the beginning of *NIMROD'S* Kingdome (saith he) was *BABEL*, *ERECH*, *ACCAD*, and *CHALNE*, in the land of *Shinar*: Wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus* time the world was marvellously replenished. And if *S. Augustine* had

De Cuius Doi.

had vndoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would haue giuen him the name which the Scriptures giue him, rather then haue borrowed any thing out of prophane Authours. And for those words of *S. Augustine* (*qui primus illic regnauerat, who was the first that reigned there*) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words doe not disprove that *Nimrod* was the founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Iulius Caesar* ouerthrew the libertie of the *Romane* Commonwealth, making himselfe a perpetual Dictator, yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperour: and the first that reigned absolutely by soueraigne authoritie ouer the *Romans*, as an Emperour. The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Elderhip and paternitie, laying the foundation of soueraigne rule, as *Cesar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably and with a generall allowance exercised such a power. *Petrus* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeares after the flood (as they account) that *Belus* reigned: but such agreement of times proues it not. For so *Edward the third*, and his grand-child *Richard the second*, were Kings both in one yeare: the one dyed; the other in the same yeare was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is farre more probable then that of *Mercator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plaine that the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdome was *Babel*, and the Townes adioyning: 20 but the first and most famous worke of *Ninus* was the Citie of *Ninive*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth that *Ninus* ouercame and suppresseth the *Babylonians*, the same rather proueth the contrary, then that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seate of his Empire at *Ninive* in *Assyria*; whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered againe by strong hand; which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

Dicitur autem

Cōtilibus muris cinxisse SEMIRAMIS VRBEM:

SEMIRAMIS with wals of bricke the Citie did inclose:

Further where it is alleaged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mightie: so *Iustine* hath the fame of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator's* arguments; it may be answered, that such an addition might haue beene giuen to many other Kings aswell. For if we may beleue *Iustine*; then were *Ptolemis* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanis* of *Syria* mightie Kings before *Ninus* was borne. And if we may compare the wordes of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the vndertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference betweene them. For whereas *Mercator* conceiueth, that it was too early for any that liued about the time of the confusion of languages to haue invaded and mastered those Citties so farre remoued from *Babel*; namely *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: which worke he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*; as a man of the greatest vnderstanding; and consequently would haue *Nimrod* to haue bene long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I doe not finde that supposition true, that euer *Nimrod* intiaed any of these Citties; but that hee founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the flood, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

50 Besides, whereas these Citties in many mens opinions are found to stand farre away from *Babylon*, I finde no reason to bring me to that beleefe. The Citie of *Accad* which the *Septuagint* calls *Archard*, and *Epiphanius* *Arphal*: *Ninus* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for the Region therabout the *Cosmographers* (saith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*. Others vnderstand *Nisibis* and *Ninive* to bee one Citie: so doe

doe *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charan*; but all mistaken. For *Nibis*, *Accad*, and *Charan* are distinct places. Though I cannot denie *Accadene* to be a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus* out of *S. Hierome* calls *Acad*: and so doe the Hebrews also call *Nibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the Cittie of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*, *S. Augustine* *Oreg*, and *Pagninus Erec*, this place *Iunius* vnderstands for *Aracca* in *Sassania*: but there is also a Cittie in *Comagene* called *Arace*: and indeed likelihood of name is no certaine proofe, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third Cittie (called *Chalneh*) some take it for *Calinis*: of which *Am. Marcellinus*. *S. Hierome* takes it for *Selucia*, *Etioplymitanus* for *Ctesiphon*: others 10 doe thinke it to be the *Agrani* vpon *Euphrates*, destroyed and razed by the *Perfians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Judge of this dispute, who teacheth vs directly, that these Citties are not seated in so diuers and distant Regions; for these be his wordes. And the beginning of his Kingdome (speaking of *Nimrod*) was *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalneh*, in the land of *Shinar*: so as in this Valley of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldea* (being all one) we must finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with *Viterbiensis*, that these foure made but one *Babylon*, then that they were Citties farre removed, and in severall Provinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chaine* from *Babylon*. Goe you (saith *Amos*) to *Chaine*, and from thence goe you to *Harnath*, and then to *Gath* of the *Philistims*. The *Geneue* translate 20 in favour of the former opinion, to set these Citties out of *Shinar*, hath a marginal note expressing that *Shinar* was here named: not that all these Citties were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldea*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*; but I finde little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrods* Empire there was no such *Babylon*, nor any Cittie at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great Cittie of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not farre from the place where stood *Memphis* the ancient Cittie, but not so ancient as *Babylon* vpon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chaine* is situate in the Valley of *Shinar*, it hath beene formerly proued in the Chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Cit- 30 ties from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and successiue Kings.

## §. III.

That *NIMROD*, not *ASSVR*, built *NINUS*: and that it is probable out of *ESAY* 23. 13. that *ASSVR* built *Vr* of the *Chaldees*.

Now as of *Nimrod*: so are the opinions of writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great state, of *Babylon* and 40 *Affria*: a controuersie wearisomely disputed without any direct proofe, conclusion, or certaintie. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are silent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of *Iunius* is most agreeable; who besides all necessary consequence doth not disioyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confule the vnderstanding thereof. For in this sort he conuerteth the Hebrew Text. *Erat enim principum regni eius Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaariz, & terra hac processit in Affria* ubi adificauit Ninuen: (which is) For the beginning of this Kingdome, was *Babel*, and *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalneh*, in the land of *Shinaar*: and hee went forth of this land into *Affria*, and built *Ninue*. So as *Iunius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any 50 person, but for the Region of *Affria*: the land being so called in *Moses* time, and before it. For certainly the other construction, (where the word (*Assur*) is taken for *Assur* the Sonne of *Sem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* obserueth through all the Bookes of *Genesis*, but is quite contrarie vnto it. For in the beginning of the tenth

tenth Chapter he setteth downe the Sonnes of *Noah* in these wordes. Now these are the Generations of the Sonnes of *NOAH*: *SEM*, *HAM*, and *JAPHETH*, into whom Sonnes were borne after the flood: then it followeth immediately. The Sonnes of *JAPHETH* were *GOMER*, &c. so as *Japheth* is last named among *Noahs* Sonnes, bee hee eldest or youngest: because he was first to be spoken of: with whom (hauing last named him) hee proceeds and sets downe his issue, and then the issue of his Sonnes: first, the issue of *Gomer*, *Japheths* eldest sonne; and then speaks of *Iaan* and his Sonnes: for of the rest of that familie hee is silent. Anon after hee numbrellth the Sonnes of *Ham*, of which *Cush* was the eldest: and then the Sonnes of *Cush* and *Miz- 10 ram*; and afterward of *Canaan*; leauing *Shem* for the last, because he would not disioyne the Storie of the Hebrews. But after hee beginneth with *Sem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, vnto *Abraham*, and so to *Iacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to haue brought in one of the Sonnes of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *Ham*, had beene against order; neither would *Moses* haue past ouer so slightly the erection of the *Affryan* Empire, in one of the Sonnes of *Shem*, if he had had any such meaning: it being the storie of *Sems* Sonnes which he most attended. For hee nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the Sonnes of *Cush*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Affryan* Empire: and in the eleuenth Chapter he returnes to speake of the building of *Babel* in particular, hauing formerly named 20 it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as hee did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleuenth he maketh no report of *Sem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then hee beginneth with the issue of *Sem*, which hee continueth to *Abraham* and *J-rael*. And of *Iunius* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Caluin*: to which I conceiue that *P. Comestor* or in his *historia Scholastica* gaue an entrance, who after hee had deliuered this place in some other sense, he vseth these wordes. *Vel intelligendum non est de Assyr filio SEM, &c. sed ASSVR (id est) Regnum Affyriorum inde egressum est: quod tempore SARVG proci ASSVRAM factum est, (which is) Or else it is not to be vnderstood of ASSVR the Sonne of SEM, &c. but ASSVR (that is) the Kingdome of the Affrians) 30 came from thence (videlicet from Babylon) or was made out of it: which happened in the time of SARVG the great grand-father of ABRAHAM*. After which he reconcileth the differences in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first erecter of the *Affryan* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true quantum ad initium, respecting the beginning; but others conceiue that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true quantum ad regni ampliationem, regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may adde the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Assur* to be the sonne of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Metheus*, and *Viterbiensis*, *S. Hierome* and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly *Tornellius*: who saith hee rooke 40 vpon him that name of *Assur* after hee had beaten the *Affrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus* after his conquest in *Africa*: and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Affria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psalm* 81. *Esay* 10. *Os* 5. &c. but to helpe the matter he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Sem*, and the sonne of *Iari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Arch-Bishop of *Mentz* in the yeare of *Christ* 854. an ancient and learned writer, vnderstands this place with *Comestor*, or *Comestor* with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of *Iunius*: in which wordes of *Moses* he giueth this sense. *De hac terra Affyriorum pullulauit imperium, qui ex nomine NINI, BELI filij, Ninum conderunt, urbem magnam, &c.* Out of this land grew the Empire of the *Affrians*, who built *Ninus* the great Cittie, so named of *NINVS* the sonne of *BELVS*. On the contrary *Caluin* obiecteth this place of *Esay*. Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, this was no people, *ASSVR* founded it by the inhabitants of the wilderness, 50 then which there is no one place in the Scriptures that hath a greater diuerfity in the translation and vnderstanding; in somuch as *Michael de Palatio* vpon *Esay* (though in all else very diligent) palleth it ouer. But *Caluin* seemeth hereby to in-ferre, that because *Assur* founded the state of the *Chaldeans*, therefore also *Assur* rather

Tornell. Annal.  
Iacri. in Gen. 10.

23. 13.

ther then *Nimrod* established the *Assyrian* Empire, and built *Nimue*: contrarie to the former translation of *Iunius*, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar*, (called *Hieromes* translation) it may be gathered that *Assur* both founded and ruined this estate or Citie of the *Chaldeans*, by *Esay* remembered: vnto which *Cittie*, people or estate, hee plainly telleth the *Tyrians* that they cannot truit, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Citie of *Chaldea*, and that estate, an example vnto those *Phenicians*, whom in this place hee foretelleth of their ruine: which Citie of *Chaldea* being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Assyrians* vterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giueth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their owne Citie of *Tyre*, (inuincible, as themselves thought) should also sooner after be ouerturned by the same *Assyrians*: as (indeede) it was by *Nabuchodonosor*. And these be the words after *Hierome*. *Ecce terra Chaldaeorum, talis populus non fuit, Assur fundauit eam, in captiuitatem traduxerunt robustos eius, suffoderunt domos eius, posuerunt eam in ruinam*, (which is) Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, such a people there were not (or this was no people, after the *Geneua*) *Assur* (or the *Assyrians*) founded it, they carried away their strong men captiue, they dermined their houses, and ruined their Citie. The *Septuagint* expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these wordes. *Et in terra Chaldaeorum, & hac desolata est ab Assyrijs, quoniam murus eius corruit*, making the sense perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus vnderstood. *If thou goe out to Chittim* (which is *Macedon* or *Greece*) *yet thou shalt haue no rest*, (speaking to the *Tyrians*) neither in the land of the *Chaldeans*, for this is made desolate by the *Assyrians*, because their walles fell together to the ground. *Pagninus* and *Vatablus* conuert it thus. *Ecce terra Chaldæim, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam Assur fundauit eam nauibus, erexerunt arces illius, contriuerunt ades eius, posuit eam in ruinam*: which may be thus Englished. Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for *Assur* built it a harbor for ships, they erected the Towers thereof, and againe brake downe the houses thereof, and ruinated it. *Iunius* in the place of ships lets the word (pro *Barbaris*) that is, for the *Barbarians*: and the *Geneua*, by the *Barbarians*. But this is vnderdoubt that the Prophet *Esay* (as may be gathered by all the sense of the chapter) did therein assure the *Tyrians* of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) hee maketh choice to note the calamities of those places, *Citties*, and *Regions*, by whose Trade the state and greatnesse of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Citizens* from *Tharsis*; from the *Macedonians*, and other *Græcians* vnder the name of *Cittim*; also by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans*, and the rest. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Towne of the world most renowned. And (as it appears in our discourse of *Paradyse*) not the least part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Citie *Yr* or *Yrebo* in *Chaldea*, where the body or chiefe streame of *Euphrates* (euen that streame which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otrix*, which now falleth into *Tigris*) had his passage into the *Persian Gulfe*: though now <sup>40</sup> it is stopped vp. For (as we haue heretofore noted) the *Arabians* (that descended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*) dwelling on the East banks of the *Persian Gulfe*, trading with the *Tyrians* (as those of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) transported their merchandize by the mouth of *Tigris*, that is, from *Teredon*, and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Yr* or *Yrebo*: and then by *Babylon*, and thence by Riuier and ouer Land they conueyed it into *Syria*, and so to *Tyre*: as they doe this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Yr* of the *Chaldees* was a Port Towne, and one of those *Citties* which had intelligence, trade, and exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it stood by the great Lakes of *Chaldea*, through which that part of *Euphrates* ranne, which passage is now stopt vp. *Eius cursum ventus aboleuit* (saith *NIGER*). And *Plinie*, *locus ubi Euphratis ostium fuit, flumen salsum*, <sup>50</sup> *Time hath borne away the channell of Euphrates: and the place where the mouth thereof was is a Bay of salt water*. These things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) wee may expound the Citie of the *Chaldees*, whose calamities *Esay* here noteth for terrour of the *Tyrians*, to be the Citie anciently called *Yr*; and (by *Hecateus*)

*Camerna*:

*Camerna*; by *Ptolomie Yrebo*: and by the *Greeks Chaldaopolis*, The Citie of *Chaldea*: which the *Sonnes of Shem* vntill *Abrahams* time inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations it is said, that *Assur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be vnderstood, that *Assur* the Founder was the sonne of *Shem*; and *Assur* the destroyers were the *Assyrians*, by whom those that inhabited *Yr* of *Chaldea*, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-sceing commanded *Abraham* thence to *Charran*, and so into *Canaan*. And if the Hebrew word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* conuerted (by ships) doe beare that sense, the same may be the better approved; because it was a Port Towne: and the Riuier so furre vp as this Citie of <sup>10</sup> *Yr* was in ancient time nauigable, as both by *Plinie* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (for the *Barbarians*) or (by the *Barbarians*) be also in the Hebrew Text, it is no lesse manifest; that the most barbarous *Arabians* of the Desert were and are the confronting, and next people of all other vnto it. For *Chaldea* is now called *Arachalder*, which signifieth desert lands, because it ioyneth to that part of *Arabia* so called: and *Cicero* (calling those *Arabians* by the name of *Nurians*) addeth that they are of all other people the most saluage; calling them *besties omnium maxime barbaros*.

So as this place of *Esay*, which breedeth some doubt in *Caluin*, proueth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of *Iunius*, nor the interpretation of *Comestor* and *Rabanus*. For though other men haue not conceived (for any thing that I haue read) that *Assur* is in this place diuinely taken (as for the sonne of *Shem*, when he is spoken of as a builder of *Yr*; and when as a destroyer thereof, then for the *Assyrian* Nation) yet certainly the euidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seeme to enforce it. And so this founding of the Citie of the *Chaldees* by *Assur* (into which the most of the posteritie of *Shem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were separate for the Idolatrie of the *Chusites* and *Nimredians*, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to proue that the same *Assur* built *Nimue*, or that the same *Assur* was all one with *Ninus*; except wee will make *Assur*, who was the sonne of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the sonne of *Belus*. For (out of <sup>30</sup> doubt) *Ninus* was the first notorious sacrificer to Idols; & the first that set vp a Statue to be honoured as God. Now if *Assur* must bee of that race, and not of the familie of *Shem*, as he must be if he founded *Nimue*, then all those which seeke to giue him the honour thereof, doe him by a thousand parts more iniurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Assur* whom they make the Founder of *Nimue* (and so the sonne of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly he was very unworthy and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of such an Empire and such a Citie, if no man haue vouchsafed to leaue to posteritie his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire againe or quitted it to <sup>40</sup> *Ninus*: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farre differing from truth. It will therefore bee found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the storie of that age written by prophane Authours, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moses*, and that these works being finished within the Valley of *Shinaar*, hee looked farther abroad, and set in hand the worke of *Ninus*, lying neare vnto the same streame that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which worke his grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to passe; that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundresse of the Citie which shee only finished: so also *Ninus* of <sup>50</sup> *Nimue*. *Quam quidem Babylonem posuit instaurare, Shee might repaire or renew Babylon*, saith *S. Augustine*. For so did *Nabuchodonosor* vaunt himselfe to be the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built vp againe some part of the wall ourborne by the furie of the Riuier: which worke of his stood till *Alexanders* time, whereupon he vaunted thus. *Is not this great Babel which I haue built?*

## §. IIIL.

of the acts of NIMROD and BELVS, as farre as now they are knowne.

**B**Vt to returne to the storie, it is plaine in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transugium*; and *Julius Africanus* surnamed *Sturne*) was the establisher of the *Babylonian Monarchie*, of whom there is no other thing written, then that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those foure Cities before remembred, *Babel*, *Erce*, *Accad*, and *Chalde*: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Assyria*; and in *Assyria* built foure more Cities (to wit) *Ninive*, *Rehoboth*, *Celah*, and *Resen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it selfe and those adioyning, and that his trauailes were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that worke of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Ninive*, and the other Cities of *Assyria* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficultie then any thing performed by his successours in many yeares after: to whose vndertakings time had giuen so great an increase of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning so great an advancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycus*) all these Nations were called *Mezopotamies*, & *sermonis linguarum terrarūq; diuisione*. By reason that the earth and the speech were then diuided.

*Belus*, or *Bel*, or *Iupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114. yeares; of whose acts and vndertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fennes and ouerflowne Marishes which adioyned vnto it. For any of his warres or conquests there is no report, other then of his begonne enterprise against *Sabatus* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia* which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whose Sonne and Successour *Barzanes* became subiect and Tributarie to *Ninus*; that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begonne.

## §. V.

That wee are not to meruaile how so many Kingdomes could bee erected about these times: and of *VEXORIS* of *Agypt*, and *TANAIS* of *Scythia*.

**T**Hat so many Kingdomes were erected in all those Easterne parts of the world so soone after *Nimrod*, (as by the storie of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold; (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For Opportunitie being a Princeesse liberal and powerful beloweth on her first entertainers many times more benefits, then either Fortune can, or Wisdome ought; by whose presence alone the vnderstanding minds of men receiue all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wish for: so as euery leader of a troupe (after the diuision of tongues and dispersion of people) finding these faire offers made vnto them, held the power which they possit, and gouerned by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was first diuided, mankind straggled abroade like beafts in a Desert; but that by a agreement they disposed themselves, and vnderooke to inhabit all the knowne parts of the world, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus* time, would not haue beene possit in many hundreds of yeares after, as then they were;

were; neither did those that were sent, and trauailed farre off (order being the true parent of prosperous success) vndertake so difficult enterprises without a Conduiter or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened euery humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitie resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enioy the harvest of their owne trauailes: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence: nor those which sought after any proportion of greatness, either possesse the same in quiet, or rule and order their owne ministers and attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the vndertakings and conquests of *Ninus* (the sonne of *Belus*) made it apparent: for he found euery where Kings and Monarches, what way soeuer his Ambition led him in the warres.

But *Nimrod* (his grand-father) had no companion King, to vs knowne, when he first tooke on him soueraignetic and sole commandement of all those the children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*: though in his life time others also raised themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his sonne and successour) found *Sabatus* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerful to resist his attempts: which *Sabatus* I take to be the same, which *Inghine* calls *Tanaïs*, and should coniecture, that *Mizraim* had bene his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error, (as *Iustine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seems to me rightly accounted by the indicius and learned *Reineccius* all one with the great *Sesatrius*, that liued certaine ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. yeares, according to the common account.

See more of this, &c. of this first Part. c. 3. §. 6.

## §. VI.

Of the name of BELVS, and other names affixe vnto it.

**H**ence this second King and Successour of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, question hath bene made: for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) giuen by *Ninus*, then assumed by *Belus* himselfe.

*Cyrellus* against *Julian* calls the Father of *Ninus* *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a God: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence deriued. But *Bel*, as many learned writers haue obserued, significth the Sunne in the *Chaldean* tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Senniramus* giue that name to their Father, that hee might be honoured as the Sunne, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a God. And as this title was assumed in after-times by diuers others of the *Chaldean* Princes, and *Babylonian* Satrapes: so was it vsed (in imitation) by the chiefe of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians haue conceiued.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertaine (as in affinitie) those voices of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphegor*, *Belsheub*, and *Beelzebub*. Those that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldean* conuert the word *Baal* by the Latine *Princeps militie*, Chiefe in the warre, though *Daniel* was so called (saith *SVIDAS*) ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum, in honour of his expounding secrets. *S. Hierome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to haue the same signification: and saith, that the Idoll of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memorie of his Father set vp to be worshipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reuerence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Lyrarus*) came Idolatry, and the first vse of Images into the world. *Istodor* doth interpret *Bel* by *Petus*, old or ancient; adding, that as among the *Assyrians* it is taken for *Saturne* and the *Sunne*: so in the *Punic* or *Carthaginian* language it significth

*hier. in Ose. c. 2.*

*lyr. in syriac. Salom. c. 11. 16 d. 18. c. 11.*

Hieron in O. G.  
c. 4. 29.

eth God. *Glycas* makes it an *Affryian* name properly; and *Iosiphus* a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth that the Idoll which the *Moabites* worshipped (by them erected on the mountaine *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the same which the Latines call *Prisapus*, the God of Gardens; which was also the opinion of *S. Hierome*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idoll of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* foundeth (God) and *Sebub* (Flies or Hornets:) by which name (notwithstanding) the *Jewes* expresse the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet *ose* teacheth vs the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himselfe; And at that day (saith the Lord) thou shalt call me *Ishti*, and shalt call me no more *Baalim*: for I will take away the name of *Baalim* out of their mouths. For although the name of *Baal*, or *Bahal*, be iustly to be vsed towards God; yet in respect that the same was given to Idolls, God both hated it and forbid it. And the vng of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldeans* for the Sunne, was not because it properly signifieth the Sunne, but because the Sunne there was worshipped as a God: as also the Fire was, *tanquam Solis particula*. As for the wordes compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belphegon*; *Belphegon* is expounded out of *FAGIVS*, *Dominus specula vel custodia*, The Lord of the watch-tower or of the guard: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is also written *Belpoor*, or *Baalpoor*: and *Peor* (they say) is as much as *Denudant*; and therefore the word ioynd expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the sonne of *Saturne*: for it was vsed among the Ancients to name the Father *Saturne*, the sonne *Jupiter*, and the grand-child *Hercules*. *SATVRNI dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regum qui urbes condiderunt iussim; primogeniti eorum IOVES & IVNOES; HERCVLES cereropotest eorum fortissimi*. The ancientest of Noble families, and Kings which founded Cities, are called *SATVRNES*, their first borne *IYPTERS*, and *IVNOES*; their valiant Nephewes *HERCVLES*. But this *Belus* (saith *LVIVS*) was famous by reason of his warlike sonne *Ninus*, who caused his Father to be worshipped as a God by the name of *Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (transported by the dreames of their antiquitie) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (say they) vpon *Libya* the Daughter of *Epaphus* begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was Father to *Egyptus*. They adde, that this *Belus* carrying a *Colonie* to the River of *Euphrates* there built a Citie, in which he ordained Priests after the *Egyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus* the sonne of *Epaphus* and *Isis*, or of *Neptune* and *Libya*, or (with *Eusebius*) of *Telegonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Isis*, (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the same was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we speake, but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* so much vaunted.

Auctor. de equib.  
l. 1.

Diod. l. 3.

## §. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images begonne from *BELVS* in *Babel*.

40



As for the *Babylonian Belus*, he was the most ancient *Belus*, and the Inventour of *Astronomie*, if *Plinie* say true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and the doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, the same Author affirmeth that it remained in his time.

Strabo. l. 13. c. 3.

L. 4. cont. Iulian.

Of the Sepulcher of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus. Over the River (saith he) there are gardens, where they say the ruines of *Belus* his Tombe, which *XERXES* brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramid made of bricke, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth. It appeares by *Cyril* against *Iulian*, that hee obtained diuine worship yet liuing: for so hee writes of him (calling him *Arbelus*) *ARBELVS, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse: perseverarunt igitur Assyri, & finitima illi gentes sacrificantes ei.* *ARBELVS,*

*ARBELVS*, a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honoured by their Subjects with title of Deitie; (or with the name of God) The *Affryans* therefore and the bordering Nations have persecuted, sacrificing to him. Euen *Armas* also, whom *Suidas* calls *Thuras*, who succeeded next after *Ninyas*, was made an Idoll-God among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninyas*) *Thuras* reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a man of sharpe and fierce disposition, who bidding battaile to *Caucasus* of the stocke of *Iapheth* slue him. The *Affryans* worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus saith *Suidas*. Neither is it vnlkely but that many among idolatrous Nations were Deified in their life-times, or soone after: though I denie not but that the most of their Images and Statues were first erected without diuine worship; only in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiveth; and so afterward the Deuill crept into those wodden and brazen carcasses, when posteritie had lost the memorie of their first inuention. Hereof *Isidorus* speaketh in this manner. *Quos autem Pagani Deos asserunt homines fuerunt, & pro vniuersisq; vita meritis vel magnificentia, colit apud suos post mortem caperunt: sed demonibus persuadentibus quos ibi pro sua memoria honorauerunt, minores Deos existimant: ad ista verò magis excolenda acceperunt Poetarum figmenta.* They were men (saith he) whom the Pagans affirmed to be Gods: and every one for his merits or magnificence begonne after his death to be honoured of his owne. But at length (the Devils perswading) they accounted them lesser Gods, whose memories they honoured: and the fictions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honours of the dead) much more superstitious.

Greg. 9. cecasar.  
Ambros. in gl.  
108.

Euseb. l. 7. c. 11.

Aug. c. 13.

Lact. l. 2. c. 2.

And that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the Pagans, and Heathen Nations, it is not *Isidorus* alone that witnesseth; but *Gregorie*: *Gentilitas* (saith hee) *inuentrix & caput est imaginum, Gentilisme is the inuentresse and ground of images: and Ambrose*; *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei*, The Gentils adore wood as it were the image of God. *Eusebius* also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of images a custome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath *S. Augustine* against *Adimantus*. *Et verentur* (saith *LACTANTIUS*) *ne religio vana sit, si nihil vident quod adoret, They feare their religion would be vaine, should they not see that which they worship.*

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen shifit this fearefull custome very strangely. For seeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wife Christian satisfie it selfe with the distinction of *Doultia* and *Hyperdoultia*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should straine their wits to defend the vse of those things, which the Scriptures haue not only nowhere warranted, but expressly in many places forbidden, and cursed the practicers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Deuill was so strongly and subtilely rooted, as neither the expresse Commandment of God himselfe, *Thou shalt not make any graven image*, nor all the threatnings of *Moses* and the Prophets after him could remove, weede it, or by feare, or by any perswasions leade the hearts of men from it. For where shall we finde wordes of greater weight, or of plainer instruction then these? Take therefore good heede to your selues (for yee saw no image in the day that the Lord spake vnto you) *Horre out of the midst of the fire* that yee corrupt not your selues, and make you a graven image, or representation of any figure, whether it be the likeness of Male or Female.

And besides the expresse Commandment, *Thou shalt make thee no graven image*, and the prohibition in many Scriptures, so it is written in the booke of *Wisdome*. That the inuention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredome: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for euer.

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets spake against the worshipping

shipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that *Moses* spake of images of the living God, and not of *Baal* and the rest of that nature, for you saw no image (saith *Moses*) that day that the Lord spake unto you in *Horeb*. Surely it was excellently said of *Baill*, *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas eum mente tua, Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde too*. Now, if the great *Baill* thought it a presumption unlawfull to represent a patterne of the infinite God to our owne thoughts and mindes, how faine doe those men presume that put him under the greazie pensill of a painter, or the rustie axe or other instrument of a Carpenter or Caruer?

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God beganne in *Babel*: so did the Deuill transport and speede this inuention into all the Regions adjoining, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romanes* for a while resisted the crection of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 170. yeares, observing therein the Law of *Numa*: who thought it impietie to resemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards preuailing, and following the vanitie of the *Grecians* (a Nation of all others under the Sunne most deluded by *Sathan*) set vp the images of their Gods; which (as *St. Augustine* witnesseth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and vterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth. *Simulachra deorum venerant, illis supplicant, genua posito illa adorant, & cum hac suppliciant, fabros quo illa fecere contemnunt*. The images of the Gods are worshipped, those they pray vnto with bended knees; those they adore, and while they so greatly admire them, they contemne the handi-craftsmen that made them: which also *Sedulius* the Poet in this sort scoffeth at.

Deuili Dei.  
1463.

*Hon miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro  
Religiosa sibi sculptunt simulachra, sumunt,  
Factorem fugiunt, & que fecere verentur.  
Quis furor est? que tanta animos dementaludit?  
Vt voluerem, turpemq, bouem, toruuntq, Draconem,  
Semi-hominemq, canem supplex homo pronus adoret.*

Ah wretched they that worship vanities,  
And consecrate dumbe Idols in their heart,  
Who their owne Maker (God on high) despise,  
And feare the worke of their owne hands and art.  
What furie? what great madnesse doth beguile  
Mens minds? that man should vgly shapies adore,  
Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile  
Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore.

And though this deuise was barbarous, and first, and many yeares practised by Heathen Nations onely, till the *Iewes* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to scorn the ignorant stupiditie of his Nation: but *Iustin Martyr* remembereth how the *Sibyls* inuighed against Images: and *Hosinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the soules of men to erect and adore those bables. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witnesseth, that the *Persians* did not erect or set vp any Statue of their Gods. *Lycurgus* neuer taught it the *Lacedemonians*, but thought it impietie to represent immortal natures by mortall figures. *Eusebius* also witnesseth in his sixt booke de *prapratione Evangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that Images should be worshipped. The same do *Tacitus* and *Crimis* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other Authors might be remembered that witnesseth the disdain which the Heathen themselves had of this childish Idolatrie: of which *Hosinian* hath written at large in his Tract de origine

imaginum.

*imaginum*. And it was truly said, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs oriuntur*, All ill examples haue sprung from good beginnings. The Heathen at first made these Statues and Images, but in memorie of such remarkable men, as had deserv'd best of their countries and commonwealthes: *Effigies hominum* (saith *Plinie*) non solebant exprimi nisi aliqua illustri causa perpetuam merentium: Men were not wont to make pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembered. And though of the more ancient *Papistes*, some haue borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appeareth in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are pro elemens: *lucrarum*, vt per ea discerent homines Deum inuisibilem cognoscere: Images (say they, and so before them the Heathen said) are in stead of letters, whereby men might learne to know the invisible God: in which vnderstanding (perhaps) they no otherwise esteemed them then pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel* set vp in memorie of *Belus* the *Babylonian* became afterwards the most reuerenced Idoll of the world, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himselfe) were misled and cast away: so those very stockes and stones, and painted canaues (called the pictures of *Christ*, our *Ladie*, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but esteemed to haue life, motion, and vnderstanding. On these stockes we call (saith the booke of *Wisdom*) when we passe through the raging waues, on these stockes more rotten then the ship that carrieth vs.

This Heathen inuention of Images became so fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of Gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into degrees and orders; as *Dij Consetes*, seu maiorum gentium, selecti, Patrii, insigniores, *dij medij*: Counselling Gods, or Gods of the mightiest Nobilitie, select Gods, Patrian, Gods of marke, and common Gods (which the *Romanes* called *Medioximi*) *dij infimi*, and terrestrial Heroes, and multitudes of other Gods: of which *St. Augustine* hath made large mention in his booke de *Ciuitate Dei*. But (saith *Lactantius*) among all those miserable foules and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their idols, did *Epimenides Cretensis* (by what good Angell moued I know not) erect in the *Athenian* fields, Altars to the vnkowne God, which stood with the same title and dedication euen to the times of *S. Paul*: who made them first knowe to whom those Altars belonged, and opened their cies which were capable of grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth euery man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the Deuill had so many yeares led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these Gods was so great in generall, or that euery Nation had some one which tooke particular and singular care of them; as *Iupiter* in *Crete*, *Isis* in *Egypt*, in *Athen* *Minerva*, in *Samos* *Iuno*, in *Paphos* *Venus*, and so of all other parts; but euery Citie, and almost euery familie had a God a-part. For as it is written in the second of kings: the men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Asihim*, and the *Ainim* made *Nibhaz* and *Tarrak*, and the *Sephera* burnt their children in the fire to *Aramlech*. All which how plainly hath the Prophet *Esaie* derided? Men cut downe trees, rinde them, burne a part of them, make roadie their meate, and warme themselves by the fire thereof, and of these idles hee maketh a God, an Idoll, and prayeth vnto it: but God hath shut their eyes from sight, and their heartes from vnderstanding. It is therefore fassit for a Christian to beleue the commandements of God so direct against Idolatrie, to beleue the Prophets, and to beleue *Saint Paul*: who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly. *My beloved sic from Idolatrie, I speake as vnto them which haue vnderstanding*, widge yee what I say.

Lib. 14.

c. 17. v. 18. 31.

c. 44.

## p. VIII.

Of the warres of NINUS: and lastly of his warre against  
ZOROASTER.

**N**to this Belus succeeded Ninus, the first that commaunded the exercise of Idolatrie, the first that iniuriously invaded his neighbour Princes, and the first that without shame or feare committed adultery in publique. But as of Belus there is no certaine memorie (as touching particulars): so of this Ninus (whose Story is gathered out of 10 prophane Authours) I finde nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that peece of Berosus set out and commented vpon by Ammianus hath many good things in it, and giueth great light (as Chytraeus noteth) to the vnderstanding of Diodorus Siculus, Dion, Halycarnassus, and others: yet Lodouicus Vives, B. Rhenanus, and others after them haue layed open the imperfection and defects of the fragment; prouing directly that it cannot bee the same Berosus which liued in Alexanders time, cited by Athenaeus and whose Statue the Athenians erected, saith Plinie. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many haue gathered the succession of the Babylonian and Assyrian Princes, euen from Nimrod to the eighteenth King Asctades, and to the times of Josiah. 20 For of Metasthenes an Historian, of the race of the Persian Priests, there are found but certain papers, or some fewe lines of the Chaldaean and Assyrian Monarchies: but hee afterwards in the collection of the Persian Kinges is not without his errors.

Ctesias of Cnidos (a Cittie adioyning to Halicarnassus) who liued together with Cyrus the yonger, and with Artaxerxes Mnemon, gathered his History out of the Persian Records, and reacheth as farre vpwards as Ninus and Semiramis: and though in the Story of Cyrus the yonger Xenophon approueth him in some things, and Athenaeus Pausanias and Tertullian cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Princes with whome hee liued, and so incredible are the numbers 30 which he findes in the Armies of Ninus, and especially of Semiramis; as whatsoeuer his reportes were, times haue consumed his workes, sauing some very fewe excerpti- ons lately published.

And therefore in things vncertaine, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of iudgement, I will passe ouer the acts of this third Assyrian, in as few wordes as I can expresse them. S. Augustine affirmes that Ninus mattered all Asia, India excepted. Others say that he wanne it all, saue India, Baetria, and Arabia. For hee made Arius of Arabia the companion of his conquests, with whom he entred into a straight league of amitie, because he commaunded many people and was his kinsman, and a Chusite, and the nearest Prince confronting Babylonia. His first enterprise was 40 vpon Syria, which hee might easily subdue, both because hee invaded it on the so- daine, and because it lay next him: and also because the Arabians and their King Arius (which bordered Syria) assisted him in the conquest thereof.

The King of Armenia, Barzanes, hee forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his warre against Zoroaster: for from Armenia hee bent himselfe that way toward the East; but that euer hee commaunded the lesser Asia, I doe not beleue, for none of his successours had any possession therein.

His third warre was against Pharus, King of the Medes, whom it is said that hee ouerthrow, and cruelly murdered with his seuen children, though others affirme that they all dyed in one battaile against him. Whether hee invaded Zoroaster be- fore the building or amplifying of Ninus, or after, it is vncertaine. It is said that he made two expeditions into Baetria: and that finding little or ill successe in the first he returned, and set the worke of Ninus forward: and then a second time entred Baetria with 1700000. foote, and 200000. horse, and 10000. fixe hundred Cha- 50 riots:

Athen. l. 14.  
Joseph cont. Ap.  
prou. l. 1. c. 7.

riots: being encountered by Zoroaster with 400000. But Ninus preuailling, and Zoroaster slaine, he entred farther into the Countrey, and besieged the chiefe Citie thereof, called Baetra or Baetria (saith Stephanus:) which by a passage found, and an assault giuen by Semiramis (the wife of Menon) hee entred and possesse: Vpon this occasion Ninus both admiring her iudgement and valour, together with her person and externall beaurtie, fancied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely re- spects) he tooke her from her husband, whose eyes he threatened to thrust out if hee refused to consent. He therefore yeelding to the passion of loue in Ninus, and to the passion of sorrow in himselfe, by the strong perswasions of shame and disho- 10 nour, cast himselfe head-long into the water and died.

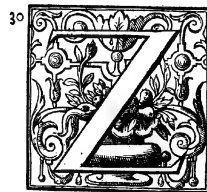
Aug. de Ciuit.  
Dei.  
Steph. de Urb.

## CHAP. XI.

Of ZOROASTER, supposed to haue bene the chiefe  
Aubour of Magick arts: and of the diuers kinds  
of Magike.

## p. I.

That ZOROASTER was not CHAM, nor the first inuentor of Astrologic,  
or of Magike: and that there were diuers great Magicians of  
this name.



**Z**OROASTER King of the Baetrians, Vincentius sup- 30 poseth to be Cham, the sonne of Noah: A fancie of little probability. For Cham was the paternall An- cestor of Ninus; the father of Chus; the grand father of Nimrod, whose sonne was Belus, the father of Ni- nus. It may be that Vincentius had heard of that booke which was called Scriptura Cham, deuised by some wicked knaue, and so inticuled: of which Sixtus Se- nensis hath made due mention.

It is reported by Cassianus, that Serenus Abbas gaue 40 the inuention of Magike to Cham, the sonne of Noah. Cassian. in Olla. col. 1. 1. 1. So did Comestor in his Scholasticall Historie: which Art (saith he) with the seuen liberrall Sciences he writ in fourteene pillars: seuen of which were made of brasse, to resist the defacing by the waters of the flood; and seuen of bricke against the iniurie of fire. There was also another deuised discourse, which went vnder the title of Prophecia Cham. Cassianus out of Serenus hath somewhat like vnto this of Comestor. These be Cassianus wordes. CHAM (filius NOAH) qui superstitionibus istis & sacri- legis suis artibus infectus, sciens nullam se posse super his memorabilem librum in Arcam pressus inferre, in qua erat cum patre iusto, &c. CHAM (the sonne of NOAH) who 50 was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any booke or memoriall of that nature into the Arke, wherein hee was to remaine with his godly Father, caused the precepts and rules thereof to be grauen in metall and hard stone.

S. Augustine noteth that Zoroaster was said to haue laught at his birth, when all other children weep; which prefiged the great knowledge which afterward he at- tained vnto: being taken for the inuentor of naturall Magike and other arts; for the corrupter,

corrupter, saith *Plinie* and *Istine*. But I doe not thinke that *Zoroaster* inuented the doctrine of the Horoscopes or Natiuities; or first found out the nature of hearbs, stones, and minerals, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which I know not what King of *Chaldaea*, is also made the Inuentour. I rather thinke that these knowledges were farre more ancient, and left by *Nash* to his sonnes. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster*, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) was no lesse learned herein then any other in that age, if hee exceeded not all men then liuing: differing from the wisdome of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giuer of life and vertue to nature and all natural things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, disperfed, and vniuersall power) admired the instruments, and attributed proper strength to the things themselves, (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdome, (Which being one, and remaining in it selfe, can doe all things; and reneweth all.

17 fol. c. 7.

Scaliger in Euclib.

Ioseph. l. 1. ant. c. 4.

Now whether this *Zoroaster* ouerthrowne by *Ninus* were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the *Magician*, *Ctesias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Plinie* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then *Zoroaster*, slaine by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Again, *Iosephus* and *Cedrenus* affirme that *Seth* first found out the Planets, or wandering Starres, and other Motions of the Heauens: for if that art had beene inuented by *Zoroaster*, hee could not haue attained to any such excellencie therein, in his owne life time; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular iudgement, hee might adde somewhat to this kinde of knowledge, and leaue it by writing to posterity.

But of this *Zoroaster* there is much dispute: and no lesse jangling about the word and art of *Magike*. *Arnobius* remembreth foure to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zoroastres* was giuen: which by *Hermadorus* and *Dion* seemeth to bee but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much to say, as *astrorum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* ouerthrew: the second, a *Chaldaean* and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaster* *Pamphylus*, who liued in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaster* *Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hoistanes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: betwene whom and *Cyrus* there past 78. yeares. *Suidas* remembreth a fifth, called *Peromedus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the sonne of *Oromasdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Plinie* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthus* or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Steuchius* make him a *Chaldaean*. But by those bookes of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldaean* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldaean*) was as often giuen to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishing of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldaei* and *Magi* diuers; *Picus* the same. But that this *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldaean* both by nation and profession, it appeareth by his bookes, which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldaean* tongue; and the Comment in the same language. Now that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be iudged by the name of those bookes of *Zoroaster*, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intituled, *Patris Ezre Zoroastris & Melchior magorum oracula*.

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§. II.

§. I.

Of the name of *Magia*: and that it was anciently farre diuers from coniuering, and Witchcraft.



OW for *Magike* it selfe; which Art (saith *Mirandula*) pauci intelligunt, multireprehendunt, Few vnderstand, and many reprehend: Et sicut canes ignotos semper alarant, As dogges barks at those they know not: so they condemne and hate the things they vnderstand not: I thinke it not amisse (leauing *Ninus* for a while) to speake somewhat thereof.

It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (*Magus*) because of *Simon Magus*: who being indeede, not *Magus*, but *Goez*, (that is) familiar with euill spirits, vsurped that title. For *Magike*, Coniuering, and Witcherie are farre differing arts, whereof *Plinie* being ignorant scoffeth thereat. For *Nero* (saith *Plinie*) who had the most excellent *Magicians* of the East sent him by *Tyridates* King of *Armenia*, who held that Kingdome by his grace, found there after long studie and labour altogether ridiculous.

*Magus* is a *Persian* word primitiue, whereby is exprest such a one as is altogether conuerfant in things diuine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the art of *Magike* is the art of worshipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epistles expounding the word (*magus*) saith, that the *Persians* called their Gods *magus*: whence he addeth that *Magus* is either *magus* *quis* *deus* or *magus* *quis* *deus* (that is) that *Magus* is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the seruice of God: in which latter sense it is taken *Matt. c. 2. v. 1.* And this is the first and highest kinde: which *Piccolominie* calleth diuine *Magike*: and these did the Latines newly intitle *sapientes* or *wise men*: For the feare and worship of God is the beginning of knowledge. These *Wise men* the *Greekes* call *Philosophers*: the *Indians* *Brachmans*: which name they somewhat nearly retaine to this day, calling their Priests *Bramines*; among the *Egyptians* they were termed Priests; with the *Hebrewes* they were called *Cabalistes*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*: amongst the *Babylonians* they were differed by the name of *Chaldeans*: and among the *Persians* *Magicians*: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hoistanes*, one of the ancient *Magicians*) vseth these wordes. *Et verum Deum meritis maiestate prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, sed veri, eius venerationi nouit assistere. Idem demonas prodi terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos.* *SOSTHENES* (for so *M. Felix* calleth him, not *Hoistanes*) ascribeth the due maiestie to the true God, and acknowledgeeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath deliuered that there are Devils earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankind.

His Maiestie also in his first booke of *Demonologie* c. 3. acknowledgeeth, that in the *Persian* tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much as a contemplator of diuine and heauenly sciences; but vniuersally so called, because the *Chaldeans* were ignorant of the true diuinitie. And it is also right which His Maiestie auoweth, that vnder the name of *Magike* all other vnlawfull arts are comprehended, and yet doth His Maiestie distinguish it from *Necromancie*, *Witchcraft*, and the rest: of all which hee hath written largely and most learnedly. For the *Magike* which His Maiestie condemneth is of that kinde whereof the Deuill is a partie. *Daniel* in his second Chapter nameth foure kinde of those *Wise men*: *Arioli*, *Magi*, *Malefici*, & *Chaldaei*. *Arioli* the old Latine translation calleth *Sophistes*: *Vatubus* and *Pagninus* *Geneethiacos*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatubus*) *Naturalists*: *Nempe sunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philosophi apud Græcos* (scilicet) diuinarum humanarumq; rerum scientiam profestantes. For the *Magi* are the same with the *Barbarians*, as the *Philosophers* are with the *Gracians* (that is) men that profess the knowledge of things both diuine and humane. The *Greeke* and the *English* call them *Inchanters*; *Ninus* *Magicians*; *Castalon* *Coniectors*: in the *Syrian* they are all foure by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*, The *Wise men* of *Babel*.

The

The second fort *Magi*, *Pagani*, *Iunius*, and our English call *Astrologers*, *Hierome* and the *Septuagint Magicians*.

The third kinde are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Hierome*, *Pagani*, and the *Septuagint* *Witches*, or *Posyones*; in *Iunius* *Præfagistores*, or *Sorcerers*, as in English.

That *Witches* are also rightly fo called *Venefici*, or *Posyones*; and that indeede there is such a kinde of *Malefici*, which without any art of *Magick* or *Neceomancie* vñ the helpe of the Deuill to doe mischief, His *Maieſtie* confirmeth in the first chapter of his second booke: speaking also in the fifth chapter of their practise, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Deuill prepared; and at other times to make pictures of waxe, or clay, or otherwise (as it were sacramentally) to effect those things, which the Deuill by other means bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all *Translators* call *Chaldeans*: who tooke vpon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their euent; and this they vaunted to performe by the influences of the *Starrs* by them obserued, and vnderstood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which haue made odious the very name of *Magick*, hauing chiefly fought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfeite the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they haue also crept into the inferior degrees.

A second kinde of *Magick* was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinde of agriculture and husbandrie: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the *Starrs* into those lower elements.

*Philo Iudeus* goeth farther, affirming that by this part of *Magick* or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the *starrs* and other heauenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he liued in *Chaldea*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognouit Creatorem*, (saith *Io. DAMASCEN.*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature.* *Iosephus* reporteth of *Abraham* that he instructed the *Egyptians* in *Arithmetike* and *Astronomie*, who before *ABRAHAM*s coming vnto them knew none of these sciences.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo* in defence of *Mirandula* against *Gaspar. ALEXANDER* & *EvpoLEMON* dicunt, quod *ABRAHAM* sanctitate & sapientia omnium præstantissimus *Chaldaeos* primum, deinde *Phenices*, demum *Egyptios* sacerdotes *Astrologiam* & diuina docuit, *ALEXANDER* (saith hee, meaning *Alexander Polyhistor*) and *EvpoLEMON* affirme that *ABRAHAM* the holiest and wisest of men did first teach the *Chaldeans*, then the *Phenicians*, lastly the *Egyptian* Priests, *Astrologie* and diuine knowledge.

The third kinde of *Magick* containeth the whole Philosophie of nature; not the brabblings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost virtues, and draweth them out of natures hidden bosome to humane vse, *Virtutes in centro centrâ latent, Virtutes hidden in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa noua*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before these, in elder times, and who better vnderstood the power of nature, and how to apply things that worke to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyranus* remembered by *St. Hierome* to *Paulinus*; in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*: among the *Indians* *Theſſian*: among the *Egyptians* *Hermes*: among the *Babylonians* *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*: the *Hyperborean*s (as is supposed) *Albaris*: and the *Italians* *Petrus Aponensis*: The *Magick* which these men professed thus defined. *Magia est connexio a viro sapiente agendum per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congener respondentibus, vt inde opera procedant non sine eorum admiratione qui causam ignorant. Magicke is the connexion of naturall agents*

and patients, as in enable each to other, wrought by a wise man to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderfull to those that know not their causes. In all these three kindes which other men diuide into foure, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned: especially in the first and highest. For in his *Oracles* hee confessed God to be the Creatour of the Vniuersal: he beleeueth of the *Trinitie*, which he could not inuestigate

De vit. sanct.  
Gy. anast. fol.  
180.

See vpon his  
Comment. in  
Aug. de ciuit.  
Dol. 1. 8. c. 2.

\* Nota in mundo  
lucet Trinitas  
cuius ciuitas est  
principes, cuncta  
namq. perfecti  
patris, & mentis  
gradibus secunde.

uestigate by any naturall knowledge: hee speaketh of Angels, and of *Paradise*: aproueth the immortallitie of the soule: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Loue, discoursing of the Abstinence and Charitie of the *Magi*: which *Oracles* of his, *Pellus*, *Ficinus*, *Patritius*, and others haue gathered and translated.

Of this *Zoroaster* in the *Theologie* of the *Phenicians* vñ *Zoroaster*s owne wordes. *Itac ad verbum scribit* (saith *EVSEBIUS*) *Deus primus incorruptibilis, sempiternus, ingentis, expers partium, sibipſi similis, bonorum omnium origo, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater iuris, sine doctrina institutum perdoctus, natura perfectus, apiens, facie naturæ vicinus inuentor, &c.* Thus writeth *ZOROASTER* word for word. *God the first incorruptible, euerslasting, vngotten, without paris, most like himselfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, hauing learn'd iustice without teaching, perfect wise by nature, the only inuentour thereof.*

*Sixtus Senensis* speaking of the wisdom of the *Chaldeans*, doth distinguish those wise men into five orders, (to wit) *Chafcedim*, or *Chaldeans*: *Asaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Chartumim*; (which hee translates *Arioni*, or *Sophisti*) *Atacaphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Posyones*; or *Gazarim* *Angures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diviners*.

*Chafcedim* were those which had the name of *Chaldeans*, which were *Astronomers*, *Hic celorum motus diligentissimè spectant, These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heauens*: whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

*Asaphim* were in the old Latine translation called *Philosophers*: of the *Septuagint* and of *Hierome* *Magicians*, qui de omnium tam diuinarum quam humanarum rerum causis *Philosophati sunt*, *Who did discourse of the causes of all things, as well diuine as humane*: of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the sonne of *Beor*) to be the first: but *Laertius* crieth the inuention of this art to *Zoroaster* the *Persian*.

*Chartumim*, or *Inchanters*, the *Disciples* (saith *S. Augustine*, *Plinie*, and *Iustine*) of another *Zoroaster*: who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the *Magi*, which hee receiued from his Ancesters.

*Atacaphim*, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those of which we haue spoken already out of His *Maieſties* booke of *Demonologia*.

*Gazarim*, or *Aruspices* (after *S. Hierome*) which diuine from the entrails of beasts flaine for sacrifices: or by *Gazarim* others vnderstand *Angures*, who diuine by the flying, singing, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction wee may perceiue the difference betweene those wise men which the *Kings of Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the ancient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Pencer* truly obserueth, præter religionis Persicæ, vt in populo Dei Leuita studijſſe, vera Philosophia dedit erant: nec quisquam Res Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamq. percepisset. The *Magi* (saith he) were the chief Ministers of the Persian Religion, as the *Leuites* among Gods people, and they were giuen to the studies of true Philosophie: neither could any be king of the *Persians*, who had not first bene exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the *Magi*. *Sixtus Senensis* in defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus* hath two kinds of *Atacick*, his owne wordes are these. *Et ne quæm moueat præmissa Polychronij & Theophilis testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam; alteram vbi ab Origine damnamur, quæ per fœdera cum demonibus inita aut verè aut apperenter operatur; alteram ab Origine laudatam, quæ ad practicam naturalis philosophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutus naturalium virtutum ad mutuum agendum ac patientium.* That the testimonies of *Theophilus* and *Polychronius* (saith he) may not moue any man, it is to be vnderstood that *Magick* is of two sortes, the one euerie where condemned by *Origen*; which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by conuents made with *Deuils*, the other commended by *Origen*; which appertaineth to the practise part of naturall philosophie, teaching to worke admirable things by the mutual application of naturall vertues, agent and suffering reciprocally. This partition *Hierome* doth embrace in the first of his

Com.

Pell. & Ficin.

De prop. evang.  
1. 2. c. 7.

1. 2. fol. 46.

Laert. 1. 1.

Pencer. de diu.  
nat. in c. de mag.  
fol. 135. & 136.

ibid. 1. 6. fol. 44.

Commentaries vpon *Daniel*: where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes betweene these fower kinds of wise men formerly remembered, he vseth this distinction; *Quos nos barolos; ceteri magi; id est* incantatores interpretati sunt, & vicentur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt; *Magi*, qui de singulis philosophantur; malefici, qui sanguine utuntur & victimis; & sepe contingunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldaeis Genethliacis significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis *Magos* pro Maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quod sint Philosophi Chaldaeorum: & ad artis huius scientiam Reges quique & Principes eiusdem gentis omnia faciunt; vnde & in nativitate Domini saluatoris ipse primum ortum eius intellexerunt, & venientes in sanctam Bethlehem adorauerunt puerum stella desuper ostendente. They whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret incantaters, seeme to mee such as performe things by words; Magicians, such as handle every thing philosophically; Witches, that vse blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the Chaldaeans I take them to be signified by the name of Coniecturers vpon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custome takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwise reputed in their owne nation: for they are the Philosophers of the Chaldaeans: yea Kings and Princes of that nation doe al that they doe according to the knowledge of this art: whence at the nativity of the Lord our Saviour they first of all vnderstood his birth, and comming vnto holy Bethlehem did worship the Child: the starre from aboue shewing him vnto them. By this therefore it appeareth that there is great difference betweene the doctrine of a Magician, and the abuse of the word. For though some writers affirme that *Magus* hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere factio utitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcumque; that he is called a Magician now adays, because having entered league with the devill vseth his helpe to any matter; yet (as our Saviour said of *Dimor*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of Magicke is of the wisdom of nature; other artes which vndergoe that title were invented by the fallhood, subletie and enuie of the Deuill. In the latter there is no other doctrine, then the vse of certaine ceremonies per malam fidem: by an euill faith: in the former no other ill, then the inuestigation of those vertues and hidden properties which God hath giuen to his creatures, and how fitly to applye things that worke to things that suffer. And though by the *Jewes*, those excellent Magicians, Philosophers, and Diuines which came to worship our Saviour *Christ*, were termed *Mecaphschephim*, or *Mecaphim*; yet had they no other reason, then common custome therein. *Consequendo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, Common custome* (saith *S. Hierome*) vnderstandeth Witches vnder the name of Magicians: And antiquity (saith *Peter Martyr*) by the word (*Magi*) vnderstood good and wise men. *Quid igitur expusice Magi nomen formidolose, nomen Euangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficam, sed sapientem sonat & Sacerdotem? O non te facillone* (saith *Cicero*) why doubtst thou to vse the name of *Magus*, a name grations in the Gospell, which doth not signifie a Witch or Coniurer, but a wise man and a Priest? For what brought this slander to that studie and profession but only idle ignorance: the parent of causelesse admiration? *Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ re vera opera naturalia sunt: verumtamen quia procuratore demonum naturæ ipsius vel coniungentium, vel commissentium, vel aliter ad operandum expeditum facta sunt, opera demonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus huiusmodi si Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi improprè vocant. The marvellousnesse of some workes, which (indeed) are naturall, hath bene the cause of this slander: but because these workes have beene done by procurement of Devils ioyning the natures together or mingling them, or howsoever sitting the natures to their working, they were thought the workes of the Devils by the ignorant. Among these workes is naturall Magicke, which men call very improperly Necromantie.*

Hieron in Daniel.

Pet. Mart. loci.

Mar. Ficini, part. prim. fo. 573.

Gul. Parisien. de lege ca. 14.

Sol. 80.

*Mirandula* in his Apologie goeth further: for by vnderstanding (saith he) the extremest actiuitie of naturall agents we are assisted to know the Diuinity of *Christ*: for otherwise (to vsehis owne words) ignoratis terminis potentie & virtutis rerum naturalium stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit *Christus*, posse fieri per media naturalia. The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not vnderstood, wee must needs doubt whether those

very

very workes which *Christ* did, may not bee done by naturall means: after which he goeth on in this sort. *Ideonam hæreticæ, non superstitiõe dixi, sed verissimè & Catholice, per talem Magiam adiunari nos in cognoscenda diuinitate Christi, Therefore I said not heretically, nor superstitiously, but most truly and Catholically; that by such Magicke we are furthered in knowing the diuinitie of Christ.* And seeing the *Jewes* and others the enemies of *Christians* religion, doe impudently and impiously object; that those miracles which *Christ* wrought were not aboue nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula* a man for his yeares fuller of knowledge then any that this latter age hath brought forth, might with good reason auow, that the vttermoost of 10 naturas workes being knowne, the workes which *Christ* did, and which (as himselfe witnesseth) no man could doe, doe manifestly testifie of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held nature therein but as a pencill, and by a power infinitely supreme and diuine; and thereby those that were faithlesse, were either conuerted or put to silence.

## §. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient Magicke is not to be condemned: though the Deuill here as in other kinds hath sought to obtrude euill things vnder the name and colour of good things.

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Seeing therefore it is confessed by all of vnderstanding, that a Magician (according to the Persian word) is no other then diuinorum cultor & interpres, A studious obseruer and expounder of diuine things: and the art it selfe (I meane the Art of naturall Magicke) no other, quàm naturalis Philosophiæ absoluta consummatio, Then the absolute perfection of naturall Philosophie: Certainly then it proceedeth from common ignorance, and no way forth with wise and learned men promiscuè, and without difference and distinction, to confound lawfull and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious; and (to vse 30 *S. Paulus* wordes) with those beggerly rudiments, which the Deuill hath thrust in, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth gracelesse men. For if we condemne naturall Magicke, or the wisdom of nature, because the Deuill (who knoweth more then any man) doth also teach Witches and Poysoners the harmefull parts of herbs, drugges, minerals, and excrements: then may wee by the same rule condemne the Physitian, and the Art of healing. For the Deuill also in the Oracles of *Amphiaræus*, *Amphilochus*, *Thronionius*, and the like, taught men in dreames what herbs and drugges were proper for such and such diseases. Now no man of iudgement is ignorant, that the Deuill from the beginning hath sought to thrust himselfe into the same employment among the ministers and seruants of God, changing himselfe 40 for that purpose into an Angell of light. He hath led men to Idolatrie as a doctrine of religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of Astrologie, by giuing a diuine power to the Starres, teaching men to esteeme them as Gods, and not as instruments. And (as *Buntings* obserueth) it is true, that iudiciall Astrologie is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art; considering that heavenly bodies (as euen generally experience sheweth) haue and exercise their operation vpon the inferior. For the Sunne, and the Starre of *Mars* doe drie; the Moone doth moisten, and gouerne the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planets, as they haue seuerall and proper names, so haue they seuerall and proper vertues: the Starres doe also differ in beautie and in magnitude; and to all the Starres hath God giuen also their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: He countereth the number of the Starres, and calleth them by their names. But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestiall influences, the Deuill causeth not to shuffe in his superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret vertues of nature hath he

Bunt. in chron.

Tol. cap.

T

falsened

fastened his doctrine of *Characters*, numbers, and incantations; and taught men to beleue in the strength of wordes and letters: (which without faith in God are but inke or common breath) thereby either to equall his owne with the all-powerfull word of God, or to diminish the glorie of Gods creating word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, hee was neuer ignorant, that both the wile and the simple obserue when the Sea-birds forsake the shoares and flie into the land, that commonly some great forme followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crowses and bathing of Ducks foreshew raine: for they feele the aire moistened in their quilles. And it is written in *Hieremie*, 10  
*ca. 8. ver. 7.* *Prophet, Euen the Sturke in the aire knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow.* Hereupon, this enimie of mankind, working vpon these as vpon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to obserue the flying of Fowles, and thereby to iudge of good or ill successe in the warre: and (withall) to looke into their entrailes for the same, as if God had written the secrets of vnspeakable providence in the liuers and bowels of birds and beasts. Again, because it pleased God sometimes by dreames, not only to warne and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as *Abimelech* to restore *Sara* to *Abraham*; because he admonished *Ioseph*, and by dreame informed *Isaac*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Salomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the East, and others. For as it is remem- 20  
*bered in Iob 33. 17.* *In dreames and visions of the night when sleepe falleth vpon men, &c. then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his enterprise*, therefore, I say, doth the Deuill also practise his diuinations by dreames, or (after *Parisenis*) diuinitatis imitaciones, his *nocte-diuitie*. This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his owne dreames: *Mythridates* of those of his *Concubines*. Yea the *Romanes* finding the inconuenience hercot, because all dreames (without distinction of causes) were drawne to diuination, forbad the same by a law; as by the wordes of prohibition (*aut narrandis somnijs occultam aliquam artem diuinandi*) it may appeare. Likewise by the law of God in *Deuteronomie* cap. 13. seducing dreamers were ordered to bee slaine. Yet it is not to bee contemned that 30  
*Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his dreame for two grieuous diseases that oppressed him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolomies* poisoned wound; nor that which *S. Augustine* reporteth of a *Millanoise*, whose sonne (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a dreame where the acquittance lay to discharge it; nor that of *Alyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, for asmuch as the cause is not in our selues, this place denieth dispute.

### §. IIII.

That DANIELS mistaking NABUCHODONOSORS condemning of the Magicians doth not iustifie all their practises.

**B**Ut it may be objected, that if such diuination as the Heathens commonly vsed were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them very many and strange reuelations: how came it to passe that *Daniel* both condemned the hasty sentence of *Nabuchodonosor* against the *Magicians* of *Chaldaea*, and in a sort forbad it? especially considering that such 50  
*Deut. 13. & 18.* *Leuit. 24.* kinde of people God himselfe commanded to bee slaine. To this diuers answeres may be giuen. First, it seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldaens*, because they acknowledged that the dreame of the King, which himselfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any art, either Naturall or Diabolicall: For there is none other (saide the *Chaldaens*) that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whose

whose dwelling is not with flesh: and herein they confessed the power of the euil-living God.

Secondly, it may be coniectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any euill or vnlawfull arts, but were merely *Magicians* and *Naturalists*: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrarie, and called it a hasty iudgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that some of those mens studies and Professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniels* instruction: for himselfe had beene taught by them, and was called chiefe of the *Inchanters*; 10 of which some were termed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldaens*, others *Magi* or *Wise men*: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* mistook and forbad the execution of that iudgement, because it was vniuit. For howsoeuer those men might deserue punishment for the practise of vnlawfull Arts (though not vnlawfull according to the law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Deuill himselfe could not know. So then in *Daniels* dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute iustifying of their practise and profession.

### §. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right vse of them.

**N**otwithstanding this mixture euery where of good with euill, of falsehood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: The good, The truth, The puritie in euery kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by sacrifice; there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbore to offer sacrifice to the 30 God of all power, because the Deuill in the image of *Baal*, *Astaroth*, *Chemoth*, *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of *Astrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may beleue the most ancient and religious Historians) from obseruing the motions and natures of heauenly bodies; neither can it dehorte wile and learned men in these daies from attributing those vertues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of heauen, which God hath giuen to those his glorious creatures.

The sympathetical and antipathetical working of hearbes, plants, stones, minerals, with their other vmultitudes sometimes taught by the Deuill, and applied by his Ministers to harmefull and vncharitable endes can neuer, terrifie the honest and learned *Physician* or *Magician* from the vsing of them to the helpe and comfort 40 of mankind: neither can the illusions, whereby the Deuill betraierth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reiect the obseruations of dreames; so farre as with a good faith and a religious caution they may make vse of them.

Lately the prohibition to marke flying of foules (as signes of good or euill successe) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crowses against raine, or to any obseruation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may bee giuen. For if we confound artes with the abuse of them, wee shall not only condemne all honest trades and interchange among men (for there are that deceiue in all professions) 50 but wee shall in a short time burie in forgetfulness all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and couer it ouer with a most scornfull and beggerly ignorance: and (as *Plinie* teacheth) we should shew our selues ingratos *erga eos*, qui labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce, *Mythakefall* we should shew our selues towards those, who with paines and care haue discovered vnto vs light in this light.

Cusan comp.  
Theolog. c. 11.

Indeed not only these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the *Mathematices* also and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned iudge of it in this sort. *In speculo mathematico Verum illud, quod in omni sibi quæritur, relict; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate. In the glasse of the Mathematices that truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledge; not in an obscure image, but in a cleere and manifest representation.*

## §. VI.

Of the diuers kinds of enchanfull Magick

**I**T is true that there are many artes, if we may so call them, which are covered with the name of *Magick*: and esteemed abusively to bee as branches of that tree, on whose root they neuer grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancie* or *Goetia*: and of this againe there are diuers kinds. The one is an Inuocation at the graues of the dead, to whom the Deuill himselfe giues answer in stead of those that seeme to appeare. For certainely it, that the immortal soules of men do not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they giue motion and vnderstanding to the liuing: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soule: and therefore the soule is not to be found in the graues.

A second practise of those men, who pay tribute or are in league with *Sathan*, is that of coniuring or of raising vp Deuils, of whom they hope to learne what they list. These men are so distracted, as they beleeeue that by terrible words they make the Deuill to tremble; that being once impaled in a circle (a circle which cannot keepe out a Mouſe) they therein (as they suppose) inforce themselves against that great monster. Doubtlesse they forget that the Deuill is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrary to God and goodnesse, no, not by the fearefull word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in Gods seat, that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour *Christ*, whom himselfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an vnworthy wretch will yet resolute himselfe, that he can draw the Deuill out of Hell, and terrifie him with a phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which Deuils seeme to vſe, is but thereby to possesse themselves of the bodies and soules of those which raise them vp; as *His Maiestie* in his Booke aforesaid hath excellently taught, *That the Deuils obedience is only secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respectiue, that is, vpon bargain.*

I cannot tell what they can doe vpon those simple and ignorant Deuils, which inhabit *famblicus* imagination; but sure I am the rest are apt enough to come vncalled: and alwaies attending the cogitations of their seruants and vassals, do no way neede any such inforcement.

Or it may be that these Coniurers deale altogether with *Cardanus* mortall Deuils, following the opinion of *Rabbi Auornathan* and of *Porphyrius*, who taught that these kind of Deuils liued not aboue a thousand yeares: which *Plutarch* in his Treatise of *Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great God *Pan*. For were it true that the Deuils were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alwaies feare those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the *Familiar* of *Simon Magus* when he had lifted him vp in the ayre, cast him headlong out of his clawes, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by *S<sup>t</sup> Peters* praier (of which *S. Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same prankt at other times vpon his own accord the Deuill played with *Theodotus*: who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to haue bene) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like successe had *Bader*, a principall pillar of the *Manichean* heresie, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiasticall Historie witnesseth: and for a manifest prooff hereof wee see it euery day, that the Deuill leaues all Witches and Sorcerers at the gallows, for whom at other times hee maketh

Ench. hist. eccl.  
l. 3. c. 6.

L. 1. c. 31.

ket him selfe a *Pegasus*, to conueigh them in halt to places farre distant, or at least makes them so thinke: *For to those that receiued not the truth* (saith *S. Paul*) *God shall Corint. 5. 5. send them strong illusions.* Of these their supposed transpositions (yet agreeing with their contentions) *His Maiestie* in the second booke and the fourth chapter of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by vnanswerable reasons, that they are merely illusive. Another sort there are who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glasses and Crystalls: of whom *Cusanus*: *Falsi sunt incantatores, qui in vngue & vitro volunt spiritum includere: quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore.* They are foolishly enchamers which will shut up their spirits within their nailes or in glasse: for a Spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.

Exercit. l. 2.

There is also another art besides the afore mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by sacrifice and inuocation they draw out of Heauen, and Communicate withall. But the administering Spirits of God, as they require not any kinde of adoration due vnto their Creatour: so seeing they are most free Spirits; there is no man so absurd to thinke (except the Deuill haue corrupted his vnderstanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heauen by threats. Wherefore let the professors thereof couer themselves how they please by a professed puritie of life, by the ministerie of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immateriall substances and abstract natures, either by sacrifice, vow, or inforcement, are men of euill faith and in the power of *Sathan*. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Deuils which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked diuinations: as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the aire, called *Atmoetechnia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeede) the worst of all other is *Fascination* or *Witchcraft*: the practisers whereof are no lesse enuious and cruell, reuengefull and bloody, then the Deuill himselfe. And these accursed creatures hauing sold their soules to the Deuill worke two waies; either by the Deuill immediately, or by the art of poisoning. The difference betwene *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Maiestie* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command; the other obey the Deuill.

There is another kinde of petty witcherie (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of beaſts and birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the art of *Falconrie*, yet was it no more to be admired than *Mahomet*s Dove, which he had vſed to feede with wheate out of his eare: which Dove, when it was hungrie, lighted on *Mahomet*s shoulder, and thrust his bill therein to finde his breake-fast: *Mahomet* perſwading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the holy Ghost that gaue him aduise. And certainly if *Banks* had liued in elder times, hee would haue blamed all the inchaunters of the world: for whosoever was most famous among them, could neuer master or instruct any beaſt as hee did his Horse.

Eccles. li. 6. n. b. 10.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their denues, or killing of them in the holes by inchantments (which the *Maryians*, a people of *Itale* practised. *Colobros disrupit Marſia cantu, Inchanting Marſia makes the Snakes to burst.*) That it hath bene vſed it appeares *Psal. 58. 6.* though I doubt not, but that many impostures may bee in this kinde; and euen by naturall causes it may be done. For there are many fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be laied in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I finde no other *Magick* or inchantment, then to draw out a Mouſe with a peece of toſted cheefe.

Ench. in Sery.

50

des of the iust rise to Eternall life, and of the wicked to an Eternall and secul death.

And (besides St *Augustine*) *Insiene* Martyr, *Hilarius*, *Tertulian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome* and others beleived firmly, and taught it: that the soules of men being once seperate from their bodies did not wander on the earth at all. *Credere debemus* (saith *Cyriel*) *quam a corporibus sanctorum anima abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris bonitati diuina commendari. We must beleue when the soules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the Diuine Goodnesse as into the hands of a most deere Father.* It then they be in Heauen, the power of the Deuill cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, *ab inferno nulla est redemptio, from Hell there is no redemption.* 10

There are but two habitations after death; *Unum* (saith *AVGVSTINE*) *in igne eterno; alterum in regno eterno: the one in eternall fire, the other in Gods eternall kingdom.* And though it bee written in *Iure Pontificio*, that many there are who beleue that the dead haue againe appeared to the liuing; yet the Gloss vpon the same Text findes it ridiculous. *Credunt, & male, quia sunt Phantasmata* (saith the Gloss) *They beleue, and they beleue amisse, because they be but Phantasmes, or Apparitions.* For whereas any such voice hath beene heard, saying, I am the Soule of such a one; *hæc oratio a fraude atq; deceptione diabolica est. That speech is framed by the fiend and deception of the Deuill*, saith *CHRYSOSTOME*. Likewise of the same saith *Tertulian*. *Abstrus animam cuiuslibet sancti, nulum Propheta, a demonio credamus extractam. God forbid that wee should thinke that the soule of any holy man, much lesse of a Prophet, should bee drawne up againe by a Deuill.* 20

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition *Samuel*; so doe they the wdden images *Cherubims*: and false brazen Gods are called Gods: and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build vpon that place of the 26. of *Ecclesiasticus* (a booke not numbred among the *Canonick* Scriptures, as S. *Augustine* himselfe in his Treatise, if it bee his *de cura pro mortuis agenda* confesseth) yet *Siracides* following the literal sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proueth nothing at all: For though the Deuill would willingly perswade, that the soules (yea euen of iust men) were in his power, yet so farre is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods iust 30 and mercifull nature, and so contrary to all diuine reason, as Saint *Augustine* (or whosoeuer wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a detestable opinion fo to thinke. For if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that hee refused to answer him either by dreames, by *Vrim*, or by his Prophets: it were foolish to conceiue, that he would permit the Deuill, or a wicked Witch to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Sauls* respect: it being also contrary to his owne diuine Law to aske counsaile of the dead; as in *Deuteronomie* 18. and elsẽ here. Therefore it was the Deuill, and not the soule of a dead bodie, that gaue answer and aduise.

1. Kings 17. 22.  
2. Kings 4. 34.  
Nullus enim  
magus aut de-  
mon auctum  
verè unquam  
excitant.  
1<sup>er</sup> de falsis.

But because *Helias* and *Helizens* had raised some from the dead by the power of 40 Godthose Deuils which S. *Augustine* calleth *lucificatores animantium sibi subiectorum*, mockers of their owne vassals, calling before their eies a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their eares like the voices of men, doe also perswade their gracelesse and accursed attendants, that themselves both possesse, and haue power over the soules of men. *Eludit Diabolus aciem tuam spectantium, numerum cogitantium* saith, *L. VIVES*, *The Deuill beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the boundes of the Deuils power, whom if we will not feare, we must feare to sinne. For when hee is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himselfe his voluntary vassall: *potest ad malum innuere, non potest trahere*, saith S. *AVGVSTINE*, *he can allure, but he cannot in force to euill.* Such as thinke otherwise may goe into the number remembered by *Lutaretius*, 50

*Nemo*

*Nam veluti pueri trepidant atq; omnia cecis  
In tenebris metuunt: sic nos in luce timemus.*

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

## CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of *NINVS*, and of his  
wife *SEMITRIS*: and of other  
of her actes.

### §. I.

Of the magnificent building of *Ninive* by *NINVS*: and of *Babylon*  
by *SEMITRIS*.



30

Vt to come backe to *Ninus* the amplifier and finisher of *Ninive*: whether he performed it before or after the ouerthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is vncertaine. As for the City it selfe, it is agreed by all prophane writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compasse 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the walles whereof were an hundred foot vpright, and had such a breadth as three chariots might passe on the rampire in front: these walles were garnished with 1500. towers which gaue exceeding beautie to the rest, and a strength no lesse admirable for the nature of those times.

*Infin. La. Diod.  
H.  
Sabel. l. 1. 2.*

But this Citie (built in the Plaines of *Assyria*, and on the bankes of *Tigris*, and in the Region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as ancient Historians report, and more lately *Nawderus*) had the name of *Campos*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gaue it a wall, and called it after his owne name.

For these workes of *Babylon* and *Ninive* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldaea*; and in *Assyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finished *Ninive*, *Semiramis* *Babylon*: wherein shee sought to exceed her husband by farre. Indeed in the first Age when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to inuade others, nor feared to be inuaded: labouring to build Townes and Villages for the vse of themselves and their people without either Walles or Towers; and how they might discharge the earth of woods, briars, bulshments, and waters, to make it the more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* liuing in that age, when Ambition was in strong youth: and 50 purposing to follow the conquest which her husband had vnderaken, gaue that beauty and strength to *Babylon* which it had.

*Hered. l. 1.  
Infin. l. 1.  
Diod. l. 3. & 3.*

### §. II.

## ¶ II.

Of the end of NINUS: and beginning of SEMIRAMIS reigne.

**T**his he did after the death of her husband *Ninus*: who after he had maistr'd *Babylonia*, and subiected vnto his Empire all those Regions betwene it and the *Mediterranean Sea* and *Hellepont* (Asia the lesse excepted) and finished the worke of *Ninine*, he left the world in the year thereof 2019. after he had reigned 52. years. *Plutarch* reporteth that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he would graunt vnto her the absolute soveraigne power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Athenæus*, and others, speakes of five daies. In which time (moued either with desire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Menon*, who perished for her) she caused *Ninus* her husband to be slaine. But this seemeth rather a scandall cast on her by the *Greekes*, then that it had any truth.

*Ellen. li. 7. ex  
Diodore.*

Howsoeuer *Ninus* came to his ende, *Semiramis* tooke on her after his death the sole rule of the *Assyrian* empire: of which, *Ninus* was said to be the first *Monarch* because he changed his seat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldea* to *Ninine* in *Assyria*. *Justin* reports that *Semiramis* (the better to inuelt herselfe, and in her beginning without murmure or offense to take on her so great a charge) presented herselfe to the people in the person of her sonne *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any sensible difference.

This report I take also to be fained, for which many arguments might bee made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorablen acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that letter which she sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and vndertaken conquest) by her owne name. And were it true that her sonne *Ninias* had such a stature at his Fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very vnlikely that she could haue held the Empire from him 42. yeares after by any such subtilty: (for so long she reigned after the death of her Husband:) but it may bee true that *Ninias* or *Zameis* (being wholly giuen to his pleasures as it is written of him) was well pleased with his Mothers prosperous government and vndertakings.

## ¶ III.

Of SEMIRAMIS parentage, and education, and METAMORPHOSIS of her Mother.

**S**ome writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to haue bene of base parentage, calling her after the name of her Countrey, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her City wherein she was borne, *Semiramis Ascalonitis*; of *Ascalon*, the ancient City and Metropolis of the *Philistims*. Others report her to be the daughter of *Deretia*, a *Curtizan* of *Ascalon* exceeding beautifull. Others say that this *Deretia* or *Deretis* the mother of *Semiramis* was sometimes a *Recluse*, and had profest a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a Temple dedicated seated on the bankes of a Lake adioyning to *Ascalon*; and afterward falling in loue with a goodly young man she was by him made with child, which (for feare of extreme punishment) she conuied away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the bankes of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wild beastes) the same was fed by certaine birds, which vsed to feed vpon or neere those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adioyning to this Lake had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being per chance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby

thereby hope the better to couer her dishonour and breach of vow; notwithstanding which she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adioyning, and (as the Poets haue fained) changed by *Venus* into a fish, all but her face, which still held the same beauty and humane shape. It is thought that from this *Deretia* the inuention of that Idoll of the *Philistims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a mans face, and a fishes body: into whose Temple when the *Arke* of God was brought, the Idoll fell twice to the ground: and at the second fall there remained only the Trunck of *Dagon*, the head being broken of: For so *St. Hierome* hath conuerted that place. *Parabius*, *Pagninus*, and *Iunius* write it by *Dagon* onely, which signifieth a fish, and so it only appeared: the head thereof by the second all being sundred from the body.

For my selfe I rather thinke, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistims* was an Idoll representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary Sea-gods vnder *Neptune*. For this City being maritimate (as all those of the *Philistims* were, and so were the best of *Phœnicia*) vsed all their deuotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the pettie Gods which attended him.

## ¶ II III.

Of her expedition into India, and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbabilitie of her vices.

**B**Vt for her Pedigree I leaue it to the *Assyrian Herald*s: and for her vicious life I ascribe the report thereof to the enuious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacie and ease do more often accompanie licentiousnesse in men and women, then labour and bazzard do. And if the one halfe bee true which is reported of this Lady, then there neuer liued any Prince or Princesse more worthy of fame then *Semiramis* was, both for the workes she did at *Babylon* and elsewhere, and for the warres made with glorious successe: all but her last enterprize of *India*; from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report that she neuer returned: and that of all her most powerfull Army there furnished but onely twenty persons: the rest being either drowned in the riuer of *Indus*, dead of the famine, or slaine by the sword of *Staurobates*. But as the multitude which went out are more then reason hath numbred: so were those that returned lesse then could haue escaped of such an Army, as consisted of foure millions and vpwards. For these numbers which she leuied by her Lieutenant *Deretæus* (saith *Strabo*) did consist of Foot-men three millions; of Horsemen one million; of Chariots armed with hookes on each side one hundred thousand; of those which fought vpon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all vses three hundred thousand; of Galleies with brazen heads three thousand, by which the might transport ouer *Indus* at once three hundred thousand souldiers: which Galleies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had euery man and beast but fed vpon grasse) are taken from the authority of *Ctesias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: so *Diodorus* himselfe hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* expedition into *Greece* and afterwards: whose Armie (though the same was farre inferior to that of *Semiramis*) yet had it weight enough to ouerleade the beliefe of any reasonable man. For all Authors consent, that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece* an Army of 1 700 000. and gathered together (therein to passe the *Hellepont*) three thousand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the seuerall Prouinces whence those Gallies were taken hath collected the number.

But of what multitude soeuer the Armie of *Semiramis* consisted: the same being broken and ouerthrowen by *Staurobates* vpon the banks of *Indus*, *canticum cantauit ex- tre-*

*tremum: she sang her last song; and (as Antiquity hath fained) was changed by the Gods into a Dove, (the bird of Venus) whence it came that the Babylonians gaue a Dove in their enligens.*

§. V.

*Of the Temple of BELVS built by SEMIRAMIS: and of the Pyramides of Aegypt.*



Mong all her other memorable and more then magnificent workes 10  
(besides the wall of the City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, inuironed with a wall carried four-square of great height and beauty, hauing on each square certaine brazen gates curiously engrauen. In the Core of the square she raised a Tower of a furlong high, which is halfe a quarter of a mile; and vpon it againe (taking a *Basis* of a lesse circuit) she set a second Tower; and so eight in all, one aboue an other: vpon the top whereof the *Chaldaens* Priests made the obseruation of the flares, because this Tower ouer-topped the ordinary cloudes.

By beholding the ruines of this Tower haue many Trauailers beene deceiued; who suppose that they haue scene a part of *Nimroes* Tower, when it was but the Foundation of this Temple of *Bel*: (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense euery yeare (saith *Herodotus*). This Temple did *Nabuchodonosor* adorne with the spoiles of *Hierusalem*, &c. of the temple of *Salomon*: all which vessels & ornaments *Cyrus* redeliuered. This Temple *Zerxes* euened with the foile; which *Alexander* is said to haue repaired by the persualions of the *Chaldaens*. I deny not that it might haue been in his desire so to do, but he enioyed but a few yeares after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not performe any such worke. The *Aegyptians* (saith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and leauell ground, and giuen to the same superstition of the stars that the *Chaldaens* were, erected in imitation, and for the same seruice and vse, the Py- 30

ramides by *Memphis*, which were *conspicua vndiq, nauigantibus*, saith *Plinie*. Of these Pyramides *Belonius* a carefull obseruer of rarities (who being in *Aegypt* mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report. *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa som-*

*mite, et tirant vne fleche en l'air, a peine pourroit l'enuoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez. The best Archer standing on the top of one of these Pyramides, and shooting an arrow from thence into the aier as farre as he can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall vpon some of the degrees or steppes.*

*Finis Libri primi.*

The



# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM

The birth of *ABRAHAM* to the destruction  
of the Temple of *Salomon*.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

*Of the time of the birth of ABRAHAM: and of the  
vse of this question, for the ordering of the Sto-  
rie of the Assyrian Empire.*

§. I.

*Of some of the successours of SEMIRAMIS: with a briefe transition to the question,  
about the time of the birth of ABRAHAM.*



AFTER the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis* succeeded her in the Empire, on whom *Berosus Amnianus* bestowes the conquest of *Bactria*, and the ouerthrow of *Zoroaster*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Iustine*, *Orosius*, and all other approved writers. For *Ninias* being esteemed no man of warre at all, but altogether feminine, and subiected to ease and delicacie, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other then that out of ieaiousie he euery yeare changed his Provinciall Governours, and built Colledges for the *Chaldaens* Priests, his Astronomers: nor by *Arius* his successor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thurast*, but that he reduced againe the *Bactrians* and *Cassians*, revolted as it seemeth in *Ninias* as his time: nor of *Aralius*, the successor of *Arius*, but that he added sumptuosity, inuented jewels of gold and stone, and some engines for the warre: I will for this present passe them ouer, and a while follow *Abraham*, whose waies are warrantable, (till wee meet these *Assyrians* againe in this story) by whom, and by whose issues we shall best giue date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* liuing at once with *Ninias*, *Ni-*

V

nias,

Plut. in Theoe.

nias, Semiramis, Arius, Aralus, and Xerxes or Balanus. For otherwise if we seeke to proue things certaine by the vncertaine, and iudge of those times, which the Scriptures set vs down without error, by the raignes of the Assyrian Princes: we shall but patch vp the story at aduenture, and leaue it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures do not help vs, *Mirum non est in rebus antiquis Historiam non consistere, No miru is if then in things very ancient, History want assurance.*

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these Assyrian Kings raigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of *Abraham*'s birth, and in what yeare the same hapned after the flood. Now since all agree, that the fortieth three yeare of *Ninus* was the birth-yeare of *Abraham*; by prouing directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeare after the flood the birth of *Abraham* hapned, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much iangling between those *Chronologers*, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the most part making 292. or 293. yeares; others 352. yeares between *Abraham* and the flood: a matter often disputed, but neuer concluded.

*Archiloclus de temporibus* (as we finde him in *Ammius*) makes but 250. yeares from the flood to *Ninus*: then seeing that *Abraham* was borne in the fortieth three yeare of *Ninus*, according to *Eusebius*, and *S. Augustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeare of *Abraham*'s birth was in the yeare after the flood 293. or as the most part of all *Chronologers* gather the yeare 292.

Now, since I do heere enter into that neuer resolu'd question, and *Labyrinth* of times, it behoueth me to giue reason for my owne opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walke aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those dates, which Enue casteth at nouelty, than to goe on safely and sleepily in the ealie waies of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diuercity.

## §. II.

A proposall of reasons or arguments, that are brought to proue *ABRAHAM* was borne in the yeare 292. after the flood, and not in the yeare 352.

Those which seeke to proue this account of 292. yeares; betweene the generall flood and *Abraham*'s birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the Scripture. So *TERAH* lived 70. yeares, and begot *ABRAHAM*, *NAHOR*, and *HARAN*: secondly vpon the opinion of *Iosephus*, *S. Augustine*, *Beda*, *Isidore*, and many of the ancient Hebrewes before them: authorities (while they are lightly lookt ouer) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembered, the latter *Chronologers* gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lie; that *TERAH* at 70. yeares begot *ABRAHAM*, *NAHOR* and *HARAN*: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worstifed, *Abraham* being the sonne of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and so necessarily borne in the twentieth yeare of his life. Secondly it was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the blessing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter was to set downe the Genealogy of *Christ*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor*, and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest sonne, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it can not then be proued, that *Abraham* was borne more assuredly in the 130. yeare of *Terah*

*Terah* his age, then in the 131. 132. &c. *Moses* hauing no where set downe precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very yeare, in which his Father died.

Fourthly it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begot *Abraham* at 130. yeare: seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeares.

## §. III.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that *ABRAHAM* made but one iourney out of *Mesopotamia* into *Canaan*: and it, after his Fathers death.



Answer all which objections it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto by diuers learned Diuines long since, and to which I will adde somewhat of mine owne, according to the fall talent which God hath giuen me: Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, vnlesse the time of *Abraham*'s iourney into *Canaan* be first considered of; before I descend vnto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so farre, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his trauals, that sereth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwarke against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceiued that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*: the latter after his Fathers death, the former presently vpon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not taying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a coniecture, drawn from a place in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, where it is written, By faith *ABRAHAM* (when he was called) obeyed God, to goe out into a place, which he should afterward receiue for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither hee went. This supposition (if it be granted) serues very well to vphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let vs therefore see whether we may giue credit to the supposition it selfe.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proued, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of *St. Stephen*: And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell, that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*.

Against which place so direct, and plaine, what force hath any mans fancie or supposition, perswading, that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*; one before *Terah*'s death, and an other after: no such thing being found in the Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alledged can pick any argument, prouing, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan*, and then returned vnto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I thinke it reason, that he be beleieued in the rest. But that he performed the com-

mandement of God after his Fathers death, leauing *Ur* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. For after his Father was dead, (saith the Martyr *Stephen*) God brought him into this Land. And, as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double iourney into *Canaan*, then multibe inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembered the other: and whence had *Stephen*, saith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abraham*'s comming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the Iewes his aduersaries too great an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, and the Gospell of *Christ*. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make vs thinke that *Abraham* passed and repassed those waies, more often than he was enforced so to doe; if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome iourney, than the strength of his faith in Gods promise: in which if any thing would haue brought him to despaire, he had more cause then euer man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborn nations: a Nation of valiant and resolu'd Idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arriall, and driuen to flee into

*Ægypt* for relief. His wife was olde, and he had no sonne to inherit the promise. And when God had giuen him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him vp to himselfe for Sacrifice : all which discomforts hee patiently and constantly vnderwent.

Secondly, let vs consider the waies themselves, which *Abraham* had to passe ouer, the length whereof was 300. English miles: and through Countreys of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himselfe ouer the great riuer of *Euphrates*, to trauaile through the dangerous and barren Deserts of *Palmyrena*, and to climbe ouer the great and high mountaines of *Libanus*, *Hermom* or *Gilead* : and whether these were easie walkes for *Abraham* to march twice ouer, containing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let euery reasonable man iudge. For if hee trauielled twice; then was his journey in all 1800. miles from *Ur* to *Haran* : and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancie; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more proofe, that he had not *animus reuertendi*, not any thought looking backward, than any mans bare coniecture, be he of what antiquity or authority sooner. For thus it is written of him: Then *Abraham* took *Sara* his wife, and *Lot* his brothers sonne, and all their substance that they possessed, and they departed from *Haran*: and they departed to go to the land of *Canaan*, and to the land of *Canaan* they came. Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was deare vnto him; his wife, and kinsmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleasure, in so warme, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if hee could haue bene thereunto moued, it is more likely that he would haue then returned, when he was yet vnstedfast, and prest with extreme famine at his first arriuall. For had his Father bene then aliue, hee might haue hoped from him to receiue more assured comfort and reliefe, then among the *Ægyptians*, to whom hee was a meere stranger both in Religion and Nation.

What the cause might be of *Abrahams* returne to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures haue sent him backe thither, about the time of his fathers death: so they perhaps, if they were vrged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plaine, if it be not other-troublesome. They say that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Fathers death, or some time after, being then by their account 135. yeares old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite vndone the businesse, which as wee read, was within foure or five yeares after that time his greatest, or (as may seeme) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very solemne oath his principall seruant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to trauaile into those parts, and seeke out a wife for *Isaac* his sonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumstances, that neither he nor his seruant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, that they could particularly designe any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had been there in person so lately, as within foure or five yeares before, hee would not haue forgotten a matter of such importance; but would haue trusted his owne iudgement, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other desirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his only sonne, who was then 35. yeares old; before which age most of the Patriarches after the flood had begotten children, rather than haue left all at randome to the consideration of a seruant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it bee supposed (if it may be belieued) that either *Abraham* forgot this businesse when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no man can deuise. What might be the reason, that *Abrahams* man in doing his masters errand was faine to lay open the whole story of his masters prosperity, telling it as newes, that *Sarah* had borne to him a sonne in her old age? If *Abraham* himselfe, a more certaine author, had so lately bene among them, would not all this haue bene an idle tale? It were needlesse to stand long vpon a thing so euident.

Whether

Whether it were lawful for *Abraham* to haue returned back to *Haran*, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable: considering how auerle hee was from permitting his sonne to be carried thither, euen though a wife of his owne kindred could not haue bene obtained without his personall presence. *Jacob* indeed was sent thither by his parents, to take a wife of his owne lineage: not without Gods especiall approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that journey: yet he liued there as a seruant; suffered many injuries; and finally was driuen to conuey himselfe away from thence by flight. For although it bee not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be obserued, that God alloweth not in his seruants any desire of returning to the place, from whence hee hath taken and transplanted them. That briefe saying, Remember *Lot* his wife, contains much matter. Let vs but consider *Mesopotamia* from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Ægypt*, out of which the whole nation of the *Israelites* was deliuered: wee shall finde, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the Hebrewes. When *Ezechias* was visited with an honourable Embasie from *Babel*, it seemes that hee conceiued great pleasure in his minde, and thought it a peece of his prosperitie; but the prophesy which thereupon he heard by *Isai*, made him to know, that the counsaile of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of *Babylon* they fate downe and wept. Concerning *Ægypt* we read, that *Sesac* and *Neco* Kings of *Ægypt* brought calamity vpon *Israell*: also that their confidence in the *Ægyptian* succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into *Ægypt* I do not remember, nor can readily finde; but it is found in *Deuteronomie*, that God had said, *They should no more returne that way*; which is giuen, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to *Ægypt*, for the multiplying of his Horles. Whether the Lord had laied any such iniunction vpon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: that hee neuer did returne, all circumstances do (to my vnderstanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abrahams* is but an imagination: and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perswade those of iudgment or vnderstanding: I take it sufficient, that *S. Stephen* hath directly taught vs, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to proue it, I will beleaue as they doe. For all the trauals of *Abraham* are precisely set downe in the Scriptures: as first from *Ur* or *Camerina* in *Chaldea* to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* hee removed to a mountaine betwixt *Bethel* and *Hai*: thence into *Ægypt*: from *Ægypt* he returned thither againe, where *Lot* and he parted, because their flocks and herds of Cattle were more, then could be fed in that part: from thence the second time hee removed to *Mamre*, neare *Hebron*: and thence hauing pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, hee after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumea*, vnder *Abimelec*: and after neare vnto it at *Berfabe*, at which time hee was ready to offer vp his sonne *Isaac* on the mountaine *Morish*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one story, either diuine or humane. Now if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Leuita* in his *Cabala* hath faimed, it should in reason bee therewithall belieued, that hee would in those his first traualles haue provided himselfe of some certaine seat, or place of abiding: and not haue come a second time, with his wife, kinsmen, familie, goodes and Cattle, not knowing whercon to rest himselfe. But *Abraham*, when hee came from *Charran*, past through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the Plaine of *Morish*: where finding no place to inhabit, hee departed thence to *Bethel* and *Hai*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discouer and finde out some fit habitation: from whence againe, as it is written in *Genesis* the eleuenth. Hee went forth, going and iourneying towards the South: and alwaies vnstedfast.

By

*Abra. in Caleb.*

By occasion of which wandering to and fro, some say, the *Aegyptians* gaue him and his the name of *Hebrai*. Further, to proue that hee had not formerly bene in the Countrey, we may note, that ere he came to *Bethel* and *Hai*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared vnto him saying, *Vnto thy Iesse will I giue this Land*, throwing it him as vnto a stranger therein, and as a land to him vnknewne. For *Abraham* without any other prouident care for himselfe, beleied in the word of the liuing God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discouer it; but being arriued he receiued a second promise from God, that hee would giue those Countreies vnto him and his seede to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, what should moue any man to thinke, that *Moses* would haue omitted any such double iourney of *Abrahams*, seeing he setteth downe all his passages else where, long and short: as when he moued from *Sichem*, and scated betwene *Hai* and *Bethel*: the distance being but twenty miles: and when he moued thence to the valley of *Mamre*, being but twenty foure miles: and when hee left *Mamre*, and fate downe at *Gerar*, being lesse then fixe miles; no, *Moses* past ouer all the times of the firstage with the greater breuitie, to hasten him to the story of *Abraham*: shutting vp all betwene the Creation and the Flood in six chapters, which age lasted 1656. years: but he beloweth on the story of *Abraham* fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleuenth, and ending with his death in the fixe and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abrahams* traualles, or other actions: or that he would set downe those small remoues of fixe miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a iourney in going and comming would haue ministred some varietie of matter, or accident, worthie the inserting and adding to *Abrahams* storie.

### §. IIII.

*The answer to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it was not vnlikelie, that TERAH should beget ABRAHAM in his hundred and thirty yeare.*

**N**OW touching the objection, where it is said, that it was very vnlikelie that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his 130. yeare, seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to haue a sonne at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed misall, and mistaken: *Abraham* hauing respect only to *Sarah* his wife, when he spake of their many yeares. For when the Angell said vnto *Abraham* in his Tent doore at *Mamre*; *Loe, SARAH thy wife shall haue a Sonne*, it followeth in the next verse, *NOW ABRAHAM AND SARAH were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with SARAH after the manner of women: therefore SARAH laughed &c.*

So then, in that it is said it ceased to be with *SARAH*, after the manner of women, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, & not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second wife *Keturah* had many sons after *Sarah's* death, as *Zimri*, *son*, *Isachan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Isbak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldest of these was borne 37. yeares after *Isaac*, and the youngest 40. yeares after. What strangenesse then, that *Terah* being 130. yeares old should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed depaire of *Abraham* at one hundred yeares: For *Sarah* died in the yeare of the world 2145. and *Isaac* was borne in the yeare 2109: and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat five sonnes 36. yeares after this supposed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137. yeares old: it is not strange that his Father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Boaz*, *Obed* and *Iesse*, who liued so many yeares & ages after *Abraham*, begat sons at 100. yeares, or neare it, it can not be mer-

*Origyn. homet. in Gen. Aug. de ciuit. do. l. 16. c. 34. Caxton: & Perer. in Gen.*

uailed at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130; and *Abraham* others at the same age and feuen yeares after.

### §. V.

*The answer to two more of the objections: shewing that we may haue certainty of ABRAHAMS age from the Scripture, though wee make not ABRAHAM the eldest sonne: and that there was great cause, why in the story of ABRAHAM his two brethren should be respected.*

**I**T followeth now to speak something to the obiection, which brings *Abrahams* age altogether in doubt, except wee allow him to be the eldest son of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70. yeares old. For *Abrahams* age being made vncertaine, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That wee cannot be certaine of *Abrahams* age, vnlesse wee make him the eldest sonne, is false. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205. which was the yeare of his death, then was *Abraham* 75. And if you aske, how I can iudge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I answer, that *St. Stephen* hath told vs, that *Abrahams* departure followed the death of his Father *Terah*: and *Terah* died at 205; so as the 75. yeare of *Abraham* was the 205. yeare of *Terah*: which knowne, there can be no errour in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the obiection, where it is said, That *Moses* had no respect vnto *Nahor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church but to *Abraham* only, with whom God established the Covenent, and of whom *Christ* descended according to the flesh &c. I answer, that *Moses* for many great and necessary causes had respect of *Nahor* and *Haran*. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the issues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters or otherwise. For *Nahor* was the Father of *Be-thuel* & *Be-thuel* of *Rebecca* the mother of *Israel*: & *Haran* was the parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*: and *Sarah* was mother to *Isaac*, and grandmother to *Jacob*: *Milcah* also the wife of *Nahor*, and mother of *Be-thuel*, was *Jacobs* great grandmother: and the age of *Sarah* the daughter of *Haran* is especially noted, in that it pleased God to giue her a sonne at 90. yeares, and when by nature she could not haue conceiued. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the daughters of their brother *Haran*; and because *Isaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-child of *Nahor*; and *Jacob* *Lea* and *Rachel*, the daughters of *Laban*, the grand-child also of *Nahor*: it was not superfluous in *Moses* to giue light of these men, times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange Gods, as it is

40 *Isa. 24. 2.* yet I see no cause to thinke, that they still continued Idolaters. For they beleued and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leauing their naturall Countrey, and City of *Ur* in *Chaldaea*, as *Abraham* did, and remoued thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his Father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldaea*; but *Lot*, his sonne, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*: and *Sarah*, the sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nahor* also, who remained at *Charran*, gaue his sonnes daughters to *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, his owne kinsmen: hee himselfe hauing also married in his owne familie; not thinking it pleasing vnto God to mixe themselves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length beleued in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For when *Laban* had sene the seruant of *Abraham* standing at the Well beside *Charran*, hee inuited

50 him to his Fathers house in this manner: *Come in thou blessed of Iehouah &c.* And when this seruant of *Abrahams* demanded an answer as touching *Rebecca*, then answered *Laban* and *Be-thuel*, and said: *This thing is proceeded of Iehouah*: meaning that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein hee acknowledged Gods prouidence. Likewise in the following verse it is written: *Take, take, goe that thee may bee thy*

*Gen. 24. 7. 21.*

*Gen. 24. 7. 20.*

thy masters sonnes wife, even as Iehonah hath said. This their often vsing of the name of Iehonah, which is the proper name of the true God, is a signe that they had the knowledge of him.

Now althought he be the opinion of Saint Chrysostome, and some later writers, as Cateian, Olesster, Misgulus, Caluin, Mercer, and others, that Lahan was an Idoter, because he retained certaine Idols, or household Gods, which Rachel stole from him; yet that he be lieued in the true God it cannot be denied. For he acknowledged the God of Abraham and of Nahor, and he called Abrahams seruant, blessed of Iehonah, as aforesaid. So as for my selfe I dare not auow, that these men were out of the Church, who sure I am were not out of the faith.

## §. VI.

That the naming of ABRAHAM first of the three brethren. Gen. II. v. 26. doeth not proue that hee was the eldest: together with diuers reasons prouing that ABRAHAM was not the eldest sonne of TERAH.

Gen. II. v. 26.

**T**O the maine obiection which I answere last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strue to shorten the time, endeuor to proue that Abraham was the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yeare of Terahs life: grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture, And TERAH lived 70. yeares and begat ABRAHAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: To this I say, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no prooue at all that hee was the eldest and first borne sonne of Terah. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in blood and birth, neither doth it appeare that it pleased God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for Seth was not the first borne of Adam: nor Isaac of Abraham: nor Jacob of Isaac: nor Iuda and Ioseph of Jacob: nor Dauid the eldest of Iesse: nor Solomon of Dauid: as is formerly remembred.

Aug. quest. super Gen. 25.

But it is written of Noah; Noah was 500. yeares old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham and Iaphet: shewing that at the 500. yeare of his age he began to beget the first of those three sonnes. For according to St. Augustine speaking generally, Nec attendendus est in his ordo natiuitatis, sed significatio future dignitatis: in qua excelluit ABRAHAM. The order of nativity is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity: in which ABRAHAM was preferred. And therefore as in the order of the sonnes of Noah: so is it heere, where it is said that TERAH lived 70. yeares and begat ABRAHAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: For it was late ere Terah began to beget sonnes, himselfe being begotten by his Father Nahor at 29. as other his auncestors werat 30. The like also happened to Noah; for whereas Adam begat Seth at 130. Enosh 40. Kenan at 90; Kenan Mahalael at 70; Mahalael Iered at 60: Noah was yet 500. yeares old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes: as aforesaid. And Augustine in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that Abraham was the youngest of Terahs sonnes, then otherwise: though for his excellency he was worthily named first. His owne words are these. Fieri enim potuit ut posterior sit generatus ABRAHAM: sed merito excellentia, qua in scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be said he, that ABRAHAM was begotten later: but was first named in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture hee is much commended. So as the naming first or last, proueth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those issues of Noah or in these of Terah: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spiritual blessing, for Moses nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in Gods fauour. Pietas ergo vel ipso patris electio diuina, qua comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat SEMI in libris NOAH, & ABRAHAMO in liberis THARE. Pietie scilicet he or rather diuine election

election, which doth euermore draw with it or after it pietie and the feare of God, gaue place and preedencie to SEM among the children of NOAH, and to ABRAHAM among those of THARE.

For the rest it is manifest, that Abraham entred Canaan in the 75. yeare of his age, And it was in Canaan that Hagar bare him Isaac, when Abraham had liued 86. yeares. Gen. 12. 4. It was at Gerar (the fourth border of Canaan) that Sarah bare Isaac, when Abraham had consumed 100. yeares. It was from the valley of Mamre in Canaan that Abraham rose out, when he rescued Lot and ouerthrew Amraphel: and hee had then but the age of 83. yeares: and it is as manifest that he parted from Haran after his Father 10 Terah was dead. But if Terah begat Abraham at 70. yeare old, then must Abraham haue beene 135. yeares when hee first let his foot in Canaan: seeing Terah must bee dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. made 205, the true age of Terah, which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For hee entred at 75: hee rescued Lot at 83: hee had Isaac at 86: hee had Isaac at 100. proued by the former places.

Moreouer if Abraham were the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70 yeare of his age: then had Terah liued till Isaac had beene 35. yeares old, and Isaac 49. both which must then haue beene borne in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age: vntill wee should either deny credit to St. Stephen, who saith that Abraham departed from Mesopotamia after his Fathers death: or else giue credit to the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrotator, who in his Chronologia antoptica, saith it was about his Fathers death: because the grecke word *parat*, may be transported by the Latine *sub*, as well as by *post*: which though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about Terahs death, which were 60. yeares before. Wherefore supposing Abraham to haue beene borne in the 70. yeare of Terah; we must giue those times and places of birth to Abrahams children, which no authoritie will warrant, For Abraham had no children in Vr of Chaldaea, nor in Haran: nor in 10. yeares after his arriual into Canaan. For the yeare of Terahs death, in which Abraham left Haran; was the yeare of the World 2083: and the yeare of Isaacs birth was the Worlds yeare 2094: which maketh 10 yeares difference. And that Isaac was borne in Canaan, and was to bee offered vpon the mountaine Moriah therein, 39. miles from Bersabe, where Abraham then inhabited: and that three Angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley of Mamre, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of Abrahams sonnes were borne in Mesopotamia: nor while Terah liued: nor in lesse then 10. yeares after Terahs death: and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest sonne of Terah, nor borne in the 70. yeare of Terahs age.

Thirdly, whereas Abraham came into Canaan at 75: if Terah had begotten him at 40 70, then had Terah liued but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which must also haue beene the full age of Terah: but Terah liued 205. yeares: and therefore was not Abraham borne in the 70. yeare of Terah.

Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest, that Haran was the elder; if not the eldest brother of Abraham; for Sarah or Isah wanted but 10. yeares of Abrahams age: Isaac beinge borne when Abraham was 100. and Sarah 90. yeares old.

It followeth then that if Abraham had beene the elder brother of Haran, Haran must haue begotten Sarah at 9. yeares old: for granting that Haran was borne but one yeare after Abraham, and Sarah within 10. yeares as old as Abraham, then of necessity must Haran beget her, when he had liued but 9. yeares; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Isah was Sarah, Rab. Solomon affirmeth; both names, saith he; bearing the same signification; and names of principallitie. Again, to what end was the word Isah or Isibah inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? for to speak

speake of any thing superfluous it is not vsed in Gods Bookes: and if *Iscab* had not belonged to the story, it had bene but an idle name to no purpose remembre.

Now if it had bene trew (as those of the contrary opinion affirme) that *Moses* had no respect of *Nabor* and *Haran*, who were notwithstanding the parents of *Benethuel* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Israel*, and of *Christ*: what regard then had *Moses* of *Iscab* in this place, were he not *Sarah*, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing else first or last.

The age also of *Lot* disproueth the elderhip of *Abraham*: for *Lot* was called an old man when *Abraham* was but 83. yeares: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were Father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*, *Abraham* marrying one of *Haran's* daughters, and *Nabor* the other, *Sarah* also being within 10. yeares as olde as *Abraham*: it may appeare to euery reasonable man (not obstinate and preiudicate) that *Haran* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: who also died first and before his Father left *Ur* in *Chaldea*. Also *Lyra* reasoneth against the opinion of *Abraham's* elderhip, vpon the same place of *Genesis*: drawing argument from the age of *Sarah*, who was but 10. yeares younger than *Abraham* himselfe. *Lyra* his wordes are these. *Si igitur Haran fuit iunior ipso Abraham, sequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Sarah: imò nec octo &c.* and afterward, *& idè melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit iunior natus de tribus filiis Thare, tamen nominatur primò, propter eius dignitatem: & quia ponenduserat caput stirpis & generationis sequentis: & quia primò facta est ei re promissa expressa de Christo, sicut supra dictum est de Sem &c.* If therefore (saith *Lyra*) *Haran* was younger then *Abraham* himselfe, it followeth that he was not 10. yeares old when he begat *Sarah*: And therefore it seemeth better to be said, that *Abraham* was the last born of the three sonnes of *Thare*, neuertheless he is named first for his dignitie, both because he was to be ordained head of the stocke and generation following: and because the promise of *Christ* was first made vnto him, as before it is said of *SEM*.

¶ VII.

A conclusion of this dispute, noting the Authors on both sides: with an admonition that they which shorten the times make all ancient stories the more vnprouable.



Therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that *Haran* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeare of *Terah's* life, and not in the 70. yeare. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to *S. Stephen*, and that journey by *Abraham* performed when hee was 75. yeares old, these two numbers added make 205. yeares, the full age of *Terah*: seeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my selfe, I haue no other end herein then to manifest the truth of the Worlds storie. I reuerence the iudgements of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars. Saint *Augustine* was doubtfull, and could not determine this controuersie. For whatsoever is borrowed from him out of his 16. Booke de *Ciuitate Dei* ca. 15. the same may bee answered out of himselfe in his five and twentieth question vpon *Gen*. But *S. Augustine* herein followed *Iosephus*, and *Isidor*: and *Beda* followed *S. Augustin*. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanitie, that the *Hebrews* and *Iosephus* sought to make *Abraham* the first borne: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did *Iosephus* together with *Nicholas Damascenus* (thinking thereby to glorifie the *Iewish Nation*) make *Abraham* a king, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queene Sarah*: and said that *Abraham* was followed with 318. Captaines, of which euerie one had an infinite multitude vnder him; *trecentis & octo decem praefectis habuit*:

*habuit: quorum singulis infinita multitudo prebat.* And that *Pharao* invading him with a great armie,ooke from him his wife *Sarah*. Such fables argue that *Iosephus* is not to be believed, but with discrete reservations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. yeares from the flood to *Abraham*, is vpheld by manie of the *Hebrews*. But how should we value the opinion of such *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their iudgement in such matters were worthie to be regarded, it would haue appeared in setting downe the succession of the *Persian Kings*, vnder whom they liued, whose historie was not so farre remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of manie good writers. Yet grossely haue they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we feldome finde their opinion rehearsed without the confusion treading on the heeles of it. They of the *Romane* religion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing vsuall among them, to maintaine whatsoever they haue bene formerly knowne to hold and belieue. Contrariwise, of the more ancient, *Theodoret*, and some following him: of later times *Beraudus*, *Codoman*, *Peucer*, *Caluin*, *Iunius*, *Beza*, *Broughten*, *Dofc*, *Gibbons*, and *Moore*, with diuers of the *Protestants*, hold *Abraham* to haue been borne in the 130. yeare of his Father *Terah*. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) diuers of the same Religion, and those neuertheless good Authors, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chirac*, *Functius*, and others, are verie averse heerein, especially *Iosephus Scaliger* with his *sebus Calvisius*, proclaiming *Beraudus* an Arch-heretique in *Chronologie*, and condemning this opinion of his as poisonous. Contrariwise *Augustinus Tornilius* a Priest of the Congregation of *S. Paul*, a iudicious, diligent, and free writer, whose *Annales* are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I haue already deliuered; not alledging *Beraudus*, nor any *Protestant* writer; as being perhaps vnwilling to owe thanks to heretiques. For my selfe I do neither mislike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the *Romish* Religion labour to vphold it, Nor fauour this larger account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* writers haue approued; it but for the truth it selfe. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparant to all men of iudgement, that the best approued Historians, Diuine and prophane, labour to inuestigate the truth of times; thereby to approue the stories, and forepast actions of the world: and not the truth of histories to approue the times by. Let vs then make iudgment to our selues, which of these two accounts giveth the best reputation to the storie of the Scriptures; teaching the worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Iosephus*, and those which follow him; who makes but 292. yeares, or thereabouts, betweene the flood and birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352. yeares betweene the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the first borne of *Thare*, and in the 70. yeare of his life: the other a younger sonne of *Thare*, and borne when he had liued 130. yeares. And if we looke ouer all, and doe not hastily satisfie our vnderstanding with the first things offered, and thereby being fatiared doe slothfully and drowsily sit downe; wee shall finde it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some editions, make it aboue 1072. yeares betweene the flood and *Abraham's* birth: then to take away any part of those 352. yeares giuen. For if we aduisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in *Abraham's* time, yea, before *Abraham* was borne, we shall find that it were verie ill done of vs, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times ouer-deeply betweene *Abraham* and the flood: because in cutting them too neere the quicke, the reputation of the whole storie might perchance bleed thereby, were not the testimonie of the Scriptures supreme, so as no obiection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this precept of *S. Augustine*, That wherefoeuer any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation misunderstood.

For

For in *Abraham* time all the then-known parts of the world were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities: and so had *Palestina*, and all the bordering Countries: yea, all that part of the world besides, as far as *India*: and those not built with tickes, but of hewen stones, and defended with walles and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquitie, then those other men haue supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and maruailles? giuing also strength thereby to common cauellers, and to those mensapish braines, who onely bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters in the storie of the World and mankind.

¶ VIII.

A computation of the times of the *Affryians* and others, grounded vpon the times noted in the storie of *ABRAHAM*.

An. mundi 2008  
dil. 352. natus A-  
braham Euseb.  
Angl. de Chit.  
Dei. 1, 16. c. 17.

**I**N this sort therefore for the reasons before alladged, I conclude, that from the generall flood, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. yeares were consumed: and taking the *Affryian* Historie with vs, the same 20 number of yeares were spent from the flood to the 43. yeare of *Ninus*: in which 43. yeare of *Ninus* *Abraham* was borne: which happened in the yeare of the World 2009.

Now of this time of 352. yeares, wee must giue one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinar*, as to those that staid in the East, to wit, 30. yeare to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which, though the Scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sons, wee may the more safely giue the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg* Regu at 30. *Regu* Serug at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Hanila*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Qedan*, before *Nimrod* was borne as it appeareth Gen. 10: in which *S. Augusline* approueth. Giuing then 30. yeares more to *Raama* ere hee begat *Sheba*, and five yeares to the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered that 65. yeares were consumed ere *Nimrod* himselfe was borne: and that *Raamah* had that age ere any of his sonnes were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparision: for *Peleg*, the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Regu* in the same yeare of his life.

Let vs then allow 60. yeares more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build *Babel*: for sure wee are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125: The rest of the time of 131. (in 40 which yeare they arrived in *Shinar* whereof there are 6. yeares remaining) we may giue them for their travels from the East: because they were pestered with women, children and Cattle: and as some ancient writers haue conceived, and because of later times, they kept alwaies the mountains sides, for feare of a second flood. Now if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remains 221, of which number *Berosus* bestoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus*, before *Abraham* borne: both which *S. Augusline* approueth: which two numbers taken againe out of 221. there remaineth 114. yeares of the 352. from the flood to *Abraham*'s birth: which number of 114. needeth bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

And if it be objected that this time giuen to *Nimrod*, is ouer-long: sure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appeare ouer-thort. For *Nimrod*, by this account, liued in all but one hundred seventy nine yeares: whereof hee reigned one hundred and twelue: whereas *Sale* who was the sonne of *Arphaxad* the sonne of *Sem*, liued four hundred thirty three yeares:

An. a salute hu-  
mani generis ab  
equis consensio  
primo capite reg-  
num Babiloni-  
cum sub nostro  
Saturno patre  
Iouis Beliquim-  
peravit annis 65  
Berosus.

yeares: and of the same age of the World was *Nimrod*, the sonne of *Chus*, the sonne of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was borne *Ninus* reigned 9. yeares: which added to 43. make 52. *Ninus* dieth and leaueth *Semiramis* his succellor.

*Semiramis* gouerned the *Empire of Babilonia* and *Affryia* 42. yeares, and died in the 52. yeare complet of *Abraham*'s life.

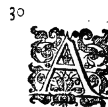
*Ninus* or *Zameis* succceeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. yeares, in the second yeare of whose reigne *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*.

When *Abraham* was 85. yeares old, hereftued his nephew *Lot*, and ouerthrew by surprife *Amraphel* King of *Shinar*, or *Babilonia*. *Ninus* reigned 38. yeares, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. yeares after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. yeare of his age: so that *Amraphel* may seeme to haue bene this *Ninus* the sonne of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whose 23. yeare, as aforefaid, being the 75. yeare of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might haue receiued this ouerthrow in the 85. yeare of *Abraham*, and the 33. yeare of his own reigne: after which hereigned five yeares: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, vrging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninus*, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the *Affryian* kings, that they are to be ordered as wee haue set them downe, according to the times noted by *Moses*, in the storie of *Abraham*, it is most certaine: vnleffe we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses* his computation; which were impietie: or account the whole Historie of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to bee a fiction; which were to condemne all ancient Historians for fablers.

Of the World  
2017.  
Of the Flood  
761.  
2053 mundi.  
403. a dil.  
2083.  
427.  
2093.  
437.

¶ IX.

That *AMRAPHEL*, one of the foure Kings whom *ABRAHAM* ouerthrew Gen. 14. may probably be thought to haue bene *NINUS* the sonne of *NINUS*.



And now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes king of *Shinar* or *Babilonia*, in the 85. yeare of *Abraham*'s life, that is, in the 33. yeare of the reigne of *Ninus* or *Zameis* the king of the *Affryians*, the sonne of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how hee could bee at this time king of *Babilonia*: *Ninus* or *Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it selfe as most probable, is that which hath bene already noted, that this *Ninus* or *Zameis*, was no other then our *Amraphel*: who invaded *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and ouerthrew those five kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell vs, that *Amraphel* was king of *Shinar*, which is *Babilonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the succellor of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. yeare of *Abraham*'s life: wherein hereftued *Lot*, slew *Chedorlaomer* and ouerthrew the rest. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest Monarch: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in cheife, though *Amraphel* bee first named by *Moses* in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of *Genesis*. For the Kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or of the five Cities, were the vassals of *Chedor*. and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written. Twelve yeares were they subject to *CHEDORLAOMER*, but in the 13. yeare they rebelled, and in the 14. yeare came *CHEDORLAOMER* and the kings that were with him: and therefore was *Chedor* the principall in this enterprise, who was then king of *Elam*, and these is *Persia*: Now *Persia* being feared ouer *Tigris*, and to the East of *Amraphel*'s Countie; and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the West of *Shinar* or *Babilonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babilonia* in it selfe, seemeth at this time to haue had no great scope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* bene so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom

Gen. 14.

whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three other kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the fifth and greatest of those four Kings, (as it is manifest that he was: For these little kings of *Sodom*, *Gomor*, &c. were his vassals, and not *Amraphel*) yet this makes not the conjecture lesse probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninus*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria*, had now (as we shall heare more plainly in that which followeth) received a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre: though not long before it commanded all the kingdomes betwene *India* and the *Phenician* Sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

## §. X.

Of *ARIOCH* another of the foure Kings, and that *ELIAS*: whereof he is said to haue bene King, lies betwene *Celestria* and *Arabia* *Petrea*.

**N**OW the two other kings ioined with *Amraphel*, and *Chedorl.* were *Arioch* and *Tidal*: the one king of *Ellasar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellasar*, *Aquila* and *Hierome* write *Pontus*: so *Toitatus* thinketh that it should be *Hellepont*: which opinion *Peregrinus* fauoureth. But this is onely to defend the Latine translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellepont* farre distant, and out of the way to send any armies into *Arabia* *Petræa*, or into *Idumæa*: which Countries these foure Kings chiefly invaded. Besides that, it is certain, that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had neuer any dominion in *Asia* the lesse. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the inuasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the lesse as commanders: but vsed all the art they had to inuite *Crasus* to their assistance: perswading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himselfe, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the *Medes* against the *Assyrians*. But examine the enterprise what it was. These kings (saith the Text) made warre with *Bera*, king of *Sodom*, *Birshak* king of *Gomorha*, *Shinarab* king of *Admath*, and *Shemebab* king of *Zeboim*, and the king of *Bela* which is *Zoar*. All which five kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*: being such a kind of *Reguli*, as *Iosua* found in the land long after: namely Lords of Cities and small territories adioyning; of which *Canaan* had 33. all slaine or hanged by *Iosua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to haue inuaded, be imagined to haue bene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus* or *Hellepont*, had manifested a great impotencie and weaknesse in the kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

And though it be alledged for an example, that diuers kings far off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cesar*: yet these same examples without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to feare the greatness of these pettie kings, or of the other Countries: But the eies of the world were fixed on *Cesar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no lesse doubtfull then fearefull: But the whole Countrey by these foure kings mastered in their passage, was afterward giuen to the halfe tribe of *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*: a narrow valley of ground lying betwene *Jordan* and the mountaines of *Seir*: inclosed by the riuier of *Arnon* on the South side, and by *Lybanus* on the North, consiting of the two small Provinces of *Tracemitis* or *Basari*, and the Region of the *Moadites*: a conquest farre vnuenable, and little answering the power of the *Assyrian* Empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who subiected all the great kings of that part of the World, without the assistance of any of the kings of *Hellepont*, or any other part of *Asia* the lesse. But as the *Pulgar* and *Aquila* conuert *Ellasar* by *Pontus*: so *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a king of the *Scythians*, a king indeed, as farre fetched to ioine with the *Assyrians*

in this warre, as the World had any at that time. The *Septuagint* doe not change the word of *Ellasar* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the mountaines wherof the Arke did rest, so do they in this place retaine the *Hebrew* word *Ellasar*, being doubtfull to giue it a wrong interpretation. And *Peregrinus* himselfe remembereth other opinions farre more probable then this of *Pontus* or *Hellepont*: yet he dares not auow his liking of them, because the Latine Translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Urbibus a Græcian Cosmographæ*, findeth the Citie of *Ellas* in the border of *Celestria*, and *St. Hierome* calleth *Ellas* the Citie of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Celestria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly ioined with *Ninus* in all his conquests, being of the same familie, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrews* written *Arioch*: and afterward againe *Aretas*: as in the *Maschabes*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name euen to the time of *St. Paul*, who was fought to be betrayed by the Lieutenant of *Aretas* commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending vpon the *Assyrian* Empire. It is true that we finde in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was General of his armie, and the principall Commander vnder him, who was a king of kings: which makes it plain, that *Arioch* heere spoken of, the sonne of that *Arioch* confederate of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: regions farre removed from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch* who commanded vnder *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Isaiah*, by the name of king of the *Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Persians* bordering *Assyria*: according to *Stephanus*: though *Plinie* sets it betwene the Sea-coast, and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian* Kings or other of that house (knowne by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Aretas* or *Aretas*) had the gouernment of that *Persian* Province called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Isaiah*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosor*'s time. But this *Arioch* heere spoken of may with more reason bee taken for the king of *Arabia*, the sonne of *Arius*, the confederate of *Ninus*: whose sonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West to *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their own house, and bloud: which *D. Siculus* also confirmeth.

## §. XI.

Of *TIDAL* another of the foure Kings.

**T**HE fourth King by *Abraham* ouerthrowne was *Tidal*, king of the Nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Goyim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt people: *Culwin* of runnagates without habitation: *Peregrinus* out of *Strabo*, findes that *Galilea* was inhabited by diuers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phenicians*. Nam tales sunt qui *Galileam* habitant, such are the inhabitants of *Galilee* saith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authoritie of *Strabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilea* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Cananite* was then in the Land, how soeuer they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many pettie kingdomes adioyning to *Phenicia*, and *Palæstina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicea*, *Aparenna*, *Chalchide*, *Cassiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all these doe also ioine themselves to *Mesopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together vnder *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

## §. XII.

That CHEDORLAOMER the chiefe of the 4. Kings was not of Assyria, but of Persia: and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.



Asly, whereas it is conceiued that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian Emperour, and that Amraphel was but a Satrape, Viceroy, or Provinciall gouernour of Babylonia, and that the other kings named were such also, I cannot agree with Pterius in this. For Moses was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur*, and *Shinar*, to call the Assyrian a king of *Elam*: those kings being in the Scriptures euermore called by the name of *Chaldaes*, *Shinar*, *Babylonia*, or *Assyria*: but neuer by *Elam*; and Chedorlaomer or Kedarlaomer was so called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim* which in the Hebrew signifieth *Regale*: for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Persian* kings wore on their heads.

Neither doe I beleue that the Assyrian or Babylonian Empire stood in any greatness at the time of this inuasion, and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach vs, that those things which are set vp hastily, or forced violently, do not long last: *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to ouer-look what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himselfe: all whose cheife Commanders became kings after him. *Tamperlain* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storme-like and terrible successe: but to preualent furie God hath adioined a short life: and what fouer things Nature herselfe worketh in hast, the taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before him.

*Ninus* being the first whom the madnesse of boundlesse dominion transported, inuaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious ouer them: a man violent, insolent, and cruell. *Semiramis* taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, aduenturous, and ambitious, then her *Paramor*: enlarged the Babylonian Empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings vnexampled. But her sonne hauing changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proued no lesse feminine then she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, and reuenge the other: so those kings adioining (whose subiection, and calamities incident was but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleepe, when the advantage was offered by such a successe. For in reuenge *Babylonico hic parum repleuit, this King* *Ismaelutite* (saith *Nauclerus* of *Ninus*) in the Babylonian kingdome. And likely it is that the neckes of mortall men hauing been neuer before gawled with the yoke of forraigne dominion, Nor hauing euer had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of liuing in slavery: no long descent hauing as yet inueited the Assyrian with a right: nor any other title being for him to be pretended than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate sonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerlesse mastering, and a mindlesse indolent than his Father, and Mother had vsed before him. And he that was so much giuen ouer to licentious idleness, as to suffer his Mother to raigne 42. yeares, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatnesse, as he neither incauoured to gaine what he could not gouerne, nor to keep what he could not without contentions perill enioy.

These Considerations being ioyned to the storie of *Amraphel*, deliuered by *Moses*, by which we finde that *Amraphel* king of *Shinar* was rather an inferiour to the king of *Persia*, than either his superiour, or equal, make it seeme probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to *Babylonia*.

For

For conclusion I will adde these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impole that great traualle vpon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldea* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a pallage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, children, and carriages: the Countries through which he wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. yeare of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, tooke this great iourney in hand: in which time of 23. yeares after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbor Princes had recovered their libertie and former estates. For *Semiramis* armie of foure millions, with herselfe utterly consumed in *India*, and all her armes and engins of war, at the same time lost, gaue an occasion and opportunitie euen to the poorest foules and weakest hearted creatures of the World, to repurchase their former libertie.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that *Arius* the sonne of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, inuaded the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, and againe subiected them: which needed not if they had not bene reuolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, so did *Baleus* or *Balanus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest reuolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes*, id est *Victor* & *Triumphator*, a conquerour and triumpher, which vndertakings had bene no other then the effects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselves, from the Babylonian subiection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is of the reconquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which liued after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, wee may as well thinke the rest of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but fained: but if we graunt this reconquest, then is it true that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the Assyrian Empire was torne asunder, according to that which hath bene gathered out of *Moses* as before remembred.

## §. XIII.

That it is not vnprobable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had else-where with their colonies planted them selves: and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be so, we neede not say that *AMRAPHEL* was *NINIAS*, nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.



He consent of all writers, whose workes have come to my perusal, agreeing as they doe, that these 4. kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and their fellows were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or seeme intituled: doth almost inforce vs to thinke that the Historie must so be vnderstood, as I haue deliuered. But if in this place, as often elswhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for people of those lands, or if (as *Hierome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundrie regions: then may we otherwise conceiue of this Historie: remouing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps haue been vnwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For as it had been a strange coniecture to thinke that *Arioch* was drawn to assist the *Persian*, against the *Sodomites*; as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very vnlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should haue been once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were king of *Persia* alone, should passe through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to subdue those five Townes, whose very names how they should come to his care, being diuised by so many great Nations of different languages, a wise-man could hardly coniecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia* together with the Babylonian himselfe, yea the kingdome of *Elasar*; & that of *Tidal*, so far off removed were become his dependants, what reason can we finde that might haue induced him, to hearken after *Sokome* and *Gomorah*? when he should haue sought the establishment of his new-gotten Empire,

by rooting out the posteritie of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) then to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other kings, against five petty townes, leaving *Tyrrus*, and *Sidon*, and the great Citie of *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and larre neerer vnto him, vnsubdued? Now as these doubts which may bee alleadged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddam*, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his reconquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly vpon the text it selfe. For first, what madnesse had it bene in that small *Province* to rebell against so powerfull a *Monarch*? Or if it were so that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to bee forgotten, then that hee should come or send to reclaim them: was it not more then madnesse in them, when his terrible armie approached, still to entertaine hope of euasion: yea to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute and therefore vnwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations betwene *Euphrates*, yea betwene themselves and the river of *Indus*? Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should finde no greater wisdom, if he knowing the weaknesse of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any *Lieutenant*, with small forces hee might haue subdued. For the perpetuall inheritance of that little Countrey, was not sufficient to counteruaile one months charges of so huge an armie: How small then must his valour haue bene, who with so mightie preparations effected no more then the wasting of that *Palley*, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Countrey, although hee had broken their armie in the field? Now the Scriptures doe not of this inuasion (supposed so great) make any fearefull matter: but compose the two armies, as equally matcht, saying they were foure kings against five: yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall finde that *Abraham* slew all these kings, of which great slaughter no Historie makes mention: Neither will the raigne of *Ninus* who liued foure or five yeares longer, permit that he should haue died so soone: neither would Histories haue forgotten the manner of his death, if hee had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appeares that these foure kings, were not the same that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well bee true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title: Lords and Commanders euery one of his owne companie, which he carried forth as a *Colony*, seeking place where to settle himselfe and them, as was the vsuall manner of those times.

Neither is it vnprobable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troupe of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might consort together, and make the weakest of the Countrey which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoeuer will consider the beginning of the first booke of *Thucydides*, with the manner of discoueries, conquests and plantations, in the infancy of *Greece*, or the manner of the *Saracens* inuading *Africa*, and *Spaine*, with almost as many kings as severall Armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new discoueries, passages, and conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceiue, that it was neither vnusuall, for the leaders of *Colonies* to receiue title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of Commanders, it may seeme the more likely, by the slothfull qualitie of *Ninus* then reigning in *Assyria*: whose vnmanlike temper was such, as might well giue occasion to such vndertaking spirits, as wanted the imployments whereunto they were accustomed, in the raigne of *Sennacherib*, rather to seeke aduentures abroad, than to remain at home vnregarded: whilst others more vnworthie than themselves, were aduanced. If the consent of the whole streame of writers vpon this place make this coniecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authoritie whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may hold

hold our selues to the former coniecture, that *Amraphel* was *Ninus*: and that the power of his Auncelours being by his sloth decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this doe not satisfie, we may say that *Amraphel* was an *Vnder-king* or *Satrape* of *Shinar*, vnder *Ninus*: who may be supposed to haue had his *Imperiall* seat in his Fathers Citie *Ninive*: and to haue preferred it before *Shinar* and *Babylon* the Citie of his Mother, whom hee hated as an vsurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Saluation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great paines, all might erre: then can I thinke that the opinion, That these foure kings were leaders of *Colonies*, sent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not kings of the Countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And heere to adde that *Chedorlaomer* seemes rather called a *Persian* king, then king of *Persia*: and that *Arioch* (whose kingdome vndoubtedly was betwene *Syria* and *Arabia*) hauing bene a man of action, or being a worthy mans Sonne, was very well pleased, to giue passage and assistance, to these Captaines or petty kings. These and such like things heere to vrge, were but with circumstances to adorne a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is vnworthie to haue cost bestowed vpon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leaue it wholly to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he finde any that shall seeme better than these. But of what Countries or people foure these foure were kings, this expedition is the only publique action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his Sonnes, and of his Nephews *Elsau* and *Isachab*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, neither to stand vpon things generally knowne to all *Christians*, nor to repeat what hath bene elsewhere already spoken, nor to preuent ourselues in things that may hereafter in due place be remembered, we passe them heere in silence. And because in this Storie of *Abraham* and his posteritie, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appeares that euen in the time of *Abraham*, it was a settled and flourishing kingdome, it will not be amisse in the next place to speake somewhat of the antiquities, and first kings thereof.



## CHAP. II.

*Of the kings of Ægypt from the first peopling of it after the  
flood, to the time of the deliuerie of the Isra-  
lites from thence.*

## §. I.

*A breife of the names and times of the first kings of Ægypt: with a note of the causes  
of difficultie in resolving of the truth in these points.*



One after the confusion at Babel (as it seemes) Cham  
with many of his issue and followers (hauing doubt-  
lesse known the fertilitie of Ægypt before the flood)  
came thither and tooke possession of the Countrey:  
in which they built many Cities: and began the  
kingdome one hundred nintieone years after the  
deluge. The ancient Gouvernours of this kingdome  
till such time as Israel departed Ægypt are shewen in  
the Table following.

An. An. di.	An. di.	
1847.	191.	Cham.
2008.	352.	Osiris.
2269.	613.	Typhon Hercules.
2276.	620.	Orus.
2391.	735.	Sesostris the great.
2424.	768.	Sesostris the blinde.
2438.	782.	Busrin or Orus the 2.
2476.	820.	Acencher or Therman- tis or Meris.
2488.	832.	Rathoris or Athoris.
2497.	841.	Cheneres drowned in the red Sea.

The Table and especially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and  
coniectures, because in such obscuritie manifest and resistlesse truth cannot be found.  
For *S. Augustine*, a man of exceeding great iudgement, and incomparable diligence,  
who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of *Varro*, which now  
are lost, yet omitted the succession of the Ægyptian kings, which he would not have  
done, if they had not bene more vncertaine then the *Sicyonians*, whom he remem-  
breth, then whom doubtlesse they were more glorious. One great occasion of this  
obscuritie in the Ægyptian Storie, was the ambition of the Preists: who to magnifie  
their antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many lea-  
sings: and recounted vnto strangers, the names of many kings that neuer reigned.  
What ground they had for these reports of supposed kings, it shall appeare anon.  
Sure it is that the magnificent workes and royall buildings in Ægypt, such as are  
now found but in States that haue greatly flourished, witnesse that their Princes  
were of meruailous greatnesse: and that the reports of the Preists were not altogether

ther false. A second cause of our ignorance in the Ægyptian Historie, was the too  
much credulitie of some good Authors, who beleeuing the manifold and contrarie re-  
ports of fundrie Ægyptians, and publishing in their own name, such as pleased them  
best; haue confirmed them, and as it were enforced them vpon vs, by their au-  
thoritie. A third and generall cause of more than Ægyptian darkenesse in all au-  
cient Historics, is the edition of many Authors by *Iohn Anniius*, of whom (if to  
the censures of fundrie verie learned I may adde mine) I thinke thus; That *Anniius*  
hauing scene some fragments of those writers, and added vnto them what he would,  
may be credited, as an auoucher of true Historics, where approued writers confirme  
him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Heereupon it commeth to passe that  
the account of Authors, either in the *Chronologie* or *Genealogie* of the Ægyptian  
Kings, runnes three altogether different waies. The *Christian* writers, such as are  
ancient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: Many late writers follow the edition of  
*Anniius* his Authors: The prophane Historics follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such  
others.

## §. II.

*That by the account of the Ægyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appeares that  
Chams reigne in Ægypt began in the year after  
the Flood 191.*



O reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the auncient  
kings, about whom is most controuersie, the best meane is by helpe  
of the Dynasties: of whose continuance there is little or no disagree-  
ment. The account of the Dynasties (besides the authoritie of ap-  
proved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most  
part, if not altogether with the Histories of the *Assyrians*, *Troians*, *Italians*, and others,  
&c. The beginning of the 16. Dyn. is ioined by general consent, with the 43. year of  
*Ninus*: in which *Abraham* was borne. The twelue first Dynasties lasted each of  
them seuen yeares, vnder the twelue, which were called the greater Gods: so that  
all the yeares of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth Dynastie, indured four-  
teene yeares: the foureteenth 26: the fiftenth 37. These three last are said to  
haue bene vnder the three yonger Gods. So the fiftene first Dynasties, lasted 161.  
yeares. As I doe not therefore beleue that the continuance of these Dyn. was such  
as hath bene mentioned, because *Anniius* in such-wise limits out their time: so I  
cannot reiect the account vpon this only reason, That *Anniius* hath it so: con-  
sidering that both hitherto it hath passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by  
manie good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth  
Dynastie, in the year of *Abrahams* birth, as aforesaid: the reckoning is easily cast;  
by which the summe of 161. yeares, which according to our account were spent in  
the fiftene former, being subducted out of the summe of 352. yeares, which were  
betwene the flood and *Abrahams* birth, shew that the beginning of the first Dyn-  
astie, which was the beginning of Chams reigne in Ægypt, was in the year 191.  
As also by other probabilities the same may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that  
the multitude of mankind, which came into *Shinar*, arrived at Babel, Anno à diluuio  
131. In building the Tower were consumed fortie yeares as *Glycas* recordeth:  
whose report I haue else-where confirmed with diuers probabilities. That *Cham*  
was long in passing with his companie, their Wiues, Children, Cattle, and substance,  
through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of bogges, Forrests, and briers (which the  
deluge and want of culture in one hundred seuentie one yeares had brought vpon  
it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of  
himselfe in Ægypt, wee allow twentie yeare: and these summes being added to-  
gether, to wit one hundred thirtie one yeares after the flood, before they arrived at

Babel,

*Babel*, 40. yeares for their stay there, and 20. for *Chams* passage into *Aegypt*, and settling there, make vp the summe of 191 yeares: at which time we said that *Cham* began his reigne in *Aegypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynastie*. And to this summe of 191 yeares if we adde the 161. yeares of the 15. first *Dynasties*, as they are numbered in common account, wee shall fall right with the yeare of *Abrahams* birth, which was in common account, *An. Dil.* 352. And heere to omitting manie other reasons, which might be brought to proue that these first *Dynasties* must needs haue bene verie short, and not containing in the whole summe of their severall times about 161. yeares: Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must *Aegypt* haue bene peopled as soone as *Babel* after the flood: or the *Dynasties* (as *Mercator* thinkes) must haue bene before the flood. That the arrival at *Babel* was manie yeares before the plantation of *Aegypt*, after the flood, enough hath bene said to proue: and that the *Dynasties* were not before the flood, the number of the longliu'd generations betweene *Adam* and the flood, which was lesse than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witness. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) be diuided into manie *Dynasties*, then may this haue bene as well after the flood, as before: considering that the sonnes of *Noah* did not in euerie Countrie erect such forme of Policie, as had bene vsed in the same ere the Deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authoritie and power of the Conductor, together with manie other circumstances, did induce or inforce them to.

## §. III.

That these *Dynasties* were not diuers families of kings, but rather successions of Regents, oft times many vnder one king.

**T**He short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not severall races of kings, as the vaunting *Aegyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in institutions of decayed antiquities, it is more easie to denie than to assewer. But this may bee said, partly vpon good circumstance, partly vpon the surest prooffe. That it was the manner of the *Aegyptian* kings, to put the government of the Countie into the hands of some trustie Counsellor, only reseruing the soveraigntie to themselves, as the old kings of France were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the *Turke* doth to the chiefe *Vizier*. This is confirmed first by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are vnder *Cham*, and more then one vnder *Osiris* or *Mizraim*; and must therefore haue bene successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsellors and Regents. Secondly, by custome of such Princes borderers to *Aegypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures: of whom *Abimelech* the *Philistin* in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol* Captaine of his Hoste; though in taking *Abrahams* wife, and in his private carriage, hee followed his owne pleasure. Likewise of *Abimelech* the sonne of *Gideon* it was said: *Is not hee the sonne of IERYBAAL? and ZEVL is his Officer?* Also *Ishbosheth* the sonne of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captaine of the Hoste. Yea, *David* himselfe hating *Isaiah* for his crueltye did not punish him, in regard of his greatnesse, which was such, as was feared euen of *Hadad* the *Edomite* liuing then in *Aegypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appeares by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his owne idlenesse and pleasure, to haue laied the burthen of government vpon others; and vpon iaculousse, the companion of vnworthinesse, to haue changed his Lieutenants often. Above all other prooffes is the aduancement of *Ioseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *Ioseph*, *Only in the Kings throne will I bee above thee: behold I haue set thee ouer all the Land of Aegypt*. *William*, Arch-bishop of *Tyre*, who flourished about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eightie, affirms that the

*William*, *Tyre* de  
bell *Sacra*, l. 19.  
ca. 27. p. 139.  
80.

like or verie same forme of government by *Viceroyes*, was in his time practised in *Aegypt*, hauing there bene in vse (as he beleiued) euer since the time of *Ioseph*. He plainly shewes, that the *Soldans* of *Aegypt* were not Lords of the Countie, how euer they haue been so deemed; but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the dutie of subiects vnto the *Caliphe*: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not only of ciuile government, but the power of making war and peace, with the whole office and authoritie roiall into the *Soldans* hands. He that shall read in *William of Tyre*, the state of the *Caliphe*, or *Adulene Elbadch*, with the forme of his Court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authoritie as *Ioseph* was, though lesse in wisdome.

To thinke that manie names of such Regents or Lieutenants as *Ioseph* was, haue crept into the list of the *Aegyptian* Kings, were no strange imagination. For *Iosephs* brethren called him, *The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Countie*: Besides, it is not vnlikely that the vainglorious *Aegyptian* Preists would as easily report him a king to posteritie, as ignorant men and strangers deeme him such, vnder whose hand all dispatches of importance, and roiall managing of the State had passed, whilst that the king himselfe intending his quiet had giuen his office to another. How strangers haue mistaken in this kinde, the example alreadie cited of *Iosephs* brethren, doth sufficiently witness. The reports of preists do appear in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authoritie, say, *Diodorus*, that *Sesostrius* was the ninetieth king after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 33. after *Menas*: which could not haue been if *Menas* had been *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynasties* were not so many races of kings, but successions of Regents, appointed by the kings of so many sundrie linages or sorts of men, as being made an hereditarie office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: sure it is that it was the kings guilt, and free choice, that gaue the office. But the Crown roiall alwaies passed by descent, & not by election: which (beside consent of Authors) the Scriptures also proue. For whereas *Ioseph* bought all the land of *Aegypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the crowne had passed by election, then should *Pharaohs* children heereby either haue bene intralld amongst the rest of the people, to the next succession: or inioying their Fathers land, though not his estate, haue bene more mightie then the king: as *Lord-lords* of all *Aegypt*, and the king himselfe their Tenant. Likewise wee finde in *Exod.* 12. that *God* smote the first borne of *Pharaoh*, that was to set on his throne: And in *Esay* it is said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the sonne of the ancient king*.

## §. IIII.

Of *Cham*, and his sonne *Mizraim*, or *Osiris*.

**T**hat the succession of kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from *Cham* to *Cheneses*, now it followeth to shew. *Aegypt* is called in the Scripture, the land of *Ham*. That this name is not giuen to it because the posteritie of *Cham* did reigne there, but for that himselfe did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of *Cush*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Aegypt*, were called the land of *Ham*. Further it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Osiris* himselfe the eldest sonne of *Cham*, saying, *Mihipater Saturnus deorum omnium iunior*: also, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso ortum*: which must needs be vnderstood of *Cham*: for this *Saturnus Aegyptius* was *Cham*: as it is said, that on the monument of *Ninus* was an inscription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Aegyptius*. Likewise the Temple of *Hammon* not farre from *Aegypt* doth testifie, that *Ham* resided in those parts: And *St. Hierome* in *quasiimibus Hebraicis*,

*Pal.* 2. 11.  
109. 27.  
106. 22.

*Diod.* Sic. l.

40

his faith, that the *Egyptians* themselves did in his daies call their Countrey *Ham*: as in foure severall places in the *Isalmes* this Countrey is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Osiride*, that in the sacrifices of the *Egyptians* this Countrey of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*: ut puto (saith he) *à Cham* N O E S filio, to which also he addeth out of *Isidor*, *Egyptum* *isq̃* hodie *Egyptiorum* lingua *K A M* vocari: that *Egypt* vnto this day in the tongue of the *Egyptians* is called *K A M*. For the beginning and continuance of *Chams* reigne, the same reasons may suffice to be alleaged, which I have already giuen in proofe of the time spent in the 15. first *Dynasties*: Neither is it strange that the reigne of *Cham*, should last so long as 161. yeares: considering that *Sem* liued 600. *Arpachshad* and *Shelah* each about 400. But strange it had beene, if one *Salus* created by *Manetho*, had in those long-liued generations reigned there, 19. yeares, and with *Beon*, *Apaelmas*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glorie of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Sesostris*. *Reinecius* in his *hystor. Italia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwise called *Osiris* according to *Diodorus*: who saith he was the sonne of *Hammon*: *Krentzenius* saith that *Mizraim* and *Osiris* are words of neere affinitye and found in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howsoever it bee, wee know that *Mizraim* the sonne of *Cham*, was Lord of *Egypt*, and *Reinecius* citing good authoritie in this case, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their owne language *Mezze*. Neither doe I see cause of doubt whether *Osiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessarie, and hard to shew manifestly, how long *Mizraim* or *Osiris* reigned. For whereas the yeare of his death is no where precisely set downe, we must be faine to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly said by *Amnius* his *Berosus*, to haue begun his reigne at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynastie* of the *Thebais* began, it appeareth, first, by the authoritie of *Eusebius*: who auoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who saith that he inhabited *Thebes*: whose habitation of *Osiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynastie*. I can well beleue: assenting so farre to *Reinecius*, who thinks the *Dynasties* were named only, according to the severall seats of the kings.

## §. V.

of the time when *OSIRIS* reigne ended: and that *IACOB* came into *Egypt* in the time of *ORUS* the sonne of *OSIRIS*.



He death of *Osiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirme. The only coniecture that I know, is made thus. *Lehabim* the sonne of *Mizraim* called *Hercules Lybicus*, made warre in *Italie*, to reuenge his Fathers death, on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41. yeare of *Baleus* king of *Afryia*: before which yeare he had made many great warres in *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, and *Spaine*: and hauing ended his *Egyptian* warres, left the kingdom to *Orus*. Thus saith *Berosus*, or authors following *Berosus*. That *Orus* last of all the Gods (as they were stiled) held the kingdom of *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly saith: and *Plutarch* as much; to which all old *Histories* agree. *Krentzenius* hereupon infers, that fixe yeares may be allowed to the warres, which *Hercules* made in so many Countreies, after the *Egyptian* warres were ended: so should the death of *Osiris* haue bene the 34. of *Baleus*: when himselfe had reigned 297. yeares. I thinke that *Krentzenius* was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For surely in those daies when commerce was not such as now, but all Navigation made by coasting, a farre longer time would haue been required, to the subduing of so manie Countreies. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtlesse) to finde the truth. If according to his account the death of *Osiris* had bene the 34. of *Baleus*, then must *Israel* haue come into *Egypt* but seven yeares before the death of *Osiris*: and haue liued there in the reigne of *Typhon*. A thing not easily beleined. For it was the same king

Diuid. Sic. l. 1. c. 1.  
Plut. l. de Isis  
& Osid.

king who aduanced *Ioseph*, bad him send for his Father, and gaue him leaue to goe into *Canaan*, to the performance of his Fathers funeral: as may easily be gathered out of the booke of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the raigne of *Osiris*, cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seventh yeare of *Ioseph* coming into *Egypt*: we must needs cut off 23. yeares from that number, which *Krentzenius* coniectures his raigne to haue continued: namely seven which he should haue liued after *Jacobs* coming into *Egypt*: nine in which *Ioseph* had there flourished, ere his fathers coming: and other seven in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Osiris*, yet before *Ioseph* aduancement.

- 10 Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Lybicus* his wars. For the war which *Hercules* made in *Italie*, is said to haue indured 10. yeares: After which proportion we may well giue not only fixe yeares, as *Krentzenius* doth, but 23. more to so many wars in so many and so far-distant Countreies, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute vnto *Orus* the 13. yeares, which passed betwene the time of *Ioseph* being sold into *Egypt*, vnto his aduancement: considering that *Putiphar* who bought him, and whose daughter he may seeme to haue married, continued all that while cheif Steward vnto *Pharaoh*: a thing not likely to haue been, if so violent alterations had hapned the whilest in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous usurpation of *Typhon* must needs haue brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old author, I should confidently say, that *Putiphar* for his faithfulness to *Orus*, the sonne of *Osiris*, was by him in the beginning of his raigne made his cheif Steward: at which time buying *Ioseph* and finding him a iust man, and one vnder whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into *Ioseph*'s hands, than vnto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weak, or vnclucky in the troublesome daies of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further & say, That when the saying of *Ioseph* pleased *Pharaoh*, and all his seruants: then *Putiphar* Preist of *Om*, being cheif Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Ioseph*, the ancient graces of God, & his inuiolent imprisonment: whereupon he gaue him his daughter to wife: and being old resigned his office of cheif steward vnto him: who afterward in regard of *Putiphar*, did fauour the Preists, when he bought the lands of all other *Egyptians*. This might appeare to some a tale not vnlike to the frierly book of *Athenath*, *Putiphar*'s daughter: but vnto such as consider that God workes usually by means: and that *Putiphar* was the Steward of that king, vnder whom *Iacob* died: it would seeme a matter not vnprobable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to auouch it. Concerning the warres of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning he should haue spent 42. yeares after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italie*, it is a circumstance which (the length of his *Italian* wars considered, & his former enterprises & atchievements proportioned to them) doth not make against vs, but for vs: or if it were against vs, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these 40 probabilities collected out of the vndisputable truth of Scripture doe confirme it. Neuthelesse I freely grant that all these proses are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscuritie, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

## §. VI.

of *TYPHON*, *HERCULES* *EGYPTIVS*, *ORUS*, and the two *SEOSTRES*, successively reigning after *MIZRAIM*: and of diuers errors about the former *SEOSTRES*.

- 50 Concerning the reigne of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I finde none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelator* giueth three yeares to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so preemprorie without proofe, as if his owne worde were sufficient authoritie, in many points verie questionable; alledging no witness, but as it were saying, *Testem ipso*: yet herein we may thinke him to speake probably, forasmuch as the learned *Krentzenius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did verie soone vnder-



Exod. 1.

*Egyptians*, to the *Israelites*: he surely did that which to his owne people was verie plausible: who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the kings crudelty. Now that *Orus* the 2. or *Busiris* was the king that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted tenne moneths: it is a common opinion of many great & most learned writers; who also think that hereupon grew the fable of *Busiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Ex. 1.* that the King, who knew not *Ioseph*, was a king of a new family. That *Busiris* was of a new familie, *Reinecius* doth shew: who also thinks him Author of the bloody edit. Nevertheless, true it is, that *Busiris* is according to all mens computation, began his reigne 5. yeares after the birth of *Moses*, before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that the persecution began: which *Bunting* thinks to haue lasted 87. yeares, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let vs the fore consider, besides the blindness of *Sesostrius* the second, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Viceroyes* in *Egypt* was: and how great confidence the kings did put in them: seeing *Ioseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, & all the *Egyptians* for bread; giving at the same time the best of the land to his owne father & brethren, for nothing: seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out vpon *Pharaoh*, for bread: *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, Go to *Ioseph*: what he saith to you, do ye. If to a stranger borne, lately fetcht out of prison, a king well able to haue governed himself, would giue such trust, and soueraigne authoritie: it is not vnlkely that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often professors, not only the good (such as *Ioseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many haue done) resigne his kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to haue begun, till the death of *Sesostrius*. But whether *Busiris* did vsurpe the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title: or whether *Busiris* were only *Regent*, whilst the king liued, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselfe: it might well be said that *Pharaohs* daughter tooke vp *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*: seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for vs to say that the blind king *Sesostrius* the second oppressed *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked *Tyrant* shewed his euill nature euen when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, vsing at first the power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122. yeares which passed betwene the beginning of *Sesostrius* his reigne, and the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent: the 75. which remaine, are to bee accounted to *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, and his children. *Busiris* himselfe reigned 30. yeares, according to *Eusebius*: whom verie many iudicious authors herein approve. After him his daughter, who tooke *Moses* out of the water, is said by all that I haue read, to haue reigned 12. yeares: Her name was *Thermutis* *Phareis*, or *Muthis* according to *Cedrenus*: *Euseb.* calls her *Aencheris*: and out of *Artabanus* his *Historie Metris*: *Iosephus* calls her both *Aencheris*, & *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario* saith that she was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the daughter of *Amenophis*, the son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made & much spoken: for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* sonnes daughter, but *Phareis* daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is placed next before *Busiris* or *Orus* the second by *Eusebius* and others: but whether he were a king or onely a *Regent* I cannot coniecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the ancient *Historians* name the sonne of *Sesostrius*, *Phoron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*: and his daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the neece or grandchild, then the daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the glorie of *Sesostrius*, and the disreputation of his sonne. If so, and if that *Busiris* or *Orus* the second marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our coniecture strengthened, and then was the both daughter, grandchild, and wife vnto *Pharaoh*: and suruiuing him, *Queene* of the land, 12. yeares. But if she were the daughter of *Orus* the 2. & sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many thinke, to whose coniecture I will not oppose mine, then

then may it seeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too yong to rule when her Father died.

## §. VIII.

Of the two brethren of *Queene* *Thermutis*: and what king it was, under whom *Moses* was borne: and who it was that perished in the red Sea.

Hee had two brethren: the one was *Rathoris* or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is only named by *Eusebius*: but his lineage and offspring described by *Reinecius*. *Rathoris* after his sisters death reigned 9. yeares: after whom *Chencheris*, thought to be his son, reigned 10. and then perished in the red Sea. During the reign of *Chencheris*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* vpon 10. of which *Historie* elswhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Chencheris* (whom some call *Aencheris*: but all or most do stile *Sabaoth* a fighter against God) *Acherres* reigned 8. yeares: and then *Cherres* 5. This descent seemes from Father to sonne. In the 11. yeare of *Cherres* it is said by *Euseb.* that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt* built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not vnlkely: viz. That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid vpon it, and the destruction of her king and armie in the red Sea: else could it not haue had two reigning in it at once; the later of whom, or his posteritie seemes to haue taken all from *Cherres*: the grand-child of *Chencheris*. For whereas *Armais* is said to haue reigned 4. yeares after *Cherres*: and *Armais* one after *Armais*: these two kings are by *Eusebius* and others accounted as one; and his reigne said to haue bene 5. yeares. His name is called *Armenus*, otherwise *Danaus*; and his pedigree thus described by *Reinecius* in *Historia Julia*,

*Telegonus*:  
*Epaphus*:  
*Lybia*, who had

*Agenor*, *Belus*, and *Busiris*.  
T

*Egyptus* or *Ramesses* who gaue name to the Countrey, hauing expelled his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lyncus*, married to *Hypermetra*.

*Danaus* or *Armenus* expelled by his brother *Egyptus*, after hee had reigned five yeares, became king of *Argos* in Greece: was Father to *Hypermetra*.

How it might come to passe that the Nephews sons of *Epaphus* shoul haue occupied the kingdom after *Cherres*, it is hard to say: considering that *Epaphus* himself is reported by *Eusebius* to haue bene borne in the time of *Chencheris*. But forasmuch as the *Historie* of *Epaphus* his birth, is diuerly related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the Father of *Danaus* & *Egyptus*, otherwise called *Armenus* and *Ramesses*, was equally distant from *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the grandchild of *Chencheris*. And that the posteritie of *Telegonus* did marrie very yong, it appears by the *historie* of these two brethren, *Danaus* & *Egyptus*: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the later 50. sons: perhaps, or rather questionlesse, by diuers women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: Howsoeuer it were, the generall content

Exod. 4. 19.

sent of writers is, that *Armenus* or *Danaus* did succede *Cherres*: and (according to *Eusebius* and good Authors approving him) reigned fixe yeares. *Rameffes* followed, who reigned 68. yares. T his *Rameffes* or *Aegyptus* is that *Armeffesimianum* or *Armeffesimianus*, vnder whom, in the opinion of *Mercator* and of *Bunting* that followes *Mercator*, *Moses* was born: and the cruell *Edict* made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reigne seemes to me the chiefe, if not the only ground of *Mercator's* opinion. For whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, *Go returne to Aegypt*, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee, *Mercator* hereupon conceiues, that it was one and the same king vnder whom *Moses* was borne, and vnder whom he slew the *Aegyptian* at the 40. yere of his age: and fled into the wildernes, and there abode for feare: all which Circumstances could agree with none, but this *Rameffes*, who reigned so long: wherefore desirous rather to hold a true *Paradox*, then a common errour, hee placeth one *Alisfragmuthosis* (whose name is found in the list of *Aegyptian* kings, but the time vncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeaes more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his successors from *Themosis* (whom *Euseb.* calls *Amasis*) downwards with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betwene *Manetho* and *Euseb.* he findes *Moses* borne vnder *Armeffesimianum*: and *Israel* deliuered in the daies of his sonne *Amenophis*. The verie name of *Alisfragmuthosis* seemes to him with little alteration to found like *Pharates*, of which name of time was thought to haue flourished either as a king, or a wife man about the time of *Isaac*. For (saith he) from *Alisfragmuthosis* to *Phragmuthosis*, *Pharmuthosis*, *Pharetasis*, or *Pharates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and industrie: and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable workes: yet my assent heerein is with-held from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that *Chenures* was the king who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place *Exod. 4. all are dead &c.* may better be vnderstood of *Busiris* and all his children, then of one king alone: Thirdly, *St. Cyrill* in his first booke against *Julian* the *Apostata*, saith that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120. yeaes old: *Rameffes*, which was this *Armeffesimianum*, being then king of *Aegypt*. After *Rameffes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. yeaes: who is thought by *Mercator*, and preumptoryly by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the king that perished in the red Sea: of which our opinion being already laid open, I thinke it most expedient to referre the kings ensuing to their owne times (which a *Chronologicall Table* shall lay open) and heere to speake of that great deliuerance of *Israel* out of *Aegypt*: which for

manie great considerations depending thereupon, we may not lightly ouer-passe.



## CHAP. III.

## Of the deliuerie of Israel out of Aegypt.

§. I.

Of the time of *Moses* birth, and how long the *Israelites* were oppressed in *Aegypt*.



Rue it is that the Historie it selfe is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of *Moses* his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this, and other great workes of the *Highest*, the different opinions are verie neere as manic, as the men that haue written of that Argument.

*L. Vives* in his annotations vpon *St. Augustine* citeth manie of their coniectures: as that of *Porphyrus* out of *Sanhoniato*, that *Moses* liued in the time of *Semiramis*: but if he meant the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrarie to all stories Diuine and humane; while that *Semiramis* liued shee commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites* or *Moabites* or *Edomites* while she ruled, in verum natura.

A second opinion he remembreth of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolemie* a Preist of *Mendes*, who saith that *Moses* was borne while *Inachus* ruled the *Argives*, and *Ames* in *Aegypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greece* Historie the first booke: that *Moses* was borne while *Apis* the third king ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus* *Affyrinus*, who though hee cite some authorities, that *Moses* liued after the *Troian* warre, is himselfe of opinion, that *Moses* was farre more ancient, prouing it by manie arguments.

Fiftly, he setteth downe the testimony of *Numenius* the *Philosopher*, who tooke *Musaeus* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the same out of *Artapanus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Musaeus*, by the *Graecians*: and who farther deliuereth that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Aegypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothos*. *Eusebius* also affirmeth that by *Eupolemus* in his first booke de bono, *Moses* vir Deo conuincit. *Eusebius* is called *Musaeus* Iudeorum. *Eusebius* in his *Chronologie*, findes that *Moses* was born while *Amenophis* ruled *Aegypt*. The ancient *Manetho* calls that *Pharao*, which liued at *Moses* birth, *Themosis* or *Thmosis*: the same perchance which *Appion* the *Grammarians* will haue to be *Amosis*, and elsewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Sethosis*: to whom *Eysimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* giue the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seemeth most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus* or *Ipheus*, gouerned *Affyria*; or *Thopolis* *Sicyonia*; and *Crisus* the *Argines*; that then (*Sesostris* the second ruling in *Aegypt*) *Moses* was borne. For if we belcine *St. Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Aegypt*. *Eduxi* *MOSES* ex *Aegypto* populum Deionissimo tempore *CECROPI* Atheniensium regis: *MOSES* (saith he) led the people of God out of *Aegypt*, about the end of *CECROPS* time king of the *Athenians*. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of *Aegypt* best proued. *St. August.* affirms (as before remembred) that *Moses* was borne: *Saphrus* gouerning *Affyria*; and that he left *Aegypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time.

Now

Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. yeares; his succesor *Mamelus* 30. yeares; *Sparetus* after him 40. yeares: in whose fourth yeare *Cecrops* began to gouerne in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire 41: So as *Moses* being borne while *Saphrus* ruled *Affiria*; *Orthopolis* *Sicionia*; and *Criafus* *Argos* (for these three kings liued at once at his birth, saith *S. Augusline*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Ægypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the ninetenth yeare of the *Affirian* *Saphrus*: for take one yeare remaining of 20. (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which adde the thirtie yeares of *Mamelus*, and the 40. yeares of *Sparetus*, these make 71. with which there were wasted three yeares of *Cecrops* his 50. yeares: then take nine yeares out of the reigne of *Ascatades*, who was *Sparetus* succellour, those nine yeares added to 71. make 80. at which age *Moses* left *Ægypt*: and adde these nine yeares to the three yeares of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remaine but foure yeares of *Cecrops* his 50.: and so it falleth right with *S. Auguslines* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrewes* were opprest in *Ægypt*, seemeth to haue had beginning some eight or nine yeare before the birth of *Moses*, and 54. yeare, or rather more, after *Ioseph*: betwene whose death and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed 64. yeares: some of which time, and 80. yeares after, they liued in great seruitude and miserie. For as it is written in *Exodus*: *They set task-masters ouer them, to keepe them vnder with burdens: and they built the Cities Pithom and 20 Ramases &c.* And by trauellie they caused the children of *Israel* to serue; and made them wearie of their liues, by sore labour in claie and brick, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage. All which laid vpon them by a masking power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of God appointed: euen from 54. yeares, or not much more after the death of *Ioseph*, who left the World, when it had lasted 2370. yeares, to the eightieth yeare of *Moses*, and vntill he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zaan*, which he persequomed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Cadogan*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliuer of *Ægypt*, may the better be vnderstood, I thinke it necessarie to speake a few wordes of the principall places therein named, in this dis- 30 course.

## II.

Of diuers Cities and places in *Ægypt*, mentioned in this storie, or elsewhere in the Scripture.



This Cittie which the *Hebrewes* call *Zoan*, was built euen yeares after *Hebron*. *Ezechiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and so doth *Hieremie*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*; *Iosephus* *Protatides*, after the name of an *Ægyptian* Queen; *Antonius* giues it the name of *Thamis*; *Hegesippus* *Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adioineth to the land of *Gosen*, and is the same, wherein in *Hieremie* the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Ægyptian* and *Iewish* idolatrie.

*Zoan* or *Taphnes* was in *Moses* time the *Metropolis* of the lower *Ægypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not vnlily to be the same Citie, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* read *Astronomie* in *Helipolis* or *On*, to *Pharates* King of *Ægypt*. *Alex. Polyhistor* out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwise: saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Ægyptian* Priests, and not the king; both which authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the *Vulgar* edition, for *Zoan* write *Helipolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Iunius*, and our *English* call it *On*; and *Ptolomie* *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Ægypt*, towards the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Pelufium*. And it may

it may be that *Helipolis* to the South of the riuer *Tuan*, was the same which *Vatablus*, and our *English* call *Auen*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine knowledge: the same which *Pomp. Mela*, and *Plinie* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrinus* in the *Holte* waere, *Mulbec*; the *Arabians* *Bahabeth* and *Smعون Sethi*, sons *Solis*. Of this *Helipolis* or *On*, was *Putiphar* Priest, or Prince, whose daughter *Ioseph* married. In the territorie adioining *Jacob* inhabited, while he liued in *Ægypt*. In the confines of this Citie, *Onias* the high Priest of the *Jewes* built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall God; not much inferiour to that of *Iherusalem* (*Ptolomie* *Philopater* then gouerning in *Ægypt*) which stood to the time of *Vespasian*, 333. yeares after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Iosephus* falsely reporteth, heerein to haue fulfilled a prophesie of *Esaie*. c. 19. In die illa erit altare Domini in medio terra *Ægypti*. In that day shall the altar of the Lord be in the midst of the land of *Ægypt*. *Antiochus* *Epiphanes* at that time of the building tyrannising ouer the *Jewes*, gaue the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in *Ægypt*. Lastly, there it was, that our Sauour *Christ Iesus* remained, while *Ioseph* and the *Virgin Marie* feared the violence of *Herod*: neare which (saith *Brochard*) the fountaine is still found, called *Iesus Well*, whose streames doe after ward water the gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Ægypt*. And heereof see more in *Brochard* in his description of *Ægypt*.

There is also the Citie of *Noph*, remembred by *Esaie* and *Ezechiel*; the same which *Hofea* the prophet calleth *Moph*: which latter name it tooke from a mountaine adioining, so called, which mountaine *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great Citie, which was called *Memphis*; and so the *Septuagint* writeth. It is knowne to the *Arabians* by the name of *Macar*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalen*, for *Mizraim*.

*Pelufium*, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Iunius*, and our *English* write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus* *Lebna*; is not the same with *Damiata*, as *Gul. Tyrinus* witnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Pelufium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrinus*) *que olim dicta est Pelufium*, *Belbeis*, that in times past was called *Pelufium*.

The Citie of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Diospolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Ægypt*. *Hierome* conuersts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

*Bubastus*, for so *Hierome* and *Ziegler* write it, is the same which the *Hebrewes* call *Pibesth*.

To make the storie the more perceivable, I haue added a description of the land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israellites* inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zoan*, *Helipolis* or *Bethsemes*, *Balsophon*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses* passage through the *Desertes* of *Arabia* the *Sonie*. For all storie without the knowledge of the places, wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and vnderstanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serue to retaine, what we read, in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions do. In which respect I am driuen to digresse in manie places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent: taking for my authoritie, after many others more ancient, that great learned man *Arius Montanus*; who in his Preface to the storie of the Holie land, hath these words. *Si enim obijci lacorum obseruatione res gesta narrentur, aut sine Topographia cognitione historia legantur, adeo confusa atq; perturbata erunt omnia, vt ex ijs nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit.* If narration (saith he) be made of those things which are performed, without the obseruation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographical knowledge; all things will appeare so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby vnderstand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficultie.

## p. III.

Of the crueltie against the Israelites yong children in *Aegypt*: and of *Moses* his preservation, and education.

**B**Vt to returne to the storie it selfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and slauerie, which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: in so much as *Pharaoh* considering the danger of discontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perilous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Deuill resolved to slaughter all the male children of the *Hebrews*, as soon as they should be born. To which end he sent for *Sephora* & *Thina*, women the most famous and expert amongst them, *que praeerat* (saith *Comestor*) *multitudinis obstericum*, who had commandment given them over all midwives; by whom (as it seemeth) he gaue order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to haue called all the midwives of *Aegypt* together, had beene a strange Parliament. Now whether these two, before named, were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Aegyptians*, it is diuersly disputed. *St. Augustine* calls them *midwives of the Hebrew women* &c. But *Iosephus*, *Abulenſis*, and *Peterius* beleue them to be *Aegyptians*. Whosoever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the world might witnesse both the wickednesse of the *Aegyptians*, and the iust cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and reuenge: *Pharaoh* finding those women filled with pietie, and the feare of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publicly, or howsoeuer, to destroe all the male *Hebrew* children borne within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greatest part of whom he might haue assured, by affoording them the iustice, which euery king oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might haue employed or sent awaie at his pleasure; *Iosephus* giueth an other cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically deliuered him by an *Aegyptian* Priest, that among the *Hebrews* there should bee borne a child; who growing to mans estate should become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To preuent which, (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a mean, contrarie to the lawes of Heauen and of nature) he stretched out his bloudie and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same preuention *Heredotus* long after practised, when fearing the spirituall kingdome of *Christ*, as it should haue bene temporal, he caused all the male children at that time borne to be slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future successe, it may be gathered by these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the first of *Exodus*. Come, let vs worke wisely with them, least they multiply; and it come to passe, that if there bee warre, they inioine themselves also vnto our enemies, and fight against vs, and get them out of the Land. But wee fee, and time hath told it vs from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they relye on the inuentions of their owne most feeble; and altogether darkened vnderstanding. For euen by the hands of the dearly beloued daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and minister of Gods meruallous workes taken out of *Nilus*, being thercinto turned off, in an Arke of reedes, a sucking and powerlesse infant. And this Princeesse hauing beheld the child his forme and beaurtie, though but yet in the blouth, so perced her compassion, as she did not only preferue it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should bee esteemed as her owne, and with equall care to the sonne of a King nourished. And for memorie that it was her deede, shee called the child *Moses*, as it were, *extraitus*, or *creptus*, taken out, to wit, out of the water: or, after *Iosephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voice expressing water, and *hise*, as much to say, as that

that which is drawne out of water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moses* was circumcised, before he was put into the Arke of Reedes, and that *Amram*, his father, had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care and at the charge of *Pharaohs* daughter, and by men of the most vnderstanding taught and instructed: *quem regio more educat, profectus est sapientibus Aegyptiorum Magistris, à quibus eruditetur*, saith *Basil*; Vnto whom shee gaue Princelie education, appointing ouer him wise Masters of the *Aegyptians*, for his instruction. Thereby (say *Iosephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Aegyptians*, which also the Martyr *Stephen* in the seventh of the *Acts* confirmeth. And *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the *Aegyptians*. Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as *St. Seneca* hath gathered, we haue added; betweene the death of *Moses*, and the raigne of *Iosaphat*.

## p. IIII.

Of *Moses* his flying out of *Aegypt*; and the opinions of certaine ancient Historians of his warre in *Ethiopia*; and of his marriage there: *Philo* his iudgement of his Pastoral life: and what of *PEREGRINUS* of the bookes of *GENESIS* and *IOB*.

**W**Hen *Moses* was growne to mans estate, *Iosephus*, and *Eusebius*, but of *Artapanus*, tell vs of ten years warre that he made against the *Ethiopian*s: of the besieging of *Saba*, afterward by *Gambyses* called *Aetac*; and how he recovered that Citie by the fauour of *Tharbis*, a Daughter of *Ethiopia*, whom he tooke to wife. So hath *Comestor* a prettie tale of *Moses*; How after the end of that warre, *Tharbis* resuming his returne into *Aegypt*, *Moses*, most skilfull in *Astronomie*, caused two Images to be engrauen in two precious stones: whereof the one encreased memorie; the other caused forgetfulness. These he set in two rings; whereof he gaue the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his wife *Tharbis*, reseruing the other of memorie for himselfe: which ring of forgetfulness, after shee had awhile worn, shee beganne to neglect the loue shee bare her husband; and so *Moses* without danger returned into *Aegypt*. But leauing these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 43. yere of *Moses* age, when he beheld an *Aegyptian* offering violence to one of the oppressed *Hebrews*, moued by compassion in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the *Aegyptian*. Soone after which act, finding a disposition in some of his owne Nation to accuse him, for whose defence hee had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and aduise of God, whose cholen seruant hee was, hee fled into *Arabia Petrea*, the next bordering Countie to *Aegypt*; where wandring all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place vnknewen vnto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times were the irreconcilable enemies of the *Hebrews*; it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldlie means) to make the watering of a few sheepe, and the assisting of the Daughters of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, an occasion whereby to provide him a wife of one of those, and a father in law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Countie nearest *Aegypt*, fitted to returne from: necessarie to be knowne, because interjacent betwene *Aegypt* and *Iudea*, through which he was to leade the *Israelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented, best serued. And lastly, where the glorie of the world shined least, amidst mountainous Deserts, there the glorie of God, which shineth most, covered him ouer; and appeared vnto him, not finding him as a Kings sojorne, or an adopted child of great *Pharaohs* daughter; but as a meeke and humble sheepe-herd, sitting at a mountaine foote; a keeper and commander of those poore beasts only.

In that part of *Arabia*, neare *Madian*, he consumed 40. yeres: And though (as *Philo*

Philo in the storie of *Moses* life obſerveth) he did not neglect the care of thoſe ſlocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Paſtorall knowledge; yet in that ſolitarie Deſert he enioyed himſelfe: and being ſeparate from the preſſe of the world, and the troubleſome affaires thereof, he gaue himſelfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himſelfe all thoſe knowledges, whereof his younger yeares had gathered the grounds and principles: the ſame Author alſo judging, that his Paſtorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principallity, which he afterward obtained. *Eſt enim* (ſaith *Philo*) *quasi praedidum ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansueti ſunt. Quemadmodum bellicus ingenis praecercent ſeu venationibus, experientia in ſeris, quod poſtea in militia & bella perfectura ſunt; brutis praetentibus materiam exercitij, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero praefectura mansueti pecoris, habet quiddam ſimile cum regno in ſubditis ideus. Reges regnantur Paſtores populum, non contumelias ſed honoris gratia: The art of keeping ſheepe is, as it were, an introduction to a Kingdome, namely, the rule over men, the moſt gentle ſtroke: Even as warlike natures doe before-hand exerciſe themſelves in hunting, praſticing on wild beaſts theſe things, which after they will accompliſh in warfare: theſe brute beaſts affording matter, wherein to traine themſelves, both in time of warre and of peace. But the government of gentle cattell, hath a kinde of reſemblance unto a Kingly rule over ſubjects, therefore, Kings are ſtilled ſheepe-headers of the people, not in way of reproch, but for their honour.*

That *Moses*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Booke of *Job*, as *Pererius* ſuppoſeth, I cannot iudge of it, becauſe it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I ſubſcribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moses*, while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the bookes of *Geneſis*; although I cannot denie the reaſon of *Pererius* conjecture. That by the example of *Job*'s patience hee might ſtrengthen the oppreſſed *Hebrewes*: and by the promiſes of God to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in aſſurance of their delivrie from the *Egyptian* ſlaverie, and of the Land of reſt, and plentie promiſed.

Of his calling backe into *Egypt* by the Angell of God, and the meruailes and wonders which he performed, thereby to perſwade *Pharaoh*, that hee was the meſſenger of the moſt High, the particulars are written in the firſt fourteene Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needleſſe. But for the firſt, it is to be noted, that when *Moses* deſired to be taught by God; by what name he ſhould make him knowe, and by whom he was ſent; he rejoyced from God ſo much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being nature. Out of which he delivred him in the firſt part of his anſwere, a name to be conſidered of by the wiſe: and in his ſecond, to bee vnderſtood by all. For there is nothing that is; or hath being of it ſelfe, but the eternall; which truly is; which is above all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment; their ſubſtance waſteth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing 40 at oneſt; nor being the ſame ſo long, as while one may ſay Now. Likewiſe, whatſoever is conſumed in the longeſt continuance of time, the ſame in euery ſhorreſt ſpace of time ſurely decay; neither doth any thing abide in one ſtate. *Præſens Dei ſubſtantia, quæ uerè eſt: id enim quod ſubſiſtens non habet aliunde ſum eſſ. Cetera quæ uerè ſunt, etiam ſi uidentur eſſe non ſunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt; & poteſt non ſuſſiſtere. quod non ſciunt 3. It is that one and only nature of God, which truly is: for he created, although he ſeemeth to be, yet they are not; for ſometimes they were not; and that which hath not bene, may againe not be. And with this, in reſpect of the diuine nature, the ſaying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota ueritas natura eſt, et inuisibilis, et ſolida; The whole nature of things is but a ſhadow, either empty or deſceptiſh; in comparison of whom* (ſaith *Eſay*) *all Nations are as nothing, leſſe then nothing, and vanitie.**

Of the ten plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were ſtricken; the firſt was by changing

changing the Riuers into blood: God puniſhing them by thoſe waters, into which their forefathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrewes*. To which this place of the Reuelation may be fitly applied: *And I heard the Angel of the waters ſay, Lord, thou art iuſt, which art, and which waſt: C. 16. v. 6. and holy, becauſe thou haſt iudged theſe things; for they ſhed the blood of the Saints and Prophets, and therefore haſt thou giuen them blood to drinke.*

The reſt of the plagues by Frogs, Lice, Flies, or ſtinging Waſpes; by the death of their Cattail; by leaproſc ſcabbes; by haile and fire; by Graſhoppers; by darkneſſe; after which *Pharaoh* forbade *Moses* his preſence: moued the hardened heart of the vnbeleeking King no longer, then the paine and perill laſted, till ſuch time as his owne firſt-borne, and the firſt-borne of all his Nation periſhed. He then, while he feared his owne life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce) ſtood vpon no condition: whereas before, hee firſt yeelded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reſeruing their beſtiall; but hee was now content for the preſent, that the *Iſraelites* ſhould not only depart with all their owne, but with a part of the ſilver, gold, and jewels of his owne people: of which (the feare being paſt) he ſuddainly repented him, as his purſuit after them proued. For when euery one of the *Hebrewes* had (according to direction from *Moses* receiued) ſlaine a Lambe, without ſpot or blemiſh, for the Paſſeouer, (a Sacrament of the moſt cleane and vnſpotted Sauour) and with the blood thereof coloured the poſte and linterne of the dores; the Angell of God in the dead of the night ſmote euery firſt-borne of *Egypt*, from the ſonne of the King, to that of the beaſt and ſlaue: the children of the *Iſraelites* excepted. At which terrible iudgement of God, *Pharaoh* being more then euer amazed, yeelded, as before is ſaid, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) did in after times imitate this colouring with blood, which the *Iſraelites* uſed after the Paſſeouer; aſcribing an exceeding vertue to the red colour: and therefore they did not only marke their ſheepe and cattell, but their trees bearing fruit, to preſerue them from lightning and other harmes.

### ¶ V.

Of *Pharaohs* purſuit of the *Iſraelites*: and of their paſſage towards the red Sea, ſo farre as *Sueoth*.

**N**OW, when the people were removed, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God) hee beſought him aſwell of the honour loſt, as of the ſhame remaining after ſo many calamities and plagues, in ſuffering them to depart with the ſpoiles of his people, and in deſpiſt of himſelfe. And hauing before this time great companies of 40 ſouldiers in readineſſe, hee conſulted with himſelfe, what way the *Iſraelites* were like to take. He knew that the ſhorreſt and faireſt paſſage was through the Countrie of the *Philiftims*. But becauſe theſe people were very ſtrong, and a warlike Nation, and in all probability of his Allies, hee ſuſpected that *Moses* meant to finde ſome other outlet, to wit, through the Deſert of *Etham*; and there, becauſe the Countrie was exceeding mountainous, and of hard acceſſe, and that *Moses* was peſtered with multitudes of women, children, and cattail, he thought it impoſſible for the *Iſraelites* to eſcape him that way. In the meane while hauing gathered together all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines ouer them; he determined to ſet vpon them in the plaines of *Gofen*, which way ſoever they turned 50 themſelves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in thoſe Chariots, armed with brode and ſharpe hookes on both ſides, in fiſhion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Brittaines* uſed againſt the *Romanes*, while they made the Warre for the Conqueſt of this Land. Of this Armie of *Pharaoh*, *Iſeophus* affirmeth, that it conſiſted of 50000. horſe,



change alwaies at one houre; but the very minutes and lesser fractions were to bee obserued by him, that would seeke to reduce their motions (which motions also were not full alike) into any certaine rule: Here lay much wisdom and deepe art, which could not soone be brought to perfection. Yet as making an climate at random, the *Athenians* held the yeare to containe 360. daies, wherein most of the *Greekes* concurred with them. That 360. daies filled vp the *Gracian* yeare (besides many collaterall proofes) it is manifest by that which *Plinie* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in honour of *Demetrius Phalerus*, which were (saith he) 360. whilst as yet the yeare exceeded not that number of daies. By this account neither did any certaintie of the Moone beginne or end their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many yeares, in their owne places: but must needs be liued by little and little, from Winter to Sommer, and from Sommer to Winter, as the daies forgotten, to be inserted into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses, should occupie their owne rooms in their due turnes. Now, because the solemnitie of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth *Elecambæon* (which and wreth in a manner to our *June*) they were careful to take order; that this moneth might euer beginne with the new Moone; which they effected by adding some two daies to the last moneth of euery yeare; those games being held once in foure yeares. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter euen; which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth yeare, which was the second of the moneth *Bacchomian* 3 (agreeing nearely with our *August*) sometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to insert another for it into the fourth Lunarie yeare, accounting by the Moone; after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their moneth of *June* would euery yeare haue growne colder and colder, had they not sought to keepe all vp right, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth yeare one whole moneth, which they called the second *Pofideon*, or *December*; which was the deuice of *Harpalus*, who also taught them to make one moneth of 29. daies, another of 30. and so successiue through the whole yeare. Thus with much labour they kept their yeare as neare as they could, vnto the high way of the *Planets*; but these marks which they obserued, were found at length to be deceitfull guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth yeares intercalation, that it should not deceiue them in 11. houres and 18. minutes at the least, or some waies in 24. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few ages, haue bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good methode, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth yeares intercalation, deuised a *Cycle* of 19. yeares, wherein the Moone hauing 235. times runne her circuit, met with the Sunne in the same place, and on the same day of the yeare, as in the 19. yeare before past (hee had done. This inuention of *Meton* was entertained with great applause, and passing 40 from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inserted into the Kalendar in golden letters, being called the golden number, which name it retaineth vnto this day. Hereby were auoided the great and vncertaine intercalations that formerly had bene vsed; for by the intercalation of 7. moneths in the 19. yeares, all was so euen, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that error which in one yeare could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of those *Cycles*; the new Moones anticipating in one *Cycle* 7. houres, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* deuised a new *Cycle* containing foure of *Metons*, that is to say, 76. yeares; and afterwards *Hiparchus*, a noble *Astraloger*, framed another, containing foure of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding some error in the former obseruations, which they diligently 50 corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar was that which *Julius Caesar* made, who by aduise of the best *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courses of those heauenlie bodies, reduced the yeare vnto the forme which is now in vse with vs, containing 365. daies and fixe houres, which houres in foure yeares make

Plin. l. 34. c. 6.

vp one whole day, that is intercalated euery fourth yeare, the 24. of Februarie. The correction of the *Julian* yeare by *Pope Gregorie* the 13. *Anno Domini* 1582. is not as yet entertained by general consent; it was indeede, but as a note added vnto the worke of *Caesar*: yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was obserued, that the Sunne, which at the time of the *Nicene* Councell, *Anno Dom.* 324. entred the *Aequinoctiall* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the yeare 1582. ten daies sooner found in that time, *Pope Gregorie* strooke out of the Kalendar ten daies, following the fourth of *October*, so that in steade of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which means the moueable Feasts depending on the Sunnes entrance into *Aries*, were againe celebrated in such time, as at the *Nicene* Councell they had bene. And the better to preuent the like alterations, it was by the Councell of *Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in euery hundreth yeare, the leape day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred: because the Sunne doth not in his yeardie course take vp full fixe houres about the 365. daies; but faileth so many minutes, as in 400. yeares make about 3. whole daies.

But the *Cycle* of 19. yeares, which the *Hebrewes* vsed, was such as neither did neede any nice curiositie of houres, minutes, and other lesser fractions to helpe it; neither did in summing vp the daies of the whole yeare, neglect the daies of the Moone, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fell out so, that alwaies the *Kalends* or first day of the moneth was at the new Moone, and because that day was festiual, they were very careful awfull to obserue the short yeare of the Moone, passing through all the 12. signes in one moneth, as that longer of the Sunne, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gave to *Nisan* their first moneth, which is about our *March* or *April*, 30. daies; to *Iar* their second moneth 29. daies; and so successiue 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to passe, that euery two moneths of theirs contained somewhat euenly two reuolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. daies, 12. houres, and odde minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or Epact daies, which made vp 7. moneths in 19. yeares, to 6. of which 7. 30 were commonly giuen 30. daies; to one of them 29. daies, or other wise as was found requisite. Their common yeare (as appeareth by the severall daies of each moneth) contained 354. daies, which faile of the yeare, wherein the Sunne finisheth his course, 11. whole daies, with some fractions of time. But these daies, and other broken peeces, howsoeuer they were neglected in one yeare, yet in the *Cycle* of 19. yeares were so disposed of by conuenient intercalations, that still at the end of that *Cycle*, both the Sunne and Moone were found on the same day of the yeare, moneth and weeke, yea commonly on the same houre of the day, where they had bene at the beginning of it 19. yeares before.

Diuers haue diuerly set downe the forme of the *Hebrew* yeare, with the manner of their intercalations. *Sigonius* tells vs, that euery second yeare they did adde a moneth of 22. daies; euery fourth yeare a moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. 13. c. 1. daies and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a yeare of the Sunne. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceiued. For the Moone doth neuer finish her course in 22. or 23. daies: and therefore to haue added so many daies to the end of the yeare, had bene the way to change the fashion of all the moneths in the yeares following, which could not haue begunne as they ought, with the new Moone. *Genebrard* saith, that euery third yeare, or second yeare, as neede required, they did intercalate one moneth, adding it at the yeares end vnto the other 12. This I beleue to haue been true; but in which of the yeares the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) he thinks they do not probably deliuer, who keepe all farre from euennesse vntill the very last of the 19. yeares. For (to omit such as erre grossly) some there are who say, that after three yeares, when besides the daies spent in 36. courses of the Moone, 33. daies are left remaining, that is, 11. daies of each yeare; then did the *Hebrewes* adde a moneth of 30. daies; keeping three daies, as it were in plussage vnto

Sig. de rep. lib. 1. c. 1.

Genebr. Chron. l. 2.

vnto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixt year; at which time, besides the intercalare moneth, remained fixe daies, namely three surmounting that moneth, and the Epact of three yeares, besides the three formerly referred. Thus they goe on to the 18. year; at which time they haue 18. daies in hand: all which with the Epact of the 19. year make vp a moneth of 29. daies, that being intercalated at the end of the Cycle makes all euen.

Whether this were the practise, I can neither affirme nor denie; yet surely it must needs haue bred a great confusion, if in the 18. yeare euery moneth were removed from his owne place by the distance of 48. daies, that is, halfe a quarter of the yeare and more; which inconuenience by such a reckoning was vnuoidable. Wherefore, I preferre the common opinion, which preuenteth such dislocation of the moneths, by setting downe a more conuenient way of intercalation in the 8. yeare. For the 6. daies remaining after the 2. former intercalations made in the 3<sup>d</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> yeares, added vnto the 22. daies, arising out of the Epacts of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> yeares, doe fully serue to make vp a moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the yeare following; and this borrowing of two daies is so farre from causing any disorder, that indeede it helps to make the yeares ensuing varie the lesse from the proper season of euery moneth. This may suffice to bee spoken of the Hebrew Moneths and Yeares, by which they guided their accompts.

### ¶ VII.

*Of the passage of ISRAEL from Succoth towards the Red Sea: and of the diuers waies leading out of Egypt.*

**F**rom Succoth in the morning following, Moses led the Israelites towards the Desert of Etham, to recouer the mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wildernesse, though he intended nothing lesse then to goe out that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of Horlemen and armed Chariots, that followed him, he kept himselfe from being incompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At Etham he rested but one night, and then he reflected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance betweene it and Succoth being about eight mile. That he forbore to enter Arabia being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceede from three respects; the first two naturall; the third diuine. For Pharaoh being then at hand, and hauing receiued intelligence of the way which Moses tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers which Moses led, consisting of about a Million, if not two millions of Soules, (for as it is written *Exod. the 12. Great multitudes of sundrie sorts of people went out with them*) could not possibly passe ouer those desert and high mountaines with so great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that fastnesse he should haue ouer-taken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them.

It is probable that all those Egyptians & others brought by the Hebrews to the knowledge of the true God, followed in, doe shew his hopes and intents; which Moses by turning another way did frustrate. Secondly, Moses by offering to enter Arabia that way, drew Pharaoh towards the East side of the land of Gosen, or Rameses: from whence (missing Moses there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howsoeuer, yet while the Hebrewes kept the mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the ouer-bearing violence both of the horse and chariots. Thirdly, Moses confidence in the all-powerfull God was such, by whose spirit, only wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leaue the glorie of his deliuerance and victorie to almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000. men, to cast the successe vpon his owne vnderstanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third day

For these his owne words. *They are tangled in the Land, the Wildernesse hath shut them in.* Secondly, Moses by offering to enter Arabia that way, drew Pharaoh towards the East side of the land of Gosen, or Rameses: from whence (missing Moses there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howsoeuer, yet while the Hebrewes kept the mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the ouer-bearing violence both of the horse and chariots. Thirdly, Moses confidence in the all-powerfull God was such, by whose spirit, only wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leaue the glorie of his deliuerance and victorie to almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000. men, to cast the successe vpon his owne vnderstanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third day

day he marched with a double pace from Etham towards the Valley of Pihacheroth, 16. mile distant; and fare downe betweene two ledges of mountaine adioyning to the Red Sea; to wit, the mountaines of Etham on the North, and Balzephon towards the South: the same which Oserius calleth Climax: on the top whereof there stood a Temple dedicated to Baal. And, as Phagius noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as *Dominus specula, sine custodia, Lord of the watch tower.* For the Egyptians beleued, or at least made their slaues beleue, that if any of them offered to escape that way into Arabia, this Idoll would both arrest them, and force them to returne to their Lords and Masters. For the Egyptians had Gods for all turnes.

Climax is rather so called in respect of a passage vp and downe; than that it is any proper name.

*10 Egypt Dijs facundi; The Egyptians were fruitfull in Gods, saith S. Hierome.* But Moses who incamped at the foot of this mountaine with a million of soules, or as other conceiue, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-tower alleepe, or out of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of Egypt into Arabia vpon the firme land Moses refused, as well that of Pelusium and Calotis, the fairest and thorstest of all other, in respect of Iudaea, as the other by Etham; from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembered, and tooke the way by the valley of Pihacheroth, between the mountaines, which made a straight entrance towards the Sea. After whom Pharaoh made so great speede with his horlemen and chariots, as hee gaue the Hebrewes no time at all to rett them after so long a march; but gat sight of them, and they of him, euen at the very brincke and wath of the Sea: inlomuch as the Hebrewes being terrified with Pharaohs sudden approach beganne to despaire, and to mutine, at that time when it behoued them most to haue taken courage for their owne defence; laying it to Moses charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And scarce, which, saith the booke of *Wisdomes, is the betraying of those succours which be as an offereth*, made them both despaire in Gods former promises, and to be forgetfull of their owne strength and multitudes.

Exod. 13. v. 17.

C. 17. 11.

### ¶ VIII.

*Of their passage ouer the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it selfe.*

**B**Vt Moses who feared nothing but God himselfe, perswaded them to be confident in his goodnesse, who hath neuer abandoned those, that assuredly trust in him; vnto this comfortable and reuelous speech. *Feare not, for the Egyptians whom ye haue seene this day, yee shall neuer see them againe.* The Lord shall fight for you. After which Moses calling on God for succour, receiued encouragement, and commandment to goe on, in these wordes. *Wherefore criest thou vnto me: speake vnto the children of Israel that they goe forward; and lift thou vp thy rod, and stretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it, and let the children of Israel goe on drie ground through the midst of the Sea.* Moses obeying the voice of God, in the darke of the night finding the sands vnconquered, past on towards the other side and coast of Arabia: two parts of the night being spent ere hee entered the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible Easterne winde, and by Moses rod to prepare.

Exod. 14. v. 13.

Exod. 14. v. 16.

Pharaoh followed him euen at the heeles, finding the same drie ground which Moses trod on. Therefore as it is written, *The Angel of God which went before the Host of Israel, removed, and went behinde them: also the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behinde them;* which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministerie of his Angell, to interpose his defence between the Hebrewes and their enemies; to the end that the Egyptians might hereby bee blinded, in such fort, as they could not pursue Israel with any harmefull speede. But in the morning watch Moses seised the other banke of Arabia side: and Pharaoh (as the dawne of day beganne so illighten the obscure aire) finding a beginning of the Seas

Iosua 24. v. 7.

Exod. 14. v. 27. Seas returne, halted himselfe towards his owne coast: but MOSES stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force, that is; the Sea moued by the power of God, ranne backe towards the land with vnrresistible furie and swiftnesse, and overwhelmed the whole Armie of Pharaoh, so as not one escaped. For it is written, that God tooke off their Chariot wheeles, that is; when the waters began to couer the sands, the Egyptians being stricken with feare of death, ranne one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had past on after the Hebrewes, their wheeles stucke fast in the mudde and quick-sands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming against them with supernaturall violence.

Tyrannus vpon Exod. 14. and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the Hebrewes, conceiued, that after Moses had by the power of God diuided the Red Sea, and that the children of Israel were fearefull to enter it, Aminadab Prince or Leader of the Tribe of Iuda first made the aduenture, and that therefore was that Tribe euer after honoured above the rest, according to the prophesie of Jacob, Gen. 49. 8. Thy fathers sonnes shall bow downe vnto thee. But Hierome vpon the 11. of Hossee condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that Iuda had the first place in all their marches in the Desert, and, as wenow call it, led the Vanguard; (where-vpon it may bee inferred, that hee also led the way through the Red Sea) yet that Moses himselfe was the conductor of Israel at that time, it is generally receiued. For, as it is written in the 77. Psalm; Thou didst lead thy people like sheepe by the hand of 20 MOSES AND ARON.

The Hebrewes haue also another fancie, that the Red Sea was diuided into 12. parts, and that euery Tribe past ouer in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. Psalm, according to the Vulgar, *Diuisit mare rubrum in diuisiones*; Hee diuided the Red Sea in diuisions. Also that the bottome of the Sea became as a greene field or pasture. But Orogen, Epiphanius, Abulenſis, and Genebrard, fauouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not 12. pillars, nor 12. armies of the Egyptians. It is written in the 77. Psalm. v. 16. Thy way is in the Sea; not thymates; and in the last of the booke of Wise dome, vers. 7. In the Red Sea there was a way.

Now this Sea, through which Moses past, and in which Pharaoh, otherwise called Chencres, perished in the 16. yeare of his raigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the Red Sea; though the same differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waters. But as Philostratus in his third booke noteth, and our selues know by experience; it is of a blewish colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow strait betwene Arabia the Happie and Ethiopia, or the land of the Abyssins: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which Ptolomie calleth *Possadium*, to the other land of Ethiopia, hath not about fixe leagues in breadth: and the same also filled euery where with islands, but afterwards it extendeth it selfe 58. leagues from coast to coast: and it runneth vp betwene Arabia the Happie, and Arabia Petrea, on one side, and Ethiopia and Egypt on the other, as farre as Sues, the vttermoſt end and indraught of that Sea: where the Turke now keepeth his flecte of Gallies. The Cosmographers commonly giue it the name of the Arabian Gulfe: but the North part towards Sues, and where Moses past, is called Heropolites of the Citie Hero, sometime Troy: and of later times Sues. Plinie calls it *Cambisus*, by which name it was knowne, saith he, before it was called Hero many yeares. The Arabians call this Sea towards the North, *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. Artemidorus writes it *Eleniticum*: King Iuba Leniticum: others more properly *Eleniticum*, of the Port and Citie Elana: which the Septuagint call *Elat*: Ptolomie *Elana*: Plinie *Lena*: Isopbus *Ilana*, and Marius Niger *Atla*: there is also *Ilalah* in Assyria, to which Salomanaſſer carried the Israelites captiue Kings 2. c. 8. 11. which *Ilalah* in Assyria, the Septuagint call *Elaa*: and in the first of Chron. the 5. *Ala*. But as for this red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diuersly named, the Moores and Arabians (Vassals to the Turke) know it by no other appellation, then the Gulfe of Mecca, after the name of Mahomets Towne Mecca. The Greekes write it the Sea *Erythraea*: of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythraeu*: and because *Erythros*

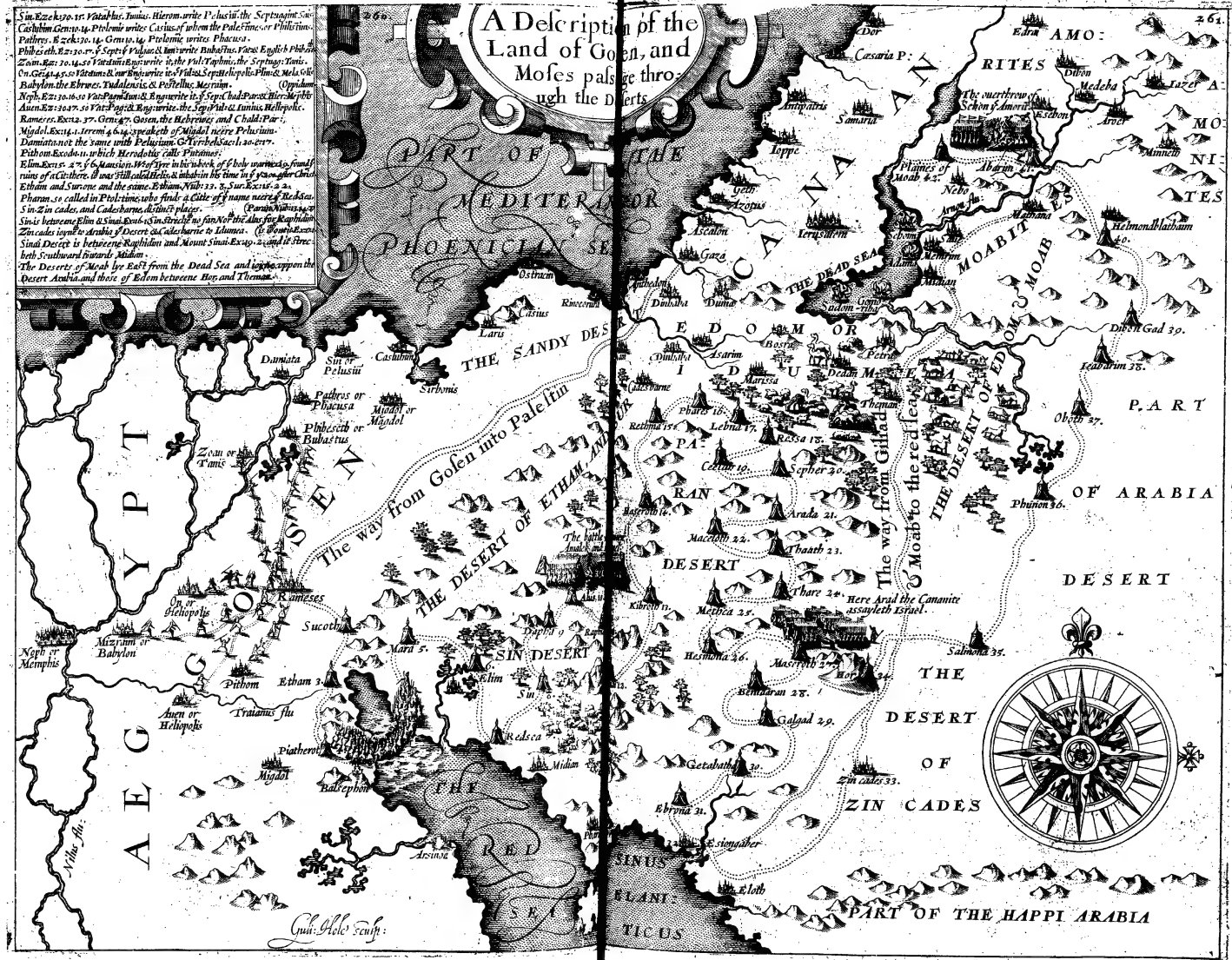
Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

3. K. 9.

10f. Ant. Sc. 2.

Sin. Ezek. 30. 35. Patahar. Tinnis. Hieron. writes Pelus in the Septuagint.  
 Catabum. Gen. 14. 15. Pelus. writes Pelus in the Vulg. Tinnis. or Pelusium.  
 Pelus. 8. 20. 14. 15. Gen. 14. 15. Pelus. writes Pelus.  
 Phileas. 8. 20. 14. 15. Sept. & Vulg. & Hieron. write Patahar. Pata. Eng. & Pata.  
 On. Gen. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

# A Description of the Land of Gosen, and Moses passage thro- ugh the Deserts.



*thros* in the *Greece* signifieth red, hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythraeus*, the sonne of *Persus* and *Andromeda*, yet it tooke the name of the red Sea, as *Quin. Curtius* coniectureth: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirme. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discourse of that Sea in the yeare 1544. performed by *Steuens Gama*, Viceroy of the East India for the King of Portugal, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of rednesse, both from the bancks, cliffs, and sands of many Ilands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of *Castro*, a principall commander vnder *Gama* (which discourse I gaue Mr. Richard Hakluyt to publish) that there is an Iland called *Dalagua*, sometime *Leques*, containing in length 25.  
 10 leagues, and 12. in breadth, the earth, sands, and cliffs, of which Iland, being of a reddish colour, serue for a foile to the waters about it: and make it seeme altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Castro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of Septentrionall latitude, to 27. (which make in length of coast 180. mile, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the cliffs and banks are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the Sunne beames, giue a kinde of reddish lustre to the waters. Thirdly, those Portugals report, and wee know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corall growes, which is carried into most parts of Europe, and elsewhere. There are also on the Ilands of this Sea many red  
 20 trees, saith *Strabo*, and those growing vnder water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of rednesse by the shadowes of these stones, sands, earth, and cliffs, I suppose that it first tooke the name of the red Sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such: which *Iohannes Barros* in his second Decade, eight Booke and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana*, or *Ezion Gaber* adioyning, now *Toro*, called by the ancient Cosmographers *Sinus Eumiticus*, which watheth the banks of *Madian* or *Madan*, is for 16. or 17. leagues together, along Northward towards *Sues*, some three leagues or nine English mile ouer, and from this Port of *Toro*, to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. leagues, of which the first 26. haue  
 30 nine miles breadth: as aforesaid, and afterward the lands both from *Aegypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselves into the Sea, and straighten it so fast, as for sixe miles together it is not about three mile ouer; from thence vpward the land on *Aegypt* side, fallett away and makes a kinde of Bay or Coue for some ten miles together, after which the land grows vpon the Sea againe, and so binds it into the very end thereof; at foure miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moses* past it ouer, though others would haue it to be ouer against *Elana* or *Toro*; but without iudgement: for from *Ramases* to *Pihacheroth* and *Balsophon*, there is not about 30. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at most, which *Moses* past ouer in three daies: and betweene the land of *Aegypt* opposite to *Elana* or *Toro*, the distance is about 80.  
 40 miles. For *Ramases* to which Citie *Moses* came (being the Metropolis of *Gosen*) when he left *Pharaos* at *Zaan*, and tooke his last leaue, standeth in 30. degrees five minutes of Septentrionall Latitude: and *Migdall*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foote of the mountaine *Climax*, or *Balsophon*, in nine and twentie and a halfe, which made a difference of sixe and thirtie English mile: the way lying in effect North and South.

*Arian. de geog.  
 Alex. mag. l. 8.  
 Strabo. l. 6.*

## p. I X.

*That the passage through the red Sea was miraculow, and not  
at a low Ebbe.*

**T**He *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other Heathen Writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrewes* haue objected that *Moses* past o-  
uer the red Sea at a low ebbe, vpon a great spring-tide, and that *Pharao*  
conducted more by furie then discretion, pursued him so far, as before  
he could recover the coast of *Egypt*, he was ouertaken by the flood  
and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other cir-  
cumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which  
makes it plaine, that the waters were diuided, and that God wrought this miracle  
by an Easterly winde, and by the hand and rod of *Moses* (which authoritie to men  
that beleue not therein perfwadeth nothing) I say that by the same naturall reason  
vnto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there beene no o-  
ther working power from aboue or assistance giuen from God himselfe to *Moses*,  
and the children of *Israel* than ordinarie and casual, then could not *Pharao* and all  
his armie haue perished in that pursuit.

For wherefoerer there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there  
doe the waters fall away from the land: and runne downward towards the Ocean:  
leaving all that part towards the land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to bee  
drie land. Now *Moses* entering the Sea at *Migdall vnder Balcephon* (if hee had taken  
the aduantage and opportunitie of the tyde) must haue left all that end of the red  
Sea towards *Sues*, on his left hand drie and vncouered. For if a passage were  
made by falling away of the water, ten or twelue mile farther into the Sea then *Sues*,  
much more was it made at *Sues*, and betwene it and where *Moses* past: who entered  
the same so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea. It followeth then,  
that if all that part of the Sleene or Strait, had bene by the ebbe of a spring-tide  
discovered, when *Pharao* found the flood increasing, he needed not to haue returned  
by the same way toward *Egypt* side, but might haue gone on in his returne before  
the tide, on his right hand: and so taken ground againe at the end of that sea, at *Sues*  
it selfe, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures doe truly witness the contrarie, that is,  
That the sea did not fall away from the land, as naturallie it doth; but that *Moses*  
past on betwene two seas: and that the waters were diuided. Otherwise, *Pharao* by  
any returne of waters could not haue perished, as he did: and therefore the effects  
of that great Armes destruction, proue the cause to haue bene a power aboue na-  
ture, and the miraculous worke of God himselfe. Againe, those words of the Scrip-  
tures, that *God caused the Sea to runne backe by a strong east-winde*, doe rather proue  
the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebbe more then ordinarie: for that sea  
doth not lie East and West, but, in effect, North and South. And it must haue beene  
a West and North-west winde, that must haue driuen those waters away through  
their proper channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East-winde blew  
athwart the sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell backe towards the South, and  
maine body thereof: the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the North. Which  
being vnknewne to *Pharao*: while he was cheekt by that sea which vsed in all times  
before to ebbe away: the flood prest him and ouerwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing  
*Iosephus* auoweth, that *Moses* was not only of excellent iudgement generally, but al-  
so so great a Captaine, as he ouerthrew the *Ethiopians* in many battels, being im-  
ploied by *Pharao*, and wandiers Cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to  
condemne him of this grosseness, and distraction: that rather then he would haue  
endured the hardnesse of a mountainous passage at hand, (had not God com-  
manded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which hee would there  
winne vpon *Pharao*) he would haue trusted to the aduantage of an ebbing water.

For

For hee knew not the contrarie, but that *Pharao* might haue found him, and prest  
him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For the people,  
beholding *Pharao*s approach, cried out against *Moses*, and despaird altogether of  
their safetie: and when *Moses* praised vnto God for helpe, he was answered by God:  
*Wherefore criest thou vnto me: speake vnto the children of Israel that they goe forward, and  
lift thou vp thy rod, and stretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it: which proues  
that there was not at the time of Pharao's approach any ebbe at all; but that God did  
disperic and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong East-winde, whereby  
the sands discovered themselves betweene the sea on the left hand toward Sues,  
from whence the waters moued not, and the sea which was towards the South on  
the right hand, so that the waters were a wall vnto them on the right hand, and on the  
left hand, that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the Egyptians could  
only follow them in the same path; not that the waters stood vp right as walls doe,  
as some of the Schoolemen haue fancied. For had Pharao and the Egyptians percei-  
ued any such buildings in the sea, they would soone haue quitted the chace and pur-  
suit of Israel. Furthermore, there is no man of iudgement, that can thinke, that  
Pharao and the Egyptians, who then excelled all Nations in the obseruations of  
heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes, and refluxes of the sea, in his  
owne Countrie, on his owne coast, and in his owne most traded and frequented  
Ports and Hauens, and wherein, his people hauing had so many hundreds of yeares  
experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor  
by any foreknowne or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand only; which  
then falleth most heauily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but  
their owne prosperitie, they least discern it comming, and least feare it. Lastly, if  
the Arme of the Egyptians had bene ouertaken by the ordinarie returne of the  
flood, before they could recover their owne coast; their bodies drowned would  
haue bene carried with the flood which runneth vp to Sues, and to the end of that  
sea, and not haue bene cast alhore on that coast of Arabia where *Moses* landed,  
to wit, vpon the sea-banke ouer against *Balcephon*, on Arabia side: where it was that  
the Israelites saw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the red Sea, to which place  
the ordinarie flood would haue carried them: Which flood doth not any where  
crosse the Channell, and runne athwart it, as it must haue done from *Egypt* side to  
Arabia, to haue cast the Egyptians bodies there; but it keepe the naturall course,  
towards the end of that sea: and to which their carcases should haue bene carried,  
if the worke had not bene supernaturall and miraculow. *Apollonius* in the liues of  
the Fathers affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians which staid in the Countrie, and  
did not follow *Pharao* in the pursuit of *Israel*, did euer after honour those Beasts,  
Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were busied at the time of *Pha-  
rao*s destruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden made a God of that  
Plant or Roote, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those  
multitudes of Gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be gi-  
uen elsewhere. *Orosius* in his first Booke and tenth Chapter against the Pagans tells  
vs, that in his time, who liued some 400. yeares after *Christ*, the prints of *Pha-  
rao*s Chariot wheelles were to be seene at a low water on the Egyptian  
sands: and though they were sometime defaced by winde and  
weather, yet soone after they appeared againe. But  
hereof I leaue euery man to his owne  
beliefe.*

## CHAP. IIII.

Of the iourning of the Iſraelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was giuen them: with a discourse of Lawes.

## §. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of ſome things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the ſtorie, vntill the Amalekites met with the Iſraelites.



But to goe on with the ſtorie of Iſrael, in this ſort I collect the times. Moſes was borne in the yeare of the world 2434. Saphrus then gouerning Aſſyria; Orthopolis Syria; or Peloponneſus; Criſus the Argiues; Orus Egypt; and Deucalon Theſſalie. He fled into Midian when he had liued 40. yeeres, in the yeere of the world 2474. and two yeeres after was Caleb borne. He returned by the commandement and ordinance of God into Egypt, and wrought his miracles in the fields of Zoan, in the yeere 2514. in the laſt moneth of that yeere. On the 14. day of the firſt

Hebrew moneth Abib, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sunne ſetting, in the yeere of the world 2514. was the celebration of the Paſſouer: and in the dead of the night of the ſame day were all the firſt-borne ſlaine through 30 Egypt, or in all thoſe parts where the Hebrewes inhabited. The 15. day of the firſt moneth, of the Hebrewes called Abib, being about the beginning of the yeere of the world 2514. Moſes with the children of Iſrael removed from the generall aſſembly at Ramſeſes, and marched to Succoth.

And departing thence they made their third Station at Eſtham: and iourning from Eſtham they incamped in the valley of Pihacheroth, or Migdol, vnder the mountaine Baalzephon; and in the ſame night after mid-night, they paſt the Red Sea: Pharaoh and his Armie periſhing in their returne, about the firſt dawne of the day. Moſes hauing recovered the banks of Arabia, gaue thanks vnto God, for the deliuerie of Iſrael; and making no ſtay on that coaſt, entred the Deſerts of Arabia Petrea, called 40 Sur. But finding no water in that paſſage, he incamped at Marah, in the Deſert of Eſtham, which in Exod. 15. v. 22. is alſo called Sur, 25 miles from the Sea: where the children of Iſrael preſt with extreme thirſt, murmured againſt Moſes the ſecond time; firſt at Pharaohs approach in Pihacheroth, and now in Arabia. But Moſes taking the branches of a tree, growing nere a lake of bitter water, and caſting the ſame thereinto, made the ſame ſweet: a plaine Type and figure of our Sauour; who vpon the tree of the Croſſe changed the bitterneſſe of euerlaſting death into the ſweetneſſe of eternall life. Plinie remembers theſe bitter fountains in his ſixth Booke and 29. Chapter. From whence to Delta in Egypt, Seſoitris firſt, Darius after him, and laſtly Ptolomie the ſecond, beganne to cut an artificiall Riuer, thereby by Boats and ſmall ſhipping to trade and navigate the Red Sea, from the great Cities vpon Nilus. From Marah he removed to Elim, the ſixth Manſion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelue fountains of ſweet water, and 70. Palme trees, hee reſted diuers daies.

Whether

Whether this Helim was the name of a Towne or Citie in Moſes time, I cannot affirme. And yet the ſcarcitie of waters in that Region was ſuch, as Helim, which had twelue Fountaines, could hardly bee leſt vnſcopied. William, Arch-Biſhop of Tyre, in his Hiſtorie of the Helie Warre, found at Helim the ruines of a great and ancient Citie. And at ſuch time as Baldvine the firſt paſt that way into Egypt, Ingreſſus (ſaith he) Helim, Ciuitatem antiquiſſimam populo Iſraelitico aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum perueniſſet, loci illius incolæ, Regis aduentu præcognito, nauiculam ingredientiſ in mare vicinum ſc conſulerant; Entering Helim a very ancient Citie, well knowne ſometime to the people of Iſrael; whither, when he came, the inhabitants, forewarned of the Kings approach, tooke Boate, and ſhifted themſelves into the Sea, lying near 10 them. From Elim hee returned againe towards the South, and ſate downe by the banks of the Red Sea: the ſeuenth Manſion. For it ſeemeth that he had knowledge of Amalech, who prepared to reſiſt his paſſage through that part of Arabia. And Moſes who had not as yet trained thoſe of the Hebrewes, appointed to beare armes: nor aſſured the minds of the reſt, who encountering with the leaſt miſericie, were more apt to returne to their quiet ſlauerie, than either to endure the wants and perils which euery where accompanied them in that paſſage, or at this time to undertake or ſuſtaine ſo dangerous an enemy: hee therefore made ſtay at this Manſion, vntill the fifteenth of the ſecond Moneth called Zim, or Iar: and made the eight 20 Manſion in the Deſert of Zin; where the children of Iſrael mutinied againſt Moſes the third time, hauing want of foode. In the ſixteenth Chapter of Exodus, Moſes omitteth this retreat from Elim to the red Sea, but in the collection of euery ſeuerrall incamping, in the 33. of Numbers, it is ſet downe.

Here it pleaſed God to ſend ſo many flights of Quails, as all the Countie about their incamping was couered with them. The morning following it alſo rained Manna, being the ſixteenth of their Moneth, which ſerued them in ſtead of bread. For now was the ſtore conſumed which the people carried with them out of Egypt. And though they had great numbers of Cattle, and Sheepe among them, yet it ſeemeth that they durſt not feede themſelves with many of thoſe: but referred them both for the milke to releue the children withall: and for breede to ſtore 30 themſelves when they came to the land promiſed.

From hence towards Raphidim they made two remoues of twentie mile: the one to Daphnet, the other to Alu, diſtant from Raphidim ſixe miles. Here being againe preſt with want of water they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from Egypt, where they rather contented themſelves to bee fed and beaten after the manner of beaſts, than to ſuffer a caſuall and ſometime neceſſarie want, and to vndergoe the hazzards and traualles which euery manly minde ſecketh after, for the loue of God and their owne freedoms. But

Moſes with the ſame rod which hee diuided the Sea withall, in the ſight of the Elders of Iſrael, brought waters out of the Rocke, wherewith the whole multitude were ſatiſfied:

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S. II.

## §. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battell with the Amalekites, and IETHROES coming: who being a Kenite, was Priest of Midian.



And while Moses incamped in this place, the Amalekites who had knowledge of his approach, and ghesied that he meant to leade the children of Israel through their Countrey (which being barren of it selfe, would bee vterly wasted by so great a multitude of People and Cattle) thought it most for their aduantage to set vpon them at Raphidim: where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man infelbed them. On the other side Moses perceiving their resolutions, gaue charge to Joshua, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest Hebrewes, to encounter Amalech. Betweene whom and Israel, the victorie remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day: the Hebrewes and Amalekites contending with equall hopes and repulses for many houres. And had not the strength of Moses praier to God bene of farre greater force, and more preualent, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are vnacquainted with scarcitie of fooode, and those minds whom a seruile education hath dulled, being beaten and despaird in their first attempts, will hardly, or neuer be brought againe to hazard themselves.

After this victorie Iethro repaired to Moses, bringing with him Moses his wife, and his two Sonnes, which either Iethro forbore to conduct, or Moses to receiue, till he had by this ouerthrow of Amalech the better assured himselfe of that part of Arabia. For it is written in the 18. of Exodus, v. 1. When IETHRO the Priest of Midian, MOSES Father in Law, heard all that God had done for MOSES, &c. of which, the last deede, to wit, the ouerthrow of Amalech, gaue Iethro courage and assurance, he then repaired to his sonne in law Moses, at Sinai; where amongst other things, he aduised Moses to appoint Iudges, and other Officers, ouer Israel; being himselfe vnable to giue order in all causes and controuersies, among so many thousands of 30 people, full of discontentment and private controuersie.

This Iethro, although he dwelt amongst the Midianites, yet he was by Nation a Kenite, as in the fourth of Judges v. 11. & 17. it is made manifest; where it is written. Now HEBER the Kenite, which was of the children of HOBAB, to wit, the sonne of IETHRO, the father in law of MOSES, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tents vntill the Plaine of Zaanaim, which is by Kadesh. Likewise in the first of Samuel, Saul commanded the Kenites to depart from among the Amalekites, least he should destroy them with the Amalekites. For the Kenites inhabited the mountaines of Sin Kadesh: and the Amalekites dwelt in the Plaines, according to the saying of Balac, speaking of the Kenites. Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the Rocks. And that Saul spared this Nation, he giueth for cause, that they shewed mercie to all the children of Israel, when they came vp from Egypt. For these Kenites were a Nation of the Madianites, and the Madianites were of the issues of Midian, one of the sixe sonnes which Abraham begat on Kethura: and might also take that name of Kenites from Kethura, of whom they descended by the Mother, who as it seemeth kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they receiued from their parent Abraham. For Moses, when he fled out of Egypt into Midian, and married the daughter of Iethro, would not (had hee found them Idolaters) haue made Iethros Daughter the Mother of his children. And although the Kenites are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seede of Abraham should roote out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot bee meant by these; who are descended from Abraham himselfe: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of Chus. For in the fifteenth of Genes. ver. nineteenth these Kenites or Chusites are listed with the

the Hittites and Perizites, with the Amorites, Canaanites, Gergesites, and Iebusites, which were indeede afterwards rooted out. But these Kenites, descended from Abraham, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, HEBER the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, was departed from the Kenites, that is to say, from those Kenites of Canaan, and inhabited in Zaanaim, which is by Kadesh or Kadesh. Again, Moses nameth that Nation of the Kenites, before Midian, for any of Abrahams other sonnes were borne: which he did (referring my selfe to better iudgement) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

And as of the Kenites, so we may consider of the Madianites, parted by Moses into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of Madian by the Riuer Zared, afterwards destroyed by Moses. But the Madianites neare the banks of the Red Sea, where Moses married his wife Zippora, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the ouerthrow of Amalech, seeme likewise not to haue bene corrupted. For these Madianites with the Kenites assisted Israel, and guided them in the Deserts. But the Madianites in Moab, and to the North of the Metropolis of Arabia, called Petrea; were by Israel rooted out, when those adioyning to the Red Sea were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of Madian, of whom Iethro was Priest, and the other Cities in Moab were the same, yet the contrarie is more probable. For Moses would not haue sent 12000. Israelites, as farre backe as the Red Sea, from the Plaines of Moab, to haue destroyed that Madian, where his wiues kindred inhabited: seeing himselfe comming with 600000. able men, was encountered by Amalech, in that passage. Neither could Moses forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Deserts, wherein himselfe and Israel had wandered 40. yeare.

That Iethro, or Isihor, Raguel, or Reuel, and Hobab, were but one person, the Scriptures teach vs. For the Vulgar and Septuagint, which call him Raguel; and our English Reuel; Exod. 2. 18. calls him Iethro, or Isihor, Exod. 3. & v. 1. & 4. v. 18. & 30 c. 18. 1. & 6. 9. 10. & 12. and in Numbers c. 10. v. 29. Hobab. Others take Iethro and Hobab to be the same, but not Raguel.

## §. III.

Of the time when the Law was giuen: with diuers commendations of the inuention of Lawes.

The rest of the moneths of this yeare 2515. were spent in the Desert of Sinai, neare the mountaine of Sinai or Horeb, the twelfth Mansion. Eusebius thought that Sinai or Horeb were distinct mountaines: Hierome, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For in Exod. 3. v. 1. it is called Horeb: and in Exod. 24. v. 16 it is written Sinai. In the 100. Psalm v. 19. Horeb: in Exod. 19. 11. Sinai. And so it is called Galatians 4. 24. and againe, Dent. 4. 10. & 15. & Dent. 5. 2. Horeb. And so it is in the first of Kings 8. 6. and the 2. of Chron. 5. 10. and in Malachie 4. 4. Finally, in Ecclesiasticus the 48. 7. they are named as one. Which hearsest (saith Ecclesiasticus) the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the iudgement of the vengeance. Somewhat they are disioyned at the top by the report of Peter Belonius: who in the yeare 1588 so past out of Egypt into Arabia, with Monsieur de Fumet of France, and traiailed to the top both of Sinai and Horeb: Sinai being by farre the higher hill. From the side of Horeb (saith he) there falleth a very faire spring of water into the Valley adioyning: where he found two Monasteries of Christian Maronites, containing some 100. Religious persons of diuers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellen

Pe. Rel. lib. a.  
c. 62.

excellent wine. These (saith the same Author) give entertainment to all strangers, which passe that way.

Now, that there was some such Torrent of water neare *Sinai* in *Moses* time, it is very probable: First, because he camped thereabout almost a yeare, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: secondly, because it is written *Exod. 32. 20.* that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which *Aaron* let vp in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drinke thereof.

On this mountain, the Law by the Angell of God was given to *Moses*, where he staid a whole yeare, wanting some ten or twelue daies: for he remoued not till the 20. day of the second moneth of the second yeare; and he arriued about the 45 day after the egression: the Law being giuen the 30. day.

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that booke; all in *Louitions*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omit thererepetition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law, and the kinds and vse thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the storie any way disioyned, he may turne ouer a few leaues, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, leuell, and square of Lawes: so it pleased God to giue thereby vnto *Moses* the powerfulllest meane (his miraculous grace excepted) to gouerne that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the North starre is the most fixed directour of the Sea-man to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the guide and conductor of all in general, to the haue of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his Creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very linewes of euery estate in the world, by which they liue and moue: the Law, to wit, a iust law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eie without lust, and to a Minde without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for euery man what he hath, and distributeth to euery man what he ought to haue.

This benefit the *Ancient*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those, which were taken for the first makers of Lawes, were honoured as Gods, or as the sonnes of Gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posteritie for men of no lesse vertue, and no less liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerours that euer gouerned them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedaemonians*, and the *Athenians*, receiued their Lawes from one: as the *Israelites* from *Moses*; the *Lacedaemonians* from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romanes* sometime from their first Kings, from their *Decemviri*, from their *Senatours*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themselves: others from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Christian Monarchies* and *Estates*.

### §. IIII.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.



The word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not alwaies taken alike, but is diuersly, and so in an indifferent sense vsed. For if we consider it at large, it may be vnderstood for any rule prescribing a necessarie meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any priuate ordinance

nance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandments of Tyrants, which they cause to be oblerued by force, for their decrees doe also vsurpe that title, according to the generall acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Ely, Vocato them* *18. 10.* that decree wicked decrees, and write grieuous things. Likewise, the word is vsed for the tumultuarie resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth Aristotle also call Lawes, though euill and vsufficient. *Mala res est, quae tumultuaria posita est: It is an* *1 Ethic. 4. c. 1.* *ill law that is made tumultuously.* So as all ordinances, good or euill, are called by the name of lawes.

The word *Law* is also taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as it 10) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to its selfe, as to their patterne and platforme. And thus the law of the flesh which the Diuines call *legem fomitis*, is to be vnderstood. For euery law is a kinde of patterne of that which is done according vnto it: in which sense as \* elsewhere, \* *Gr. 5. 4. 1.* *1 Tim. 2. 2.* this morall habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or *figmentum* of the heart: so in *St. Paul* to the *Romanes* it is called a *Law*. But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my minde, and leading me captive vnto the law of sinne. Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometime called \* lawes, so farre as they agree with the reason of the law eternall; as the law of a *Lyon*, to be fierce or valiant.

Also priuate contracts among Merchants and other Tradesmen, doe often put on the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, prescribing a necessarie meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Ciuill community. The rest, to wit, the commandments of Tyrants, &c. which haue not the common good for their end, but being *leges inique*, are by *Thomas* called *uoluntarie magis quam leges; rather compulsions then lawes*. And whatsoeuer is not iust, *Saint Augustine* doth not allow for lawes, howsoeuer established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, quae nec iura dicenda, nec putanda sunt: The vniust constitutions of men which are neither to be termed nor thought Lawes*. For saith *ARISTOTLE*, *Legalis iusta sunt facit iura, & conseruatiua felicitatis: Iust Lawes are the workers and preferers of* *10* *happinesse*: because by them we are directed ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life, according to *Cicero*. Yea, to life euerlasting, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the law, saith *Plato*, is God and his worship. *Finis legis Dei est cultus eius: Lex, or the Law* *plato in Dial. 7.* is so called by the *Latines* a legende, or a ligande, of reading or binding: *Leges quae leguntur, & ad populum latae*, saith *Varro*; For after Lawes were written and published, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Ety-mologie*, a ligando, is no lesse agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as *confringerunt iugum, diruperunt vincula: they* *12 Gen. 5.* *haue broken the yoke, they haue broken the bands*. And in the second *Psalme*, *dirumpamus vincula eorum, & proiciamus a nobis funes ipsorum; Let vs breake their bands* *16 Psal.* *40* *in sunder, and cast away their cordes from vs.*

The *Covenant* it is called, because of the conditional promises of God: and because of Gods peoples voluntarie submission of themselves vnto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epistle* to the *Hebrewes*, vse the word *authen*, a Testament or last will: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectfull for our saluation, but in respect of the death of the Testator, for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force: as *Hebr. 9. 17.* it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est.*

The *Hebrewes* call the law *Thorah* of teaching, because euery man is theroby taught his dutie, both to God and Men. The *Greekes* call it *Nomos* of distributing, because it distributeth to euery man his owne due; the power of the law is the power of God: Iustice being an attribute proper vnto God himselfe. *Imperium legis imperium Dei est: The raigne of the law, is the raigne of God.*

Law in general is thus defined by the *Philosophers*: *Lex est vit a regula, praecipiens quae sunt sequenda, & quae fugienda; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow*

and what to shunne, or *Lex est omnium diuinorum & humanarum rerum Regina*; Law is the Queen or Princess of things both humane and diuine. But this description is grounded vpon the opinion of inuitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of Nature: the reason and vnderstanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *index sui & curui*, the demonstration of it selfe, and of the crooked: so is the law, the Iudge and measure of right and wrong.

Mr. Hooker calls the Law a directiue rule to goodnesse of operation: and though law as touching the substance and essence, consist in vnderstanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; Yet it comprehends the act of our will. The word *Ius* is also diuersly taken, as sometime for the matter of the law and for common right: sometime for the law it selfe: as *Ius Civile*, or *Ius gentium*. *Isidore* distinguisheth the two general words *Ius* and *Eas*: whereof *Ius*, saith he, hath reference to men, *Eas* to God. *Eas* *lex diuina*, *Ius* *lex humana*. To goe ouer an other mans field, is permitted by Gods law, not by mans: and therefore in a thing out of controuersie, *Virgil* vsed both those words: as *Eas & iura sinunt*: God and Men permit.

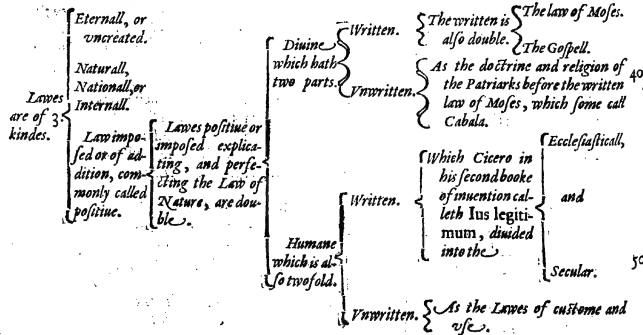
The word *Ius* or Right, is deriued or taken from the old substantiue *Nowne iussus*, a bidding or commandement: or perhaps from the Greeke *ζωε*, which is the name of *Iupiter*: or of the *Latine* genitiue case *Iouis*: because as the Scripture speaks, the iudgement is Gods. For as it is certain that *Ius-inandum* came of *Iouis-inandum* (for so we finde it written in *Nonius* out of the ancient, in which sense the Scripture calls it *iuramentum* *Iehoua*) so also we may say, that *Ius* came of *Iouis*, quia *Iouis* est: because as God is the Author, and Patterne, and Maintainer of right, so also in his *Vicererents* the *Magistrates*, he is the pronouncer and exequutor of right. Of this *Ius* the iust are denominated, *Iustus a iure*, and *iustitia a iusto*; The right giues name to the righteous: and *iustice* takes her name from the iust.

¶ V.

Of the definition of Lawes, and of the Law eternall.



But because lawes are manifold, and that every kinde hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to diuide and distinguish them. I meane those sorts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawne: leauing the individuals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confusion.



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The law eternall is thus defined by THOMAS. *Lex aeterna est aeternus diuina sapientia conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso praecognitum*; The eternall law is the eternall concept of Gods wisdom, as it is referred to the gouernement of things foreknowne by himselfe. Or *Lex aeterna est summa atq; aeterna ratio diuina sapientia: quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illius iuxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat*; It is the high and eternall reason of diuine sapience: as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kinde of necessity according to their severall natures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the same diuine vnderstanding directeth all these to their proper ends; so it is called prouidence: but as it imposeth a necessitie according to the natures of all things which it directeth, so it is called a law.

Of this eternall law Cicero tooke knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, hee wrote in this manner. *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & a delicto auocans: qua non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est: sed tum cum orta est*. Orta autem simul est cum mente diuina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad iubendum & ad vetandum ratio est recta summi Iouis; That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling vs backe from euill, did not (saith he) then beginne to be a law when it was written: but when it had. Being being and beginning it had together with diuine vnderstanding, and therefore a true law and a fit Princess to command and forbid is the right reason of the most high God. This eternall law, (if we consider it in God, or as God,) is alwaies one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to diuers objects, so the reason of man finds it diuers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessarie, as the motions of the heauens, stabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another law to men: another to other creatures, hauing life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counsaile and prouidence of God: from this law all lawes are deriued, as from the rule vniuersall: and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternall, and the diuine Law, differ only in consideration; the eternall directing more largely, as well euery creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his supernaturall: but the diuine law to a supernaturall end only: the Naturall law is thence deriued, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a streame from this fountaine.

The Law humane or temporall is also thence drawne: in that it hath the forme of right reason: from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua*, a wicked imposition: and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are subiect: as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures, or things created; whether necessarie or contingent, naturall, or morall, and humane. For the law eternall runneth through all the vniuersall, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, naturall, and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creatour and Directour: as *Praise him all ye his Angels: praise ye him Sunne and Moone; all ye bright Starres: heauens of heauens; for he hath established them for ever and euer: Aee hath made an ordinance which shall not passe: Praise ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all depths: Fire, and haile, snow, and vapours, stormie winds, which execute his Word: mountaines, and hills: fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beasts, and all Cattell, &c.* Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glorie and felicitie proposed vnto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) so all other naturall things and creatures, haue in themselves, and in their owne natures, an obedience formall to it: without any proper intention, knowne cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and naturall instinct: rhings without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heauie to fall downward: things light to mount vpward, &c. and fire to heat whatsoeuer is appoled. This kinde

kinde of working the *Aristotelians* ascribe to common nature : others to fate ; a difference vied in termes only ; it being no other then Gods generall providence : for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia* : so are all things which appeare in themselves, thence derived : there-vnder subiected : thence-from by his eternall law and providence directed, euen from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

The *Schoolemen* are very curious and ample in the consideration of these lawes : and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and obiect of the eternall law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who haue thence-from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them : so is the obiect and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to St. AVGVSTINE. *Lex eterna est, quoniam est vbi omnia sunt ordinatissima* ; The law eternall is that, whereby it is iust, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternall law be immutable, yea or no ? But the resolution is, that it changeth not ; for which St. *Augustine* voucheth a sufficient argument in his first Booke of *Free-will* the sixth Chapter. For the law of *Moses* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last vntill the time of the *Pedagogia* of Gods people, or introduction to *Christ* should be expired : which time of expiration some thinke our Sauour noted to be come, when on the Crosse hee said, *Consummatum est*. But I rather thinke these words of our Sauour to haue no other signification, then that now the prophetic of their giuing him Vineger to drinke was fulfilled. For so *St. Iohn* expounds it, when he saith v. 28. *That Christ seeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, vt consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said I thirst* : though I denie not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of so much of the iudiciall, as appertained peculiarly to the *Iewes*, and agreeeth not with the law of the new Testament and Gospell of *Christ*. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it selfe : but the things prescribed change according to this eternall ordinance ; of which the *Wisedome* of SALOMON. And being one see can doe all things, and remaining in her selfe reneweth all.

# §. VI.

## Of the Law of Nature.

IF the law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I finde no definition among the *Schoolemen* : only as it is considered in man, it is called the impression of diuine light, and a participation of the eternall law in the reasonable creature. *Lex naturalis est impressio diuini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis eterne in rationali creatura*. *VLP*IAN defines the naturall law to be the same which nature hath taught all liuing creatures ; *Lex naturalis est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit* : and he afterward addeth, *Lex istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quae terra maris, nascuntur, animam quoque commune est* ; The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all liuing creatures : as well to birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produceth. But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall law in things of life.

The law of nature in generall, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formall qualitie, which God in his eternall providence hath giuen and imprinted in the nature of euery creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is diuine lumen in men, enlightning our formall reason : so is it more then sense in beasts : and more then vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to flee from the enemies of their liues : seeing that Bulls and Horses appeare vnto the sense more fearefull and terrible, then the least kinde of Dogs : and yet the Hare and Deere feedeth by the one, and flieth from

from the other, yea though by them neuer seene before ; and that as soone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it sense which hath taught other Beasts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons : or the Birds of *India* to make their nests on the smallest twigs which hang ouer Riuers, and not on any other part of the tree, or elsewhere : to saue their egges and yong ones from the Monkees, and other beasts, whose weight such a twig will not beare : and which would feare to fall into the water. The instances in this kinde are exceeding many which may be giuen. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the female of the *Palmitto*, will not beare any fruit except the male grow in sight. But this they doe by that law which the infinite and vnsearchable wisedome of God, had in all eternitie provided for them, and for euery nature created. In man this law is double : corrupt, and incorrupt ; corrupt where the reason of man hath made it selfe subiect, and a Vassal to passions, and affections brutall : and incorrupt where time and custom hath bred in men a new nature, which also as is aforesaid, is a kinde of Law. For it was not by the law of Nature incorrupt, which St. *Augustine* calleth the law of reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft : and that other Nations were by law constrained to become Idolaters ; that by the lawes of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to vie one an others wife, and to the women to choose them others besides their husbands, to beget them with child : which law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The *Scythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to burie with them the best beloued wiues : as also they haue many other customes remembered by *G. Velema*, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authoritie it is that these lawes some men auow to be naturall : except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile : to become faithlesse among the faithlesse : to provide for our selues by another mans destruction : that iniurie is not done to him that is willing : to destroy those whom we feare : and the like. For taking the definition of naturall lawes ; either out of St. *Augustine* or *Aquinas* (the one calling it the impression of diuine light, the other, the dictate or sentence of practique reason) the same can teach vs, or incline vs to no other thing, then to the exercise of Iustice and vprightnesse : and not to offer or performe any thing toward others, saue that which wee would bee content should be offered or performed toward our selues. For such is the law of nature to the minde, as the eie is to the bodie ; and that which according to *Dauid* heareth vs good, that is, the obseruation of those things which leade vs thereby to our last end ; which is eternall life : though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of Gods diuine light in men, and a participation of the law increased and eternall. For without any law written the right reason and vnderstanding which God hath giuen vs, are abilities within our selues, sufficient to giue vs knowledge of the good and euill, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrarie, wee prepare and purchase for our selues. For when the Gentiles (saith S. PAVL) which haue not the Law, doe by nature those things contained in the law : they haueing not the law, are a law vnto themselves. Now, to loue God by whom wee are, and to doe the same right to all men, which we desire should be done vnto vs, is an effect of the purest reason : in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation. In more alisamaritanis quies habitat ; Therefore, the Gentiles (saith S. PAVL) which shew the effects of the law written in their hearts, haue their consciences for witnesses of those effects : and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law vnto himselfe (while he hopeth to abuse the law by the aduantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying

L. 1. de lib. arb.  
cap. 6.

Ioh. 8. 30.  
v. 22.

Supra §. 4. ca.  
luc. ad Rom. 7.  
23.

Theod. 1. de cau.  
randa assidit :  
Graecis uicini,  
Aegle.

Nemo inter uo-  
luntate cum alteri-  
us detrimento seu  
expletur fieri  
debet.

Psalm. 4.

Rom. 2. 14.

Rom. 2. 15.

Aug. in Epist. ad  
Hilari. & in si-  
mone. Joh. tra. 4.  
49.  
V. 1. de Iustitia  
& iur. l. 1. tit. 1.

betraying of his owne soule, by craftie vnrighteousnesse, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpeth vs not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eie, seeing from him, who is an infinite eie, we cannot hide them: Some Garlands wee may gather in this May-game of the world, *Sed florile, dum loquimur, auescit; These flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selues, and become fearefull witnesses of our incestuous euils, did the reuerend Philosopher Pythagoras teach in this golden precept. *Nihil turpe committas, neque coram alijs, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipsum; Commit nothing foule or dishonest, faith he, neither to be knowne to others, nor to thine owne heart: but about all men reuerence thine owne conscience.* And this may bee a precept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their owne forme; as fire to giue heate. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, so is he aptly moued to those things which his proper forme presenteth vnto him: to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of vertue: and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable: as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitiue, growing, and inanimate, obey the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the budd of the hearbe which seedeth seede, &c. and the Beast, which lieth thereon. He gaue a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obey. He made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sunne to moue, and to giue light, and to serue for signes and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes, the whole world would then perill, and all returne to the first *Chaos*, darkenesse, and confusion.

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reason, did *Caine* perceiue his owne wickednesse, and offence, in the murder of *Abel*: for he not only feared the displeasure of God, but the reuenge of Men: it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed towards others, the same by others might bee done vnto him againe. And that this iudgement of well and euill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall law, before the law written: *Moses* in the person of God witnesseth, *Gen. the fourth. If thou doest well shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, shalt thou not be rejected.*

The Schoolemen are large also in this question of the naturall Law: the same being opened amply by *Reimerius*, *Antonius*, and *Valentia*. But it is not my purpose to write a volume of this subiect.

But this law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth an *act of reason taken properly*, and not a habit, as it is an euident naturall iudgement of practique reason: it they diuide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and euill eschewed) and demonstrable, which is euidently proued, out of higher and more vniuersall propositions. Again, as it answereth the naturall appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be avoided as euill (as of the first to desire to liue, and to satisfie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew paines, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they diuide it, according to the diuers kinds of appetites that are in vs. For in euery man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of naturall Law. The first is, to bee that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to liue, and to preserve our being and life, also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them: for the Father after his death liues in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable lawes of nature, for the most part. For it needs no proofe, that all creatures should desire to be, to liue, and to be defended, and to liue in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as man

man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: so hee doth desire good, and shunne euill. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is, to desire their owne good. And so is Good defined by *Aristotle*, to be that which all desire. *Et hic l. 1. i.* Which definition *Basil* vpon the 44. Psalm approueth: *Recte quidem Bonum definiunt, Quod omnia expetunt; Rightly haue some men defined Good, or Goodnesse, to be that which all things desire.*

The second kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to vs, as wee haue sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, wee desire the delights of euery sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut vs with satietie, nor hurt vs with excess. For as Sense it selfe is for the preservation of life and being: so is it meete, cued by the law of nature, that the sensitiue appetite should not carrie vs to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts) wee may well say, that Nature hath giuen diuers lawes vnto them: In which sense the *Civilians* define *Naturall right*, or *Ius naturale*, to bee the same which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures; Yet the Schoolemen admit not; that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a Law, but only a *Ius*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aime of euery Law. For so they distinguish it; where *Plinian* affirmeth, that *Ius naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures. In this place (saith *Valentia*) *Ius* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Plinian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to liuing creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Ius naturae*, the other *Ius gentium*: the Diuines vnderstand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all euident dictates, precepts, or biddings of diuine reason: both in beasts and men; and restraints the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as he is a liuing creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selues: and the lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our religion.

Now although there are many other branches and diuisions of this law of nature answering the diuision of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbideth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: first, because it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or motiue facultie, which is but one, stirring vp to good, and declining the contrarie: secondly, because all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill auoided: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man; because he is indued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of obeying the law of nature increaseth. *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, Adueniente mandato peccatum reuixit; When reason grew to perfection, then it came to passe, which was written by S. PAUL, When the Commandement came, sinne reuiued.* Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the same, are said by S. PAUL, *To be deliuered ouer into a reprobate sense* (or minde) *to doe those things which are not convenient:* and againe, *that their consciences beare witness, and their thoughts accuse them.* For, though this law of nature stretch not to euery particular: as to command fasting and the like: yet it commandeth in generall all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to right reason. And therefore, said *DAMASCENE*, *homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men* (saith he) *are made euill, by declining vnto that which is contrarie to nature:* and S. AUGUSTINE, *Omne vitium natura nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Euery vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrarie vnto it.*

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so streight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to vnequall merit: by

by taking from the euill, and giuing to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enioy the fruits of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of iustice and equitie.

And though the law of nature command, that all things bee restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes this her law thee suffereth to be broken: as to denie a madde man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while hee was sober. But the vniuersall principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who according to St. PAVL, *abideth faithfull, and cannot denie himselfe*.

St. Iun. 3.

## ¶ VII.

## Of the written Law of God.

**A**fter the eternall, and naturall, the law *Positive* or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explanation of the former, hath two kinds: Diuine, and Humane. Again, the diuine positive law is double; the old and new: The old was giuen vnto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the world had stood 2513. whole yeeres: and in the 67. day of this yeere whenas *Asiaticus* or *Asiaticus* gouerned the *Assyrians*, *Marathus* the *Syconians*, *Triopus* the *Argues*, *Cecrops* *Attica*, and *Acheres* *Egypt*: to wit, after the promise to *Abraham* 430. yeeres. And this, it seemes, was the first written law which the world receiued. For the very word *Nomos*, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after inuented by the *Grecians*: nor not in *Homers* time: who liued after the fall of *Troy* 80. yeeres at least: and *Troy* it selfe was built downe 335. yeeres, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This law, it pleased God to ingraue in stone, that it might remaine a lasting booke of his exprest will in the Church; and that the Priests and people might haue, whereof to meditate, till the coming of *Christ*: and that so these children of *Israel*, though bred among an Idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuse: the slight deficiencies of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason knowne to vs why this law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their liues long, the *Elders* of families might easily without any written law instruct their owne children: and yet as they increased, so doubtlesse they had besides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of nature did not define all kinds of good, and euill; nor condemne euery sinne in particular: nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders: nor so expound diuine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gaue euery day lesse authoritie than other to the naturall law; In these respects it was necessarie, that the law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men: which before, they might, but would not reade, in their owne consciences. The *Schoolmen*, and the Fathers before them, enlarge the causes and necessity, why the law was written, whereof these are the chiefe.

The first, for restraining of sinne, directly grounded vpon this place of *DAVID*, *The law of the Lord is undefiled, conuerting soules: The testimonies of the Lord are faithfull, giuing wisdom to children.* For the humane law, saith St. *Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessarie, and hinder common profit: but the diuine law written, forbiddeth euery euill, and therefore by *DAVID* it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it serueth for the direction of our minds. For the lawes of men, can so only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of inward motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no lesse cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *conuerting our soules*, added by *DAVID*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*. *Actiōes hominum*

*hominum nulle essent, nisi prius in mente dicenterentur; The actions of men (say they) would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the minde.*

Thirdly, it leadeth vs to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diuersitie of opinion, and difference of peculiar lawes among sundrie Nations, wee cannot bee assured of; but the law of God bindeth all men, and is without error: and therefore also said *DAVID*, *That the testimonie of the law of God is faithfull: giuing wisdom to children.*

## ¶ VIII.

## of the unwritten law of God, giuen to the Patriarchs by Tradition.

**N**ow, that in all this long tract of time, betweene the creation and the written law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appeare. For the *Patriarchs* of the first age receiued many precepts from God himselfe, and whatsoeuer was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was observed by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*: from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were formerly imposed and deliuered over by Tradition; which kinde of teaching the *Jewes* afterward called *Cabala*, or *Recepta*: precepts receiued from the mouth of their *Priests* and *Elders*: to which the *Jewes* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, reserved in the bosomes of their *Priests*, and vnlawfull to be vttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being in dedde the diuine law reucaled to the *Patriarchs*; and from them deliuered to the posteritie, when as yet it was vnwritten. The Commandements which God gaue vnto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of vnderstanding they were sufficiently knowne. For finding the reason of his owne name *Adam* of *Adamah*, Earth, or red clay, hee gaue other names significant, not only to beasts, but to his Children and Nephewes, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one giuen in recompence for *Abel* that was slaine: and *Enosh* signifieth man or miserable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to liue by the labour thereof: God also gaue him the choise of all fruits, but the forbidden, and in *Adam* also was marriage first instituted: all men thence-after being commanded to cohabite with their Wiues, rather than with their Father and Mother.

That murder and crueltie was also forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it selfe, it is manifest. God himselfe making it appeare, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankind by the generall flood. For God said vnto *Noah*, *An end of all flesh is come before me: for the earth is filled with crueltie through them: and behold I will destroy them \* from the earth. I that offence theretore, for which all perished, could not be vnkowne to all that perished: Gods mercie and iustice interposing betweene the vntaught, and reuenge. This commandement God repeated to *Noah*, after the waters were dried vp from the earth. Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God hath he made man.*

Also the law of honouring and reuerencing our parents, was obserued among the faithful, and the contrarie punished by the fathers curse, as *Cursed be Canaan, a seruant of seruants shall be vnto his brethren*. Again, we finde that the vnaturall sinne of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree; as with fire from Heauen. The sinne of Adulterie and Rausiment, was before the law no lesse detested than the rest, as appeareth by that reuenge, taken for *Dina*: forcing: and by the

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iudge

\* The common reading is *cum terra*: but God did not destroy the earth; and why may not this proposition in this place haue the same force, which it hath according to *Isaiah*, *Gen. 4. 11. Item 44. 4. And Deut. 34. 1.* especially, seeing the Hebrews are but a repetition of that which is said, *ut. Delictum hominum de superis tollere.* *Gen. 9. 26.*

Gen. 34. 25.

Gen. 34. 25.

Gen. 3. 24. judgement which *Iuda* gaue against *Tamar*, That shee should be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharao* and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken: for shee is a mans wife*. To these we may adde the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of cleane and vncleane beasts, of Circumcision, of the Brother to raise vp seede to his Brother that left a Widow childlesse, and diuers other constitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being deliuered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Diuine Law* imposed, of which the law of *Moses* containeth that which is called *The old Testament*, may be said, not only to haue bene written in the hearts of men, before it was ingrauen in stone, but also in substance to haue bene 10 giuen in precept to the Patriarks. For as *S. Paul* witnesseth of himselfe, *I knew not sinne, but by the law*: so euer the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kinde of vnwritten law; the Angels intuitively; Men by Reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; plants by their vegetatiue powers; and things inanimate by their necessa-  
rie motions, without sense or perception,

## §. IX.

Of the Morall, Iudiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of MOSES.

Now as the word (*Law*) in generall, as is afore said, hath diuers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and re-  
strain: so this Law, called the *Law of Moses* in particular, is taken by *S. Paul* diuersly; as sometime for all the old Testament, as, *Now we know what soeuer the Law saith, it saith to them which are vnder the Law*.

When it is opposed, or differenced from the Prophets, and *Psalms*, it is there taken for the five Bookes of *Moses*. For so *Saint Luke* hath distinguished them; as, *All must bee fulfilled which are written of mee in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms*.

When it is opposed to the *Gospell*, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is iustified by faith without the workes of the Law*.

When it is opposed to *Grace*, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremite of law, and summum ius: as, *For ye are not vnder the law, but vnder grace*.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the ceremonies or signes are taken for the things signified; as the *Sacrifice for Christ*, and the like: then it signifieth but shadowes and figures; as, *The Law was giuen by MOSES, but grace and truth came by IESVS Christ*.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of *Christ*; coming, it signifieth the whole policie of the *Iewes* Common-wealth; as, *Before faith came, we were kept vnder the Law, &c.* or the law of the order and institution of the *Aaronical Priesthood*; as, *All the Prophets, and the Law, or the Priests, prophesied vnto IOHN*. And if the Priesthood bee changed, the Law also, to wit, of the Priesthood, must needs bee changed.

The word (*Law*) is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, *The Law of the Spirit of life*, *the Law or the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.*

But the Written Law of MOSES, or the Law of the Old Testament, of which wee now speake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into

the mindes of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding Holinesse and Iustice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is, to the obseruers of the law, and threatening death to those which breake the law in the least. For according to *Saint James*, *Whosoever shall keepe the whole; and faileth in one point, is guilty of all*. The definition vied by the Schoolemen, in which both the Old and New law are comprehended, is thus giuen. *Lex diuina est diuinum decretum, hominibus prescribens modum necessarium ut opte peruenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quae est ultimus humanae vitae finis*; The diuine law (say they) is the decree of God, prescribing vnto men a necessarie meane, whereby they may aptly attaine superna-  
tural beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.

The law of *Moses* hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that guilt to be avoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as *Doe this for I am the Lord*, whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Against the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodnesse; the Ceremoniall of diuine seruice, and of holinesse; (for externall worship, and the order of hallowing our selues vnto God is called Ceremonie) and the Iudiciall teacheth the particular government, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Iewes*; and prescribeth orders for iustice and equitie. And therefore was it said of *Saint Paul*, *The commandment is iust, holy, and good*: iust, or iustice being referred to the Iudiciall; holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall; good, or honest to the Morall. The Iudiciall part is touching the government of the common-wealth of the *Iewes*, in which manie things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The Ceremoniall is diuided into foure parts, according to the four kinde of things, of which it speaketh, to wit; Sacrifice; Holie things; Sacraments; and Obseruances. To Sacrifices belong beasts, and the fruits of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments Circumcision, the Passouer, and such like. For the Obseruances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meats, as not to eat the bloud and fat of beasts: or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyinges, anointings, and attire, as *men* were mixt garments of Linnen and Wollen; as also it prohibiteth other vnaturall and vnproper commixtions, as *thou shalt not yoke together in a plough an Ox and an Asse*, or cast mingled seede in one field. It also exhorteth naturall compassion, and forbideth crueltie euen to beasts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so forme referre these precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest, nor beate downe the first buddes of the tree, nor mangle the labouring Ox, and the like*, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the law of *Moses*; but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the coming of *Christ*. For the Morall liueth still, and is not abrogated or taken away: fauing in the abilitie of iustifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to loue and worship God: and to vie charitie one towards another: which for euer shall be required at our hands. Therein also are wee in particular directed, how this ought to bee done: which power of directing by speciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be obserued: though principally for the feare of God in the one, and for the loue of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall also liueth in the things which it foresignified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it selfe is represented to vs. Besides, it still liueth, in that it giueth both instruction and testimonie of *Christ*, and in that it giueth direction to the Church for some ceremonies and types of holy signification, which are still expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before *Christ*'s coming, and in a farre lesse degree of necessitie.

Lastly, the Iudiciall liueth in substance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and vnuerfall equitie thereof.

But the Morall faileth in the point of iustification, the Ceremoniall as touching the vic and externall oblation (because *Christ* himselfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were signes and shadowes) and the Iudiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the *Iewes* Common-weale, and policie.

¶ X.

A proposall of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.



5 for that which remaineth in the generall consideration of the diuine writtten Law, it may in effect bee reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignitie and worth of the law.
2. The Majestie of the law-giuer.
3. The propertie and peculiaritie of the people receiuing it.
4. The conueniencie of the time in which it was giuen.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.
7. The end and vse of the Law.
8. The sense and vnderstanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignitie of the Law is sufficiently proued by *S<sup>t</sup>. Paul* in these words, *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and iust, and good*: which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall.

2. The Majestie of the Law-giuer is approued in all his creatures: who as hee hath giuen all things their liues, and beings, so he only gaue the law, who could only giue the end and reward promised, to wit, the saluation of mankind: but he gaue it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministerie of *Angels*: as it is said. *And the law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediatour*: and in the *Acts*, *He gaue the law by the ordinance of Angels*.

3. The propertie and peculiaritie of the people, receiuing this law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared: Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and disscuered: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and scuered they were, because of Gods choise and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God vnto *Abraham*, and his seede: not vnto his seedes, as to *Esaue* and *Jacob*, but to his seede, as to *Jacob*, or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ*. *Now to Abraham and his seede were the promises made: he saith not to the seedes, as speaking of many, but to thy seede, as of one, which is Christ*.

4. The conueniencie of the time, in which it was giuen, is noted by *S. Augustine*: that it was about the middle time, betweene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses*: the law written in the Commandements, receiued by *Moses* in the worlds year 2514. continued to the Baptisme of *Iohn*: from which time begunne the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conueniencie are formerly giuen.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this law, the same being a disposition to, or signe of our iustification: but not by it selfe sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousnesse in morall precepts. For through the passion of *Christ* were sinnes forgiven, who taketh away the sinnes of the

the world: and therefore *S. Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law *beggerly and weake*, *Gal. 4.* *beggerly* as containing no grace, *weake* as not able to forgive and iustifie. The bloud of *Goates* and *Bulls*, and the ashes of an *Heifir* could only cleanse the body; but they were figures of *Christ* bloud, which doth cleanse the inward soule. For if the law could iustifie, then *Christ* died in vaine.

¶ X I.

Of the sixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.



He old and new Testament differ in name, and in the meane and way proposed for attaining to saluation; as the old by workes, the new by grace: but in the thing it selfe, or obiect and remote end, they agree: which is, mans happinesse and saluation.

The old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesse of Gods will, was called the old, because it preceded the new Testament; which is an explanation of the old: from which the new taketh witness. Yet the new of more excellencie, in that it doth more liuely expresse, and openly and directly delineate the wayes of our redemption. It is also called the old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: in that he saith the new Testament, he hath abrogated the old. For the old law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and deliuered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policie perishable: but the new was giuen in a promise of an euerlasting Kingdome, and therefore called in the *Apocalips*, a Testament and Gospell for euer during.

The old Testament is called the law, because the first and chiefe part is the law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalmes* are Commentaries, explicating that law.

The new Testament is called the Gospell, because the first and chiefe part thereof is of the glad tidings of our redemption: the other Bookes, as the *Epistles* or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the *Acts* or Storie of the *Apostles*, are plentifull interpreters thereof: The word *Euangeliion* signifying a ioyfull, happie, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* vsed it) the reward giuen to the Messenger, bringing ioyfull newes. It is also sometimetaken for a sacrifice, offered after victorie, or other pleasing successe, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations: First, for glad tidings in general, as in *Esay* the 52. v. 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is restrained to signifie that most ioyfull message of saluation, as in *Luc. 2. 10.* whence also by figure it is taken for the Historie of *Christ*: and so wee vnderstand the foure *Gospels*.

Lastly, for the Preaching and diuulging the doctrine of *Christ*, as *Cor. 1. 9. v. 14.* and *Cor. 2. 8. v. 18.*

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I thinke, as they are diuided in volumes) is by *Danaus* comprised in these foure.

In their Author.

In the substance of the Couenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.

In the effects, that is, in righteousnesse and iustification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was euer one Church, so was there one couenant, one adoption, and one doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Christ*, so doth the new law teach *Christ*: the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one and the same end: euen the saluation of our soules: which according to *S. Peter* is the end of our faith. For although it bee said, that *Moses* did promise by

by obseruing the law an earthly Kingdome, a land flowing with milke and honie, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spirituall blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly hee raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves strangers, and pilgrimes, expecting the heavenly *Hierusalem*: according to this place of the *Hebrewes*: *All these died in faith, and received not the promises, but saw them as farre off and believed them: confessing that they were strangers and pilgrimes on the earth.* To which purpose also *S. AUGUSTINE*: *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissam terram eternam promitti.* Few (saith hee) doe understand the old law: not attending that by things earthly eternall are promised. And *S. HIEROME*: *Reluit Deus pascere Iudeos: non pecorum corporalibus donis opibique, ut Iudei somniant: God would not feede the Iewes as beasts with corporall gifts and riches as themselves dreame.* And this may be gathered out of Gods owne words, *Ego sum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God and I will be your God.* For the wordes, *I will be your God*, proue that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gaue them this promise; but in respect of the future: to wit the safetie of their soules. For as God created both bodie and soule, so hath he of his goodnesse, not left the better part vncreed for, which liueth euer.

The agreement betweene the Old and New testament in substance, inferres also the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the *Apostles* and *Prophets*: in whom all the promises of God in the Old and New, are assured: the fathers hauing eaten the same spirituall foode, which we eate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects, is in that the knowledge of our sinne and miserie, which is taught vs by the law, maketh way, and as it were, serueth in subordination to the Gospell, the proper effects whereof are mercie and saluation: to which the law seruing as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sinne and miserie, God sheweth his mercie and saluation) may be said to agree with the Gospell in the effect. For otherwile if we seuer the law from subordination to the Gospell, the effects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousnesse by workes, the other by faith; the Law woundeth, the Gospell healeth: the Law ternisheth, the Gospell allureth; *Moses* accuseth, *Christ* defendeth: *Moses* condemneth, *Christ* pardoneth. The old restraineth the hand, the new the minde. *Data est lex quae non sanaret* (saith *S. AUGUSTINE*) *sed quae agrotantes probaret; The law was giuen not to helpe but to discover sicknesse: and S. CRYSTOSTOME*, *Data est lex, ut se homo inueniret, non ut morbus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quaeretur; The law was giuen that man might finde and know his owne imperfection: not that his disease was thereby helpen: but that he might then seeke out the Physician.* For *Christ* came to saue the world, which the law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a seruant, and *Christ* a sonne, of the greatest benefit was referred to be brought, as by the worthiest person, faith *Cyri*: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

### §. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

**T**He seuenth consideration is of the end, and vse of the law: which is to bring vs to *Christ*: for finding no righteousnesse in our owne workes, we must seeke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and ymoost end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousnesse, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. *Cur sed is* *is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

The second end of the law, is to render vs inexcusable before God: who know-

ing so perfect a law, doe not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward righteousnesse, and performance of dutie to God and Men.

The third and chiefe end of the law is, as hath beene said, to send vs to *Christ*, and his grace, being in our selues condemned and lost. For the law was deliuered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearfull tempest, threatening eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to designe, and preferre, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to hold them in one Discipline, and awe, till the coming of *Christ*: after whom the Church was to be dispersed ouer the whole world.

These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and vse of the Ceremoniall law, is to confirme the truth of *Christ*, and the new Testament. The vse of the Iudiciall, to teach vs naturall equitie, and right, whereto we must conformance our selues.

The sense and vnderstanding of the law is double, literal and spiritual: by the littrell we are taught the worship and seruice of God: by the spirituall the figures and mystikall fore-speakings of *Christ*.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the law, the same had being vntill the passion of *Christ*: before which time, and while *Christ* taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered vpon the Altar of the Crosse, then the *Iewish* sacrifices and ceremonies, which were Types and figures of *Christ* (*Christ* being the body of those shadowes) ceased to binde the consciences any longer: the myserie of our redemption being now by *Christ* and in him finished. In token whereof the vaile of the Temple rent asunder; noting that the ceremoniall vailes and shadowes were now to be removed, not that the morall law of the Commandments was hereby abolished, or weakened at all: otherwise then that it had not power to condemne according to the *Iewish* doctrine, as afore said. For the obseruing of the law was by *Christ* himselfe feuerly commanded: our loue towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein *David* so much reioyced, as he preferred the obseruation of the law, before all that the world could yeeld. *In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus diuitijs; I haue bene delighted in thy law as in all manner of riches: And againe. The law of thy mouth is good for me above thousands of gold and silver. This is the loue of God (saith S. Iohn) that wee keepe his Commandment.* And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himselfe in *Deuteronomie* witnesseth. *This Commandment (saith he) which I command thee this day is not hidde from thee, neither is it farre off. It is not in heauen that thou shouldest say who shall goe vp for vs to heauen, and bring it vs, and cause vs to heare it that we may doe it: neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest say, who shall goe ouer the Sea for vs, and bring it vs: &c. but the word is very nere vnto thee, euen in thy mouth and in thy heart for to doe it. Behold (saith *MOSES*) I haue se before thee this day life and death; good and euill, in that I command thee this day to loue the Lord thy God, to walke in his waies, and to keepe his Commandments, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou maiest liue, &c. Neither is it said in vaine in *S. MATTHEW*. *Si Cyprianus* *vis ad vitam ingredi serua mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commandments: and in S. Iohn*: *Scio quia mandatum eius vita aeterna est; I know that his Commandment is life euerslasting.* And if this be the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as *S. Iohn* hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commandments: certainly he is but a liar, that professeth to loue God, and neglecteth to obserue the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confesse it is not in mans abilitie, without the speciall grace of God, to fulfill the law (*Christ* only as man excepted) yet if we rightly consider the mercifull care which God had of his people in those his Commandments, we shall finde in our selues, how wee borrow libertie, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them, from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and diuine reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our minde (greedie of libertie) proposeth to it selfe. For this is the loue of God; that wee keepe his Command-*

*Gen. 49: 10.*  
The Scepter  
shall not depart  
from Iuda, nor  
a Law-giuer  
from between  
his feete, vntill  
Shilo come.

*Iohn 1: 5.*

*Deut. 30. 11, 12.*  
13. & 14.  
Rom. c. 10. v. 6.  
7. 8.

*C. 12. v. 50.*

*C. 11. v. 13.*

*Lib. de Ciuit. Dei*  
18. c. 15.  
*In sapient. c. 3.*  
v. 9.

*Remil. ad Rom.*

*Rel. 7.*

*Leuit. 18. 5.*

ments, and his Commandements are not grievous. 1. JOHN 3. vers. 12. and if wee examine every precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the balance of our consciences; it is not hard for any man to iudge, by what easie persuasions, we steale away from our owne power, as vnwilling to vse it against our pleasing desires.

¶ XIII.

Of the severall Commandements of the Decalogue: and that the difficultie is not in respect of the Commandements, but by our default.

19



Or by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serue, and loue one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? seeing every reasonable man may conceiue and know, that infinite power cannot be diuided into many infinites: and that it is of necessity that by this almighty Vnitie, all things haue bene caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creatour, and how in his prouidence he hath also provided for euery of them, *which giueth to beasts their foode, &c.* there is no doubt but that they would also serue and loue him only.

Tib. 147. 9.

Glossa in verb. calum.

The second precept is the forbidding of Idolatrie, and worship of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the inuention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true. *Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta sunt; All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings.* For their first erection was to keep the memorie of men famous for their vertue: vntill (saith *Lactantius*) the Deuill crept into them, and (hauing blotted out the first intent) working in weak and ignorant soules, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serue himselfe thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead stocks, more worthlesse then the most worthlesse of those, that hauing life and reason, the basest of beasts, who haue sense and estimation? for what doe wee thereby (saith the Wisedome of *Salomon*) but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, assistance in our iourneys of him that cannot goe, and *successe in our affaires of him that hath no power?* And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which hee praiech, be more senselesse: *Dauid* maketh a doubt. For (saith he) *they that make them are like vnto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.*

Wisd. 13. 17.

Tib. 135. 18.

The breach of the third Commandement is neither perswaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortall men. No, wee are no way allure to this horrible diddaine of God, vnlesse the hate of good men, and Gods curse, be accounted an advantage. For as our corruptest nature giues vs nothing towards it, so can it satisfie no one appetite, except euerslasting sorrow, and Hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custome hath the Deuill brought vp among men, without all subtiltie of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornfull advantage ouer vs. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, Theft giues satisfaction to neede, Adulterie to lust, Oppression to couetousnesse: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemie, and the irreuerent abuse of Gods name, as it giueth no helpe to any of our worldly affections, so the most saluage Nations of the world doe not vse it.

The fourth Commandement, to keepe the *Sabbath* day holy, hath neither paine, burthen, nor inconuenience. For it giueth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the law: as in *Exod. 23. 12.* And in the *seuenth day thou shalt rest, that thine Oxe and thine Asse may rest, and the sonne of thy maide, and the stranger may be refreshed.*

The

The first of the second Table to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it selfe hath taught vs towards them, who after God gaue vs life and being, haue begotten vs, and borne vs, cherished vs in our weak and helplesse infancie, and bestowed on vs the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporal and Iudiciall ordinances, cursing of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not Murther, that is, thou shalt not doe the acts following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, haue made difference between slaughter casual, and furious. *Affectio inimica* (saith *BRACCON*) *imponit nomen operis tui; it is the affection and will that makes the worke such as it is.* And certainly whoseuer cannot forbear to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any vice of his owne will.

The third of the second Table, commands vs from adulterie. Now, if the preservation of Virginitie haue bene possible, for thousands of Men and Women, who in all ages haue mastered their fleshly desires, and haue returned chaste to the graue: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and iniurie, which we offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God, and Men, to all that affect it. And there is no man liuing whom the desire of beauty and forme hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbear the prosecution of this ill: did not himselfe giue succie to this Infant, and nouerill warmth till it grow to strong heate, heate till it turne to fire, and fire to flame.

Nuptie replene-  
terram, Virgini-  
tas Paradisum.

The fourth of the second Table, is, that we shall not steale. And if that kind of violent robbery had bene vsed in *Moses* time, which many *Ruffians* practise now-a-daies in *England*, and to the dishonour of our Nation more in *England*, than in any Region of the world among *Christians*, out of doubt, he would haue censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speake not of the poore and miserable soules, whom hunger and extreme necessity inforceth, but of those detested *Theuics*, who to maintaine themselves Lord-like, assault, robbe, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man, or breake by violence into other mens houses, and spend in Brauerie, Drunkennesse, and vpon Harlots, in one day, what other men sometime haue laboured for all their liues: impouertishing whole families: and taking the bread and foode from the mouthes of their children. And that this Commandement might easily be obserued, it would soone appeare, if Princes would resolue, but for a few yeares to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that incourageth these Hell-bounds. And if euery man may presume to be pardoned once, there is no state or common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impouertish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandement of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witness: from which if men could not forbear, all surerie of estate, and life, were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witness, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandements forbiddeth vs to couet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wiues for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gain. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to obserue; so esteemed by reason of our fraile affections: and yet if wee iudge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For although it be not easie to master all our fuddaine passions, yet we may restraine and hinder their growing, and further increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seeke for grace. How the word *Couetising* reacheth to all in it is to be considered. For *Concupiscentia*, according to some, *Est effrenatus habendi appetitus; An unbridled, or unrestrained appetite of hauing:* And as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our selues by any our naturall frailtie, or vnadvised error; But

But, as I suppose, the word *Concupiscence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and vnbred euill intent, or for some vrging inclination therunto. All the question is of the later sort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione quæ est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi; Such passions, or inclinations are imperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vitious action.* And sure, it may seeme, that so long as wee resist such motions they harme vs not: as they say, *Quamdiu resagmur nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus; As long as wee giue no assent vnto them, it is thought by some that they hurt vs not: and that then only they hurt when we suffer them to haue sway.* But these men, as it seemes, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in euery Commandement, not only the outward act, but also the inward assent vnto euill, though it breake not out into act, is forbidden: therefore, that wee may know the difference betweene this Commandement and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held: that some are with assent, and vnbredled; others bridled, and without assent. For so euen the Morall *Philosopher* can tell vs, that the Continent man hath euill desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side the Incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrarie passions. The euill desires when they are accompanied with assent, are in euery Commandement forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if wee will haue any thing proper to this Commandement, we must needs say, that the euill desires of the Continent man (that is, euen those which wee resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though hee that bridleth his euill desires, be much better than he that yeeldeth vnto them: yet such a man, euen according to the Heathen *Philosopher*, is not worthy the name of a virtuous man. For *Aristotle* himselfe makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue, but only a degree vnto it: confessing, that though the Continent man doe well in bridling his euill affections, yet he doth not all, seeing hee ought not so much as to haue them at all. Neither is it much more, that true diuinitie deliuereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the Continent man the hauing of these euill desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a virtuous man: so we, that the hauing of them is a sinne. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of Diuinitie to giue the true reason of this doctrine: which is, that euery one sinneth, that doth not loue God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth that the euill desires of the Continent man, that is, of him which bridleth them, must needs be sinne: seeing such desires, though bridled, are a-pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make vs know, that by our faithfull inducours to keepe his commandements, we witnesse our loue toward himselfe: wee may not safely giue libertie to our vanities, by casting backe vpon God (who is iustice it selfe) that he hath giuen vs precepts altogether beyond our power, and commandements impossible for vs to keepe. For as he is accused (saith *S. Hierome*) that auowes that the law is in all things possible to be obserued: so hee hath made this addition. *Maledictus qui dicit impossibilia Deum præcepisse; Accused is hee that saith that God hath commanded things* (in themselves, and not through our fault) *impossible.* Now, as the places are many which command vs to keepe the law: so is our weaknesse also in the Scriptures laid before vs, and therefore it is thus safely to be vnderstood, that we should without censure, or without betraying of our selues, doe our faithfull inducours to obserue them: which if we doe vnfaignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man iust, *Dauid* witnesseeth. *Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, for in thy sight no flesh is iust* shall be iustified. And in the first of *Kings*, *There is no man that sinneth not:* And againe, *who can say I haue made my heart cleane?* But seeing there is no sinne grievous without deliberation; let euery mans conscience iudge him, whether he giue way willingly, or restraîne himselfe in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King giues to his sub-  
ject

Psal. 143.  
C. vi. 46.  
Pro. 20. 9.

ject a commandement vpon paine of losse of his loue, to performe some seruice: if the subject neglecting the same, seeke to satisfie his *Soueraigne* with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himselfe to be derided therein.

### §. XIII.

If there were not any Religion nor iudgement to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessarie to be obserued.



And if we consider aduisedly and soberly, of the Morall law, or ten Commandements, which God by the hand of *Moses* gaue vnto his people, it will appeare that such was his mercifull prouidence in the choise of them, as were there neither paine, nor profit adioyned to the obseruing, or not obseruing of them, were there no diuine power at all, nor any Religion among men, yet if we did not for our owne sakes strue to obserue these lawes: all societie of men, and all inducours, all happinesse and contentment in this life would bee taken away: and euery state and common-weale in the world fall to the ground and dissolue. Therefore, these lawes were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might bee defended, that euery man might enioy the fruits of his owne traualle, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by iustice, order, and peace, wee might liue the liues of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaues; of ciuill men, and not of saluages. And hereof making our humane reason only Iudge, Lets fee the inconueniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these lawes.

As first, what would the issue be if wee acknowledged many Gods? would not a farre greater hatred, warre, and blood-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremonie, and diuersitie of interpretation, hath already brought into the world, euen among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one *Christ*?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, mettall, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the losse of time, and an impossibilitie to receiue thence-foorth, either helpe or comfort.

The breach of the third Commandement bringeth there-with this disadvantage, and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the name of God in vaine, shall not at any time benefit himselfe by calling God to witnesse for him, when hee may iustly vse his holy name.

The obseruing the *Sabbath* holy, giueth rest to men and beasts, and nature her selfe requireth intermission of labour.

If we despise our Parents, who haue giuen vs being, we thereby teach our owne children to scorne and neglect vs, when our aged yeares require comfort and helpe at their hands.

If murder were not forbidden, and seuerely punished, the races of mankind would be extinguished: and whosoever would take the libertie to destroy others, giueth libertie to others to destroy himselfe.

If adulterie were lawfull and permitted, no man could say vnto himselfe, this is my sonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posteritie, no inducours by vertue and vnder-taking to raise families: murders and poisonings betwene man and wife would be daily committed: and euery man subject to most filthie and vncleane diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankind would shortly after perill, or lue as the saluages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enioy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischiefe of robbes, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed restitution foure-fold, policie of State and necessitie hath made it death.

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To permit false witnesses, is to take all mens liues and estates from them by coercion: the wicked would sweare against the vertuous: the waiter against the wealthie: the idle begger and loiterer, against the carefull and painefull labourer: all trial of right were taken away, and iustice thereby banished out of the world.

The coueting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while wee couet what appertaines to others, we neglect our owne: our appetites are therein fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we doe but couet; and if we doe attaine to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wines or goods of our neighbours, wee can looke for no other, but that our felues shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our owne.

Whertin then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all liuing? Surely, for our owne good, and not in respect of himselfe, did the most mercifull and prouident God ordaine them; without the obseruation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertilitie of the earth, with all the blessings giuen vs in this life, would be vnto vs altogether vnprofitable, and of no vse. For wee should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a farre more vnhappie condition.

§. XV.

Of humane Law, written and vnrwritten.



Humane Law, of which now it followeth to speake, is first diuided into two, viz. Written, and Vnrwritten. The vnrwritten consists of vsage, approved by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*; and hee defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probatae*, to be customes approved by antiquitie or vnrwritten lawes. Now custome differeth from vse, as the cause from the effect: in that custome is by vse and continuance established into a law: but yet <sup>30</sup> there where the law is defective, saith *Isidore*.

And of customes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars, the first are written customes, receiued and exercised by Nations, as the customes of *Burgundie*, and *Normandie*: the ancient generall custome of *England*, and the customes of *Castill*, and other *Prouinces*.

The second are these pettie customes, vsed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall customes are some written, others vnrwritten.

The particular or pettie customes are seldome written, but witnessed by testimonie of the inhabitants. The customes of the *Duchie of Cornewale* comprehending also the *Stannerie of Devon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* cules, are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornewale*. But howeouer vse and time hath made these customes as lawes, yet ought euery custome to be rationabilis, as well as prescripta. *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de iure ab initio non subsistit*; That which at first was not grounded vpon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (saith *VLIAN*) *quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis conualescere*; Course of time amendes not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessarie in all lawes of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law diuine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, prouing a right birth, and necessarie continuance: it being manifest that euery custome, which is against the law, had his beginning from euill deedes, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the law-makers, though they haue bene since continued, because posteritie is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moued.

In Reg. Inuicior.  
q. 117. m. 11.  
V. p. 1. 29.

ued. For non sufficit simplex tolerantia. And it is in this sort ouer-ruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui nouam legem, & nouam consuetudinem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est*; The people cannot bring in a new custome, against law: saue by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the Prince.

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane Law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doome of practique reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the Law a common precept, the aduifement of Wifemen, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calls the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Government and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione confistit*. All that stands with reason.

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law naturall, and eternall: made by the rational discourse of those, that exercise publique authoritie: prescribing necessarie obseruances to the subiect. That euery law ought to be a righteous decree, *S. Augustine* teacheth, saying: *Nihil lex esse non videtur, quae iustitiam non fuerit*; It seemes to be no law at all to me, which is not iust: and iust it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no law iust and legitimate (saith *S. Augustine*) which the Law-makers haue not deriued from the eternall. *Nihil iustum atque legitimum est, quod non ab aeterna lege sibi homines deriuauerint*. Greg. de Val. ex Tho. q. 91. art. 3. & 94. art. 2.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorised Magistracie, it cannot bee doubted, be the Government of what kinde soeuer. For it falleth otherwise vnder the Title of those decrees called *Violentia*, or *iniqua constitutiones*; *Violences*, or *wicked constitutiones*.

Of humane Law there are foure properties, especially answering these foure <sup>30</sup> conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: so euery particular of the humane law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the naturall. A. Part. 2. q. 9. 5. art. 2.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred vnto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publique authoritie.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law it prescribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and diuers, as all humane actions are diuers, which may fall vnder it. For according to *THOMAS*, *Alia lex IULIA de Adulterijs, alia CORNELIA de Sicarijs*; The law of *IULIAN* against *Adulterie* is one, <sup>40</sup> the *CORNELIAN* against *Ruffians*, is another. Now the humane law, generally taken, in respect of the first of these considerations, diuided into the law of Nations, and the Ciuill.

The Law of Nations is taken lesse or more properly; lesse properly for euery law which is not of it selfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that *VLIAN* vnderstands it: for he defineth *Ius gentium*, or the Law of Nations, to be that which is only common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in the very nature of this law of Nations: but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other diuine Reuelations. But the law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawne from a very probable, <sup>50</sup> though not from an euident principle, yet so probable that all Nations doe assent vnto the conclusion, as that the free passage of *ambassadors* be granted betwene enemies, &c. which Nationall law according to diuers acceptations, and diuers considerations had of the Humane law, may be sometime taken for a *Species* of the Naturall, sometime of the Humane.

*Ius Civile*, or the Ciuill Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in diuers estates it is also diuers and peculiar, and this law is not so immediately derived from the law of Nature, as the law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of such principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or easily assent vnto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are diuers, and doe not fit all estates.

In Leg. 6. tit. ff.  
de Iustitia Iur.

Hereof VLPPIAN, *Ius civile, neque in totum a naturali. & gentium vocedit, neque per omnia ei seruit: itaq, cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus Iuri communi, In proprium, id est, Civile effusimus*; The Ciuill law (saith he) doth neither wholly differ from the law of nature, and nations, nor yet in all points obay it: therefore, when we adde ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Ciuill Law.

The law now commonly called the Ciuill Law, had its birth in Rome: and was first written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. yeares after the foundation of the Citie. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian*, and other *Grecian* lawes, as out of the ancient *Romane* customes and lawes *Regall*. The *Regall* lawes were deuised by the first Kings, and called *Leges Regie*, or *Papirian*, because they were gathered by *Papirius*, *Tarquinius* then reigning. For though so many of the former lawes as maintained Kingly authoritie were abolished, with the name: yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common villitie, were continued, and were a part of the lawes of the twelve Tables. To these lawes of the twelve Tables were added (as the times gaue occasion) those made by the Senate, called *Senatus-consulta*: those of the common people, called *Plebiscita*: those of the Lawyers, called *responsa prudentum*: and the Edicts of the *Annual Magistrate*; which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and presented to *Adrian* the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall lawes: and the Volume stiled *Edictum perpetuum*: as those and the like Collections of *Iustinian* afterward were.

The difference anciently between Lawes and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglement*, consisted in this, that lawes are the Constitutions made or confirmed by soveraigne authoritie (be the soveraigntie in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Iustum Magistratus*, vi. 20. leffe by authoritie it be made a law) hath end with the Officer, who made the same, saith VARRO. *Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt*; They who ascribe the most vnto an Edict, say that it is a law for one yeare: Though *Isidore* doth also expresse by the word *Constitutions* or *Edicts*, those Ordinances called *Acts* of Prerogatives: as *Constitutio vel Edictum est quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit*; An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordaine or proclaime.

Lastly, the *Humane* law is diuided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiasticall*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquillity of the Common-wealth: the *Ecclesiasticall* the spirituall good, and right Governance of the *Ecclesiasticall* Common-wealth, or Church, *illud natura legem, hoc diuinum spectat*; That respecteth the Law of nature, this the law of God. And so may *Ius Civile* be taken two waies: first, as distinguishing from the law of Nations, as in the first diuision: Secondly, as it is the same with the *Secular*, and diuers from the *Ecclesiasticall*. But this diuision of the *Schoolmen* is obscure. For although the *Ciuill* be the same with the *Secular*, as the *Ciuill* is a law, yet the *Secular* is more generall, and comprehendeth both the *Ciuill*, and all other lawes not *Ecclesiasticall*. For of *Secular* lawes, in vs among *Christian* Princes, and in *Christian* Commonweales, there are three kinds; the *Ciuill* which hath euerywhere a voice: and is in all *Christian* estates (*England* excepted) most powerfull; the Lawes of *England* called *Common*, and the Lawes of custome or *Provinciall*. In *Spain* besides the Law *Ciuill*, they haue the customes of *Castill*, and other *Provinces*. In *France* besides the *Ciuill*, the customes of *Burgundie*, *Blois*, *Berri*, *Niueruois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous lieux situes & assis en Lodunois, seront gouernees selon les costumes du dit Pays*; All places lying within the precincts of *Lodunois*, shall be gouerned according to the customes of that place.

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M. 3. tit. 15.  
C. Cij.

There are also in *France* the customes of *Normandie*, and these of two kinds: *Generall*, and *Locall*; and all purged and reformed by diuers Acts of the three estates. The *Charters* of confirmation of these ancient customes, before and since their reformation haue these wordes. *Nos autem, registram predictum, vsus laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas, &c. Laudamus approbamus & autoritate Regia confirmamus*; The Register afore said, laudable vses, and ancient customes, we praise, approve, and by our Kingly authoritie confirme. The common law of *England* is also compounded of the ancient customes of the same, and of certain *Maximes* by those customes of the Realme approved. Vpon which customes also are grounded those Courts of Record, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other small Courts.

These ancient customes of *England* haue bene approved by the Kings thereof, from age to age: as that custome by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the law of the land, was confirmed by the *Statute of Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient custome of *England* that the eldest Sonne should inherit without partition: In *Germanie*, *France*, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the custome for all lands (that haue not bene resigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the house shall enioy the inheritance during his owne life: and so the second and third eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the Heire in lineall descent: this is called the custome of *Tanishrie*. For example, if a Lord of land haue foure Sonnes, and the eldest of those foure haue also a sonne, the three brothers of the eldest sonne, shall after the death of their brother, enioy their Fathers lands before the Grandchild: the custome being grounded vpon the reason of necessity. For the *Irish* in former times hauing alwaies liued in a subdiuided *Ciuill* warre, not only the greatest against the greatest, but euery *Baron* and *Gentleman* one against another, were inforced to leaue successors of age and abilitie to defend their owne Territories. Now as in *Normandie*, *Burgundie*, and other *Provinces* of *France*, there are certaine peculiar, and pettie customes, besides the great and generall custome of the land, so are these 30 in *England*, and in euery part thereof. But the greatest bulke of our lawes, as I take it, are the *Acts of Parliament*: lawes propounded and approved by the three estates of the Realme, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, because they are *Acts* of choise, and selue desire. *Leges nulla alia causas tenent quam quod iudicio populi recepta sunt*; The lawes doe therefore binde the subiect, because they are received by the iudgement of the subiect. Tum demum humane leges habent vnam cum fuerint non modo in scripta, sed etiam firmate approbatione communis: It is then that humane lawes haue their strength, when they shall not only be devised, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.

*Isidore* fasteneth these properties to euery *Christian* law, that the same be honest, 40 that it be possible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the custome of the Countrey; also for the time and place conuenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of priuate profit, that it be written for the generall good. Hee also giues foure effects of the law, which *Modestinus* comprehends in two: to wit, obligation, and instigation: the former binds vs by feare, to auoide vice: the later incourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to Cicerō. *Legem oportet esse vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemq, virtutum*; It behoueth the Law to bee a mender of vices, and a commender of vertues. The part obligatorie or binding vs to the obseruation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes: and it is two-fold, the one constraineth vs by feare of our consciences, the other by feare 50 of externall punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, *Coactiue*, and *Directiue*.

The second of these two effects remembered by *Modestinus*, is *Instigation*, or incouragement to vertue, as *Aristotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being such as they ought to be, doe both by prescribing and for-

Cc 2

bidding

Vlt. ff. de Leg.  
L. 33.

Aug. de vera relig. cap. 3.  
Gratian, in dec. dist. 4. Cuius ista.

bidding, vrge vs to well-doing: laying before vs the good and the euill, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmatiue commanding good, and power negatiue forbidding euill, are those into which the law is diuided, as touching the matter: and in which *Dauid* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, *Declina a malo, & fac bonum; Decline from euill, and doe good.*

Psal. 36.

## §. X V I.

*That only the Prince is exempt from humane lawes, and in what sort.*

10

**N**OW whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that haue written of this subject, as well *Diuines as Lawyers*: and namely, whether Soueraigne Princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforesaid, the one *Directiue*, the other *Coactiue*: to the power *Directiue*, they ought to be subject, but not to that which constraineth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to giue a preiudicial iudgement against himselfe: and if equals haue not any power ouer each other, much lesse haue inferiours ouer their superiours, from whom they receiue their authoritie and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of lawes, simply then is the Prince so much about the lawes, as the soule and body vnited, is about a dead and senselesse carcase. For the King is truly called, *Ius viuum & lex animata; An animate and liuing law*. But this is true, that by giuing authoritie to lawes, Princes both adde greatnesse to themselves, and conferre it, and therefore was it said of *Bracton* out of *Iustinian*, *Merito debet Rex tribuere legi, quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit ut ipse sit Rex; Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the law first attributeth to the King, for it is the law that doth make Kings.*

Bract. 1.

But whereas *Bracton* ascribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. For Kings are made by God, and lawes diuine: and by humane lawes only declared to be Kings. As for the places remembered by the *Diuines* and *Lawiers*, which inferre a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to giue an account of their actions to God only.

Psal. 10.  
ff. de Leg.

*Tibi soli peccauit*, saith *DAVID*; *Against thee only haue I sinned*: therefore, the Prince cannot be said to be subject to the law. *Principes non subiiciuntur legi*; For seeing according to the Schoolemen, the law humane is but *quoddam organum & instrumentum potestatis gubernatiue: non videtur posse eius obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humana non pertinet: sed vis potestatis humana non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neq. lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia actiua, est principium transfundendi aliquid; Seeing humane law (say they) is but a kinde of organ, or instrument, of the power that governeth, it seemes that it cannot extend it selfe to binde any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold off: but the gouernour himselfe, in whom the gouerning power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himselfe, or by his owne power be controlled. And therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot binde the law-maker himselfe: for every actiue ability is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which it selfe resides. And seeing Princes haue power to deliuer others from the obligation of the law: *Ergo etiam potest ipsemet Princeps sine legislator sua se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; Therefore also may a Prince or law-maker at his owne will and pleasure deliuer himselfe from the bond of the law.* Therefore in the rules of the law it is thus*

con-

Groz. de Valen-  
tia de Leg.

concluded. *Subditi tenentur leges obseruare necessitate coactionis, Princeps vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communis; The subjects are bound to fulfill the law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince only by his owne will, and regard of the common good.*

Now concerning the politique lawes, giuen by *Moses* to the Nation of the *Israelites*, whether they ought to be a President, from which no ciuill institutions of other people should presume to digresse, I will not presume to determine, but leaue it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions giue them greater abilitie. Thus much I may be bold to affirme, that we ought not to seeme wiser than *God* himselfe, who hath told vs that there are no lawes so righteous, as those which it pleased him to giue to his Elect people to be gouerned by. True it is, that all Nations haue their severall qualities, wherein they differ, euen from their next borderers, no lesse than in their peculiar languages: which disagreeable conditions to gouerne aptly, one and the same law very hardly were able. The *Roman* ciuill lawes did indeede containe in order, a great part of the then knowne world, without any notable inconvenience, after such time as once it was receiued and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much vnto the natural customes of the sundrie people, which it gouerned. For whether it be through a long continued perswasion, or (as *Afragolers* more willingly grant) some influence of the Heauens; or peradventure some temper of the soile and climate, assisting matter of prouocation to vice (as plentie made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and opportunitie to steale, makes the *Arabians* to bee *Theues*) very hard it were to forbid by law, with an offence so common, with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from iust and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdome of *Congo* vnhappy diuerted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great furie rejected, because pluralitie of Wiues was denied vnto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, mee thinks, it were not amisse to consider, that the high *God* himselfe permitted somethings to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their naturall disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant vnto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where euen the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and vniust; there may the law, giuen by *Moses*, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the euill, which forceth man, as neare as may bee, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custome hath entertained, a vicious, yet not intolerable habite, with so long and so publique approbation, that the vertue oppoling it, would seeme as vncouth, as it were to walke naked in *England*, or to weare the *English* fashion of apparell in *Turkey*: there may a wife and vpright Law-giuer, without presumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of *Moses* his law required; as euenas the good King *Hesekias* did, in a matter meerely Ecclesiasticall, and therefore the lesse capable of dispensation, praying for the people, The good Lord bee mercifull vnto him, that prepareth his whole heart to seeke the Lord *God*, the *God of his Fathers*, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the Sanctuarie: which praiere the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well obserued by Master Doctor *Willer*, that the morall Iudicialls of *Moses* doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatiuely that we are tied to the same fueritie of punishment now, which was instituted then; but negatiuely they doe hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adiuaged, where sentence of death is not giuen by *Moses*: Christian Magistrates ruling vnder *Christ* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemencie and Mercie, may abate of the fueritie of *Moses* law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot adde vnto it to make the burden more heauie: for to shew more rigour than *Moses*, becommeth not the *Gospell*.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath bene the subject of

Cc 3

many

1. Chron. cap. 34.  
v. 1. & 19.

many learned discourses, neither will I take vpon mee, to speake any thing definitively in a case which dependeth still in some controuersie among worthie Diuines. Thus much (as in honour of the Iudiciall Law, or rather of him that gaue it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath alwaies bene very plausible. And surely, howsoever they bee not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and only law; yet shall wee hardly finde any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Iudge may rest, with equall satisfaction, in making interpretation, or giuing sentence vpon doubts, arising out of any Law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Iudge could haue bene witnesse, of whom *Fortescue* that notable Bulwark of our Lawes doth speake, complaining of a iudgement giuen against a Gentle-woman at *Salisbury*, who being accused by her owne Man, without any other proote, for murdering her husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the man who accused her, within a yeare after being Conuict for the same offence, confest that his Mistis was altogether innocent of that cruell fact, whose terrible death hee then (though ouer-late) grievously lamented: but this Iudge, saith the same Author, *Sapius ipse mihi falsus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animam eius de hoc facto ipse purgaret; He himselfe often confessed vnto mee, that he should neuer during his life, be able to cleare his conscience of that fact.* Wherefore that acknowledgement which other Sciences yeeld vnto the *Metaphisiques*, that from thence are drawne propositions, able to proue the principles of Sciences, which out of the sciences themselves cannot be proued, may iustly be granted by all other politique institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more iustly, by how much the subiect of the *Metaphisiques*, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens; Being as it is being*, is infinitely inferior to the *Ens Entium; The being of beings*, the only good, the fountaine of truth, whose feare is the beginning of wiselome. To which purpose well saith Saint AUGUSTINE. *Conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens; illum ipsam consilium eternum, de qua nulli anima iudicare datum est; The Author of temporall lawes if he bee good and wise, doth therein consult the law eternall, to determine of which there is no power giuen to any soule.* And as well Prince Edward, in *Fortescue* his discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus; No man can lay a better or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.*

## CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

## The Storie of the Israelites from the receiuing of the Law, to the death of MOSES.

## § I.

Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, for their marches through the Wildernesse; with a note of the reverence giuen to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troupes.



WHEN *Moses* had receiued the law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the tabernacle of the *Arke* and *Sanctuarie*; hee mustered all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*: and hauing seen what numbers of men, fit to beare armes, were found in euery Tribe, from 20. yeares of age vpwards; hee appointed vnto them, by direction from the Lord, such Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in euery Tribe most eminent. The number of the whole armie was 603550 able men for the warres, besides women and children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great Armie was diuided by *Moses* into foure

grosse and mightie Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, bee called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600 fighting men, led by *Nasdon*; in *Issachar* 54400. led by *Nathanael*: in *Zabulon* 57400 led by *Eliah*. All these marched vnder the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vanguard, and was the first that moued and marched, being lodged and quartered at their generall incamping on the East side of the Armie; which was held the first place, and of greatest dignitie.

The second Battalion or Armie, called in the Scriptures the Host of *Reuben*, had ioyned vnto it *Simcon* and *Gad*, in number 151450. All which marched vnder the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. vnder *Elizur*: in *Simcon* 59300. vnder *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650. vnder *Elisaph*. These had the second place, and incamped on the South side of the Tabernacle.

The third Armie marched vnder the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were ioyned the Regiments of *Manasse* and *Beniamin*; who, ioyned together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. vnder *Elisbama*: *Manasse* 32200. vnder *Gamliel*: *Beniamin* 35400. vnder *Abidam*.

The fourth and last Armie, or Squadron, of the generall Armie, containing 157600. able men marched vnder the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were ioyned the two Tribes of *Nephthali* and *Asher*. And these had the Rereward, and moued last, incamping on the North side. *Dan* had 62700. vnder *Abieser*: *Asher* 41500. vnder *Pagiel*: *Nephthali* 53400. vnder *Ahira*.

Besides

Besides these Princes of the severall Tribes, there were ordained Captaines over Thousands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over Tens; as it may appeare by that mutinie and insurrection against *Moses*, Numb. 16. v. 1. & 2. For there arose vp against *Moses* 250. Captaines of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne: of which number were *Korab*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principall Mutiniers, with those 250. Captaines that followed them, were not any of the twelue Princes of the Tribes, or Generall Colonells before spoken of, as by their names Num. 1. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, tooke place not only in the diuision of the Land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in sorting them vnder their severall Standards in the wilderness it was obserued. For *Judah* had the precedence and the greatest Armie, which also was wholly compounded of the sonnes of *Lea*, *Jacobs* wife. *Reuben* having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had vndergone his Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maide. *Issachar*, who in temporall blessings had the prerogative of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and diuided into two Regiments: the younger (according to *Jacobs* prophetic) taking place before the Elder. He was assisted by *Beniamin*, his best beloved brother, the other sonne of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest sonne of *Jacob* Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Armie, according to *Jacobs* prophetic. Hee had with him vnder his Standard none of the children of *Lea*, or *Rachel*, but only the sonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, surrounded by the *Leuites*. Neare vnto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approach, by reason of these foure powerfull Armies, which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come neare it, who were not of the *Leuites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the mouable Temple of God, and with such reuerence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the seruice and attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their severall offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the people obserued the former order in their incampings: so did the *Leuites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on euery side of the Tabernacle; The *Gershonites* on the West, within the Armie, and Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Elisaph* commanded, in number 7500. The familie of *Cohath* on the South side, guided by *Elisaphan*, within the Armie of *Reuben*, and betwene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third companie were of the familie of *Merari*, over whom *Zurad* commanded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North side within the Armie of *Dan*; On the East side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Judah* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the People; vnder whom, as the chiefe of all the *Leuiticall* families, was *Eleazar* the sonne of *Aaron*, his succesor in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Armie of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching: the Tabernacle of God being alway set in the middle and center thereof. Thereuere care, which *Moses* the Prophet and chosen seruant of God, had in all that belonged euen to the outward and leaſt parts of the Tabernacle, *Arke* and *Santuarie*, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeale borne towards God himselfe. The industrie vsed in the framing thereof, and euery, and the leaſt part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the prouisions; the dutifull obseruance in the laying vp and preserving the holie Vessels; the solemne remouing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the prouident defence of the same, which all Ages haue in some degrec imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the Familie, by the

Anabaptist

Anabaptist, Brownist, and other Sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be serued and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of Poperie, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: inſomuch as Time would faine bring to passe (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, and from thence againe into the Fields and Mountaines; and vnder the Hedges; and the Offices of the Ministry (robbed of all dignitie and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-Government, left to newnesse of opinion and mens fancies: yea, and soone after, as many kindes of Religions would spring vp, as there are Parish-Churches within England: 10 euery contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancie with the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of Revelation; inſomuch as when the Truth, which is but one, shall appeare to the simple multitude, no leſſe variable than contrarie to it selfe, the Faith of men will soone after die away by degrees, and all Religion bee held in korne and contempt. Which distraction gaue a great Prince of Germanie cause of this answer to those that perswaded him to become a Lutheran, *Si me adiuſſe uobis, tunc condemnor ab alijs: si me alijs adiuſſe, uobis condemnor: Quid fugiam video, sed quid ſequar, non habeo*; If I adiuſſe my selfe to you, I am condemned by others; if I ioyne with others, I am condemned by you; what I should auoid I see, but I know not what I should follow.

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§. II.

The offerings of the twelue Princes: The Pasſeouer of the second year:  
The departing of IETHRO.

Now when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessarie, provided for the seruice of God, written the Lawes, numbered his Armie, and diuided them into the battailes and troupes before remembered, and appointed them Leaders of all sorts: The twelue Princes or Commanders of the Tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, sixe covered Chariots, and twelue Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged therunto: the *Sanctuarie* excepted; which for reuerence was carried vpon the shoulders of the sonnes of *Korab*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which was conueyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Leuites* for that seruice, namely to the sonnes of *Gershon* and *Merari*.

Besides these Chariots each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered vnto God, and for his seruice in the Temple, a charger of fine silver, weighing 130. shekles: a silver Boll of 70. shekles: after the shekle of the *Sanctuarie*: and an incense-Cup of gold of ten shekles: which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated vnto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their conquest: besides the beaſts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the law Ceremoniall, the weight of all the twelue silver chargers, and twelue silver Bolles, amounted vnto 2400. shekles of silver: and the weight of gold in the incense-Cups, to 120. shekles of gold: which makes of shekles of silver 1200 euery shekle of gold valuing ten of silver, so that the whole of gold and silver which they offered at this time, was about foure hundredth and twentie pound sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gaue order for the celebrating of the Pasſeouer: which they performed on the fourteenth day of the second Moneth of the second year: and on the 20. day of the same the cloude was lifted vp from about the Tabernacle, as a signe of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this intocation to God, *Rise up Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee*. Then all the people of *Israel* remoned from their incamping at the foote of the Mountaine *Sinai*, towards *Param* the

Num. 8.

The Hebrew  
Gersh weighed  
thirteen  
grains: so a  
Gersh of silver  
is about three  
half pence ster-  
ling: the Side  
of the Sanctua-  
rie (as it is ex-  
pounded Exod.  
30. 13.) conteineth 108. Gersals  
so a Sanctuarie  
Side of silver is  
about 7. groats  
the common Si-  
le is but halfe  
so much, rowing  
ten Gersals: as  
it is usually ex-  
pounded, though  
Philippus la-  
bour to proue  
that the com-  
mon and the  
Sanctuarie Side  
were all one.  
Num. 9. 24.  
Numb. 10. 11.  
Exod. 28. 34.  
Num. 9. 17.

the Armie, or great Squadron of *Inda*, led by *Nasben*, taking the Vantguard, followed by *Nethanel*, and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Issachar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the rest marched as in the figure exprest. And because the passage through so many Desarts and Mountaines, was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leaving nothing vnforethought which might serue for the aduancement of his enterprize, he instantly intreated his Father-in-law, whom in the tenth of *Numbers* he calleth *Hobab*, to accompanie them in their journey towards *Canaan*: promising him such part and profit of the enterprize, as God should bestow on them: for this man as hee was of great vnderstanding and iudgement (as appeared by the counsaile he gaue to *Moses* for the appointing of Iudges ouer the people) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himselfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian* or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great yeares and experience, for he was then the Priest or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter: which was 42. yeares before this request made. And though *Moses* himselfe had liued 40. yeares in these parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to trauaile: yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of foules, which could not bee so few as a Million: it was necessarie to vse many guides and many conductors. To this request of *Moses* it may seeme by the places, *Exod. 18. 2. 7.* and *Num. 10. 30.* that *Iethro*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yielded not: for it is euident that he went backe from *Moses* into his owne Countrey. But because it appeareth by other places of *Scripture*, that the posteritie of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*: it is most likely that this his returne to his owne Countrey was rather to fetch away his familie: and to take his leaue of his owne Countrey, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

Indic. 1. 16. et 17.  
11. Allo. 1. Sam.  
15. 6. And 2.  
Reg. 10. 15.  
1. Chron. 2. 15.  
Ier. 37.

### §. III.

The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning backe to the red Sea.

**A**FTER this dismissal of *Hobab*, *Israel* beganne to march towards the Desarts of *Paran*: and after three daies wandering, they sate downe at the Sepulchers of lust, afterward called *Tabera*, or *Incenso*: by reason that God consumed with fire those Mutiners and Murmurers, which rose vp in this remoue, which happened about the 23. day of the same Moneth. And from this 23. day of the second moneth, of the second yeare, they rested and fed themselves with Quails (which it pleased God by a Sea-wind to cast vpon them) to the 24. day of the third moneth, to wit, all the moneth of *Sinan* or *Iune*: whereof surfaiting there died great numbers: from whence in the following moneth, called *Thamus*, answering to our *Iuly*, they went on to *Hazereth*: where *Miriam* the sister of *Moses* was stricken with the leprosie, which continued vpon her seven daies, after whose recouerie *Israel* remoued toward the border of *Idumaea*: and in-camped at *Rithma*, neare *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moses* sent the twelue discouersers into the Territorie of *Canaan*: both to informe themselves of the fertilitie and strength of the Countrey: as also to take knowledge of the Waies, Passages, Riuers, Fords, and Mountaines. For *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* surpris'd diuers companies of the *Israelites*, by lying in ambush neare those waies: through which the discouersers and searchers of the Land had formerly past. Now, after the returne of the discouersers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned against *Israel*: whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefites, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliuerance from the *Aegyptian* slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible Wilderness (for so *Moses* calleth it) with the victorie which hee gaue them against the powerfull *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that hee

Num. 11. et 33.  
Num. 12.

Num. 11.

Deut. 4. v. 19.

Deut. 1. v. 27.

led them on and preferred them, but to bring them, their wiues, and children to be slaughtered, and giuen for a prey and spoile to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported vnto them, by the searchers of the Land, That the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers, and Castles: that many of the people were *Giantlike* (for they confest that they saw the sonnes of *Amache*) who were men of fearefull stature, and so farreouer-topped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as *Grashoppers* in their respect. Now, as this mutinie exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choosethem a Captaine (or as they call it now-a-daies, an *Elefio*) to carrie them backe againe into *Egypt*: so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished euery foule of the whole multitude (*Iofia* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, perswaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then neare it, and at the mountaine foote of *Iemua*: which is but narrow, laying before them the fertilitie thereof: and assuring them of victorie. But as men, whom the passion of feare had bereaued both of reason and common sense: they threatned to stone these encouragers to death: accounting them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the liues, goods, and children of all their bretheren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the feare of his bright glorie betweene the vnadvised furie of the multitude, and the innocencie and constance of his seruants, preferred them thereby from their violence: threatening an intire destruction of the whole Nation, by sending among them a consuming and mercilesse pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God deliuered them from the slavery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moses* (the mildest or meekest of all men) praied vnto God to remember his infinite mercies: allcedging that this so seuer a iudgement, how deservfully soeuer inflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations: and giue them occasion to vaunt that the God of *Israel* failing in power to performe his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitlesse Desarts. Yet as God is no lesse iust than mercifull, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire: the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand lesse heauie than hoped for, he scourged this iniquitie, so by the measure of his glorie (euermore jealous of neglect and derision) hee suffered not the wicked to passe vnpunished; reseruing his compassion for the innocent: whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, hee was pleased to preserve, and in them to performe his promises, which haue neuer beene frustrate.

Num. 14. 10.

Num. 14. v. 22.

Num. 11. v. 3.

### §. IIII.

Of their unwillingnesse to returne: with the punishment thereof, and of diuers accidents in the returne.

**N**OW when *Moses* had reuiled the purposes of God to the people: and made them know his heauie displeasure towards them: they beganne to bewaile themselves, though ouer-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, hauing also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his mercifull sufferings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt: and make offer to enter the Land contrarie againe to the aduise of *Moses*: who assured them, that God was not now among them: and that the *Arke* of his couenant should not moue, but by his direction, who could not erre: and that the enemies sword which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no lesse sharpe than death: and in the hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no lesse cruell. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwaies follow those counsells which carrie

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them to their owne destructions: so the *Hebrewes* after they had forsaken the opportunitie by God and their Conductors offered: and might then haue entred *Iudaea* before their enemies were prepared and ioynd: did afterward, contrarie to Gods commandement, vnder take the enterprise of themselves: and ranne headlong and without aduise into the mountaines of *Idumaea*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being ioynd and attending their aduantage, set on them, brake them: and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victorie and pursuite, consumed them all the way of their flight euen vnto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites* in reuenge of their former losse, and ouerthrowe at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their displantation and destruction threatened. Of which powerful assemblie of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings ioynd together for their common safetie) it pleased God to forewarne *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For hee commanded him to returne by those painefull passages of the deserts, through which they had formerly trauelled, till they found the bankes of the red Sea againe: in which retraite before they came backe to passe ouer *Jordan* there were consumed 38. yeares: and the whole number of the fixe hundreth and odde thousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses* *Ishua* and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderness, the stubborn and carelesse generations were wholly worne out, and the promised Land bestowed on their children: which were increased to 600000. and 23 more. For besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the Land vpon the returne of the discouersers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermaunded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping *Moloch*, and the Host of heauen. For although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Isralites* worshipped the Sunne and Moone in after-times it is proued out of fundrie other places.

Now after the broken companies were returned to the Campe at *Cades*, *Moses*, according to the commandement receiued from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recouer the shoares of the Red Sea. And so from *Cades* or *Rithma* he removed to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and diuided among them. From thence hee went on to *Lihnah*, taking that name of the frankincense there found. From *Lihnah* hee crost the valley, and fate downe at *Refsa* neare the foot of the mountaine. And after hee had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at *Ceelata*: where one of the *Hebrewes*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabaath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* alwaies keeping the valley, between two great ledges of mountaines (those which bound the Desert of *Sin*, and those of *Pharan*) crost the same from *Ceelata*; and marched Eastward to the mountaine of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*: this making the Twentieth manzion. From thence hee passed on to *Huada*; then to *Macloloth*; and then to *Thobub*; and so to *Thara* or *Thare*: the foure & twentieth manzion. Where while *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutinie, of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*: who for their contempt of God and his Ministers were some of them swallowed vp alive, and by the earth opening her mouth deuoured, others euen two hundred and fiftie which offered incense with *Korah* were consumed with fire from heauen; & 14700. of their partie, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest meruailes and iudgements of God, that hath bene shewed in all the time of *Moses* his government, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men who would haue vsurped Ecclesiasticall authoritie, were suddenly swallowed vp alive into the earth with their families and goods; euen while they sought to ouerthrowe the Order, Discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the High Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church and Common-weale of his people. And the better

ter to allure the people, and out of his great mercie to confirme them, it pleased him in this place also to approue by miracle the former election of his seruant *Aaron*, by the twelue rodde giuen in by the Heads of the twelue Tribes; of which *Moses* receiued one of euery Head and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and drie Wands, and on euery rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aaron* on that of *Leui*, it pleased God, that the rod of *Aaron* receiued by his power a vegetable Spirit, and hauing laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the *Ake* one night, had on it both Buds, Blossomes, and ripe Almonds.

10 From *Tharab* the whole Armie removed to *Methra*; and thence to *Esmona*; and thence to *Moseroth*, (or *Masurit* after *S. Hierome*) and from *Moseroth* to *Benecian*; and so to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Ietabata*, the thirtieth Manzion; where from certain fountaines of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a Riuer, which falleth into the Red Sea, betwene *Madian* and *Afiongaber*.

Now although it be very probable, that at *Afiongaber*, where *Salomon* furnished his Fleets for the East India, there was store of fresh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great Riuer, in *Arabia* the *Stonie*, which he calleth *Curya*, from whence (saith he) the Inhabitants conueigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which deuice the King of *Arabia* relieth the Armie of *Cambyfes*: yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding these springs at *Gadgad*, or *Ietabata*, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Manzion. For it was at *Punon*, that those springs are spoken off, which in *Dent*. the 10. v. 7. is also called *Ietabata*, or *Ietabath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the Riuer *Zared*, the next adioyning. And that these springs should fall into the Red Sea at *Afiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot beleue, for the way is very long. And this I finde in *Belonius*, that there are diuers Torrents of fresh water in those sandie parts of *Arabia*: which though they continue their course for a few miles; yet they are drunke vp by the hot and thirstie sand, before they can recouer the bankes of the Red Sea.

30 From *Ietabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the Red Sea, and incamped at *Hebrons*; and from thence to *Efiongaber*: which Citie in *Iosephus* time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieromes* *Eflia*. From thence keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the North as he was by God commanded: *Efiongaber* *Deut. 28* being the farthest place towards the South-east, that *Moses* trauelled in that passage.

It seemeth that *Efiongaber* or *Afiongaber*, *Elath* and *Madian* were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is said, That the Lord spake vnto *Moses* and *Aaron* in the Mount *Hor*, neare the coast of the Land of *Edom*; so as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumaea*. And if *Efiongaber*, and the other places neare the Red Sea, had at this present bene subiect to the *Idumeans*, *Moses* would also haue demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumeans* obtained those places: for it is said. And they arose out of *Midian*, and came to *Paran*, and tooke men with them; which were those companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumaea* into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Israh*. Likewise it is said of *Salomon*, that he made a nauie of ships in *Efiongaber* besides *Elath*, in the Land of *Edom*.

## §. V.

Of *Moses* arrivall at *Zin Kades*: and the accidents while they abode there.

10 From *Efiongaber* he turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the Wilderness of *Zin*, which is *Kadesh* (or in *Beniamin*) of the children of *Israh*; where they fate downe in the first Month of the fortieth yeare after they left *Egypt*. For at the next Manzion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Month of the fortieth yeare: the nine and thirtieth

tieth year taking end at *Eziongaber*. And at this Citie of *Cades* (for so it was thought to be) or neare it, died *Miriam* or *Marie*, *Moses* sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seen in Saint *Iheromes* time, as himselfe auoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountaine *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcitie of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heauen; by being deuoured and swallowed vp by the earth; by the suddaine pestilence which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the loue or wrath of God, could preuaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in euery of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and calling vngreatfully on *Moses* all their misaduentures; yea though they well knew that their owne Fathers had left their bodies in the Deserts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth year, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in sight of the Land promised, they againe as obstinately tempted God in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning, so his mercies being without end; he commanded *Moses* to strike a Rocke adioyning with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattails were satisfied. Neuertheless, because God perceived a kinde of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron*, at this place: therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might inuite them. But it pleased him to end the trauales of *Aaron* at the Mountaine *Hor*, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of *Hor*, *Aaron* was depouled of the Garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his Sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* descended the Mountaine; but God receiued *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more scene.

Of this Mountaine called *Hor*, otherwise *Mosera*, as in *Deuter. 10. vers. 6.* those *Horites* tooke name, which the *Idumians* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the feuen and twentieth Mansion; and *Mosera* which they write *Moseroth* for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places: because *Moses* in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Eziongaber*, incamped at *Mosera*, after he departed from *Hejmana*, and before he came to *Beniacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came vnto after he left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* sister died; the first being the feuen and twentieth, and the second being the foure and thirtieth Mansion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mosera*, it should haue bene written, *Hor iuxta Mosera*; *Hor* neare *Mosera*: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, diuided into diuers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: whereof the West part *Moses* calleth *Mosera*, and the East 40 part *Horeb*. By the West part *Moses* incamped, as he past towards the Red Sea, on his left hand; by the East part, as hee went backe againe North-wards towards *Moab*: as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceiue.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent Messengers to the Prince of *Idumaea*, praying him that hee might passe with the people of *Israel* through his Territorie into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the nearest way of all other from the Citie of *Kadesh*, where *Moses* then incamped; whereas otherwise taking his journey by the Rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Jordan*, hee might haue runne into many hazards in the passage of those Rivers, the farre way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commaunded in those Regions. Now the better to perswade the Prince of *Idumaea* hereto, *Moses* remembered him, that he was of the same race and familie with *Israel*: calling him by the name of Brother, because both the

Edomites

*Edomites* and *Israelites* were the Sonnes of one Father, to wit, *Isaac*, anffering thereby; that hee had more reason to fauour and respect them, than hee had to assist the *Canaanites*; against whom *Esaue* his Ancestor had made warre; and driuen out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient race defended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*; calling it by his owne name *Edom*; or *Edumaea*. Hee also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises; assured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that hee would no way offend his people, or walle his Countrie, but that hee would restraine his Armie within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high waies, paying money for whatsoever he vsed; yea euen for the water, which themselves or their Cattails should drinke. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to prouoke the children of *Esaue*. But the King of *Edumaea* knowing the strength of his owne Countrie, the same being neare *Canaan*, rampard with high and sharpe mountains: and with all suspecting, as a naturall wise man; that 600000. Strangers being once entred his Countrie, it would rest in their wills to giue him law, resolutely refused them passage, and deliuered this answer to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible means: And not knowing whether such a deniall might satisfie or exasperate, hee gathered the strength of his countrie together, and shewed himselfe prepared to defend their passage. For as it is written: Then *Edom* came out against him (to wit, *Moses*) with much people, and with a mightie power. Whereupon *Moses* considering, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of *Seir* or *Edumaea*, and that the Land promised was that of *Canaan*: like vnto himselfe, who was of a naturall vnderstanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of warre that the world had, he refused to aduenture the Armie of *Israel* against a Nation, which being ouer-come, gaue but a passage to invade others; and which by reason of the state of their mountainous Countrie, could not but haue endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of *Israel*, and rendered them lesse able, if not altogether powerlesse, to haue conquered the rest.

## §. VI.

Of their compassing *Idumaea*, and traoueling to *Arnon*; the border of *Moab*.

HE therefore leauing the way of *Idumaea*, turned himselfe towards the East, and marched towards the Deserts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* vnderstood, and that *Moses* had blanced the way of *Edumaea*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Israel* aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to finde his enemies in his neighbours Countrie, than to be found by them in his owne: which he might haue done with a farre greater hope of victorie, had *Moab* bene enforst first to haue made his way by the sword through *Idumaea*, and thereby, though victorious, greatly haue lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than *Arad* hoped for, yet being resolute to make triall, what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came nearer his owne home, leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Desert, he set vpon some part of the Armie; which, for the multitude, occupied a great space, and for the many heards of Cattle that they draue with them, could not incampe so neare together, but that some quarter or other was euer more subiect to surpris. By which aduantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance vnexpected, he slew some few of the *Israelites*, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predecessour, which

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Num. 33. 45.

loyned his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gaue an ouerthrow to those mutinous *Israelites*, which without direction from God by *Moses* would haue entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that Armie were of the *Canaanites*, because in the first of *Deuter. 44.* the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are said to haue beaten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the same that had a victorie ouer *Israel*, neare *Cadesbarne*, or if it were his Predecessour that then preuailed, this man finding that *Moses* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was first to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moses* purpose to compass *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the Desert to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the twelfth chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* utterly destroyed the *Canaanites* and their Cities, they are much mistaken that thinke, that this destruction was presently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be vnderstood, to haue beene done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Iosua*. For had *Moses* at this time entred *Canaan* in the pursuit of *Arad*, hee would not haue fallen backe againe into the Deserts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and haue fetcht a wearisome and needlesse compass, by the Riuer of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Num. 33. 40.

Neither is their coniecture to bee valued at any thing, which affirme, that *Arad* did not inhabite any part of *Canaan* it selfe, but that his Territorie lay without it, and neare the Mountaine *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin* *Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*.

Againe, *Horma* (for so farre the *Israelites* after their victorie pursued the *Canaanites*) is seated in the South of *Iudaea*. There is also a Citie of that name in *Simon*. But there is no such placeto the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutinie which followed presently after the repetition of this victorie, it were enough to proue, that the same was obtained in the future, and in *Iosua* his time, and not at the instant of *Arads* assault. For had the *Israelites* at this time sacked the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day haue complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water, and bread. But it was in the time of *Iosua*, that the *Israelites* tooke their reuenge, and after they had passd *Jordan*: *Iosua* then governing them; who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his Citie so called; and with him the King of *Hevra*: to which place the *Israelites* pursued the *Canaanites*. And hee nameth them amongst those Kings, which hee vanquished and put to death.

Now after this assault and surpris by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, heeled the people Eastward to compass *Idumaea* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entranee by *Arnon* and the Plains of *Moab*, at that time in the possession of the *Amorites*. But the *Israelites*, to whom the very name of a Desert was terrible, beganne againe to rebell against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fire Serpents. (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace cured them againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement set vp.

From the Mount *Hor*, *Moses* leauing the ordinarie way which lieth betwene the *Red Sea*, and *Cadesbarne*, incamped at *Zalmone*: and thence hee remoued to *Phunon*, where hee erected the Brazen Serpent; making these iourneys by the edge of *Edumaea*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principall Citie of the *Edomites*. Now where it is written in *Numbers 21. Vers. 4.* That from Mount *Hor* they departed by the way of the *Red Sea*, which grieved the people, it was not thereby meant that the *Israelites* turned backe towards the *Red Sea*; neither

neither did they march (according to *FONSECA*) *per viam, qua habet a laterem mare rubrum*; By the way that sided the *Red Sea*, but indeede they croit, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Trachonitis*, and the Countries of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Eziongeber*; *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, so *Israel* to thunne the border of *Edom*, and to take the vmoit East part of *Moab*, croit the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they entred the Territorie of *Moab*, adjoining to the Land of *Supha* Countrie bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountaines so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East border of *Moab*; From thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the Riuer of *Zared*, which riseth in the mountaines of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farre from *Petra* the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And hauing past that Riuer, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblahaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremie* the Prophet *ca. 48. v. 22.* calleth the House of *Diblahaim*, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by *Nabuchadnessar*. From thence they came to the Riuer of *Arnon*, and incamped in the mountaines of *Abarim*: though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moses* doth not remember *Helmondiblahaim*, but speaketh of his remoue from the Riuer of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*, calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, betwene them and the *Amorites*: speaking, as he found the state of the Countrie at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*: euen from the Predecessour of *Salad Peer* then reigning. From *Diblahaim*, *Moses* sent Messengers to *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, to desire a passage through his Countrie: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to giue a reason to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he vnderooke. And though *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet hee had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Seon* obserued the same precept, which he left to his posteritie, and successours, for a law of the war, namely in *Deut. 20. v. 10.* in these wordes, *When thou comest neare vnto a Citie to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open vnto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries vnto thee, and serue thee, but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the Males thereof with the edge of the sword.* Which ordinance all Commanders of Armies haue obserued to this day, or ought to haue done.

## §. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this storie, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture which are lost.

Now concerning the Warre betwene *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moses* seemeth to referre a great part of this storie to that Booke entituled *Liber bellorum Domini*; The booke of Gods battailes; and therefore passeth ouer many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater breuities in this place. His wordes after the *Genea* translation are these. *Wherefore it shall be spoken in the booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things hee did in the Red Sea, and in the Riuer of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* copie differeth not in sense from this: But the Greeke *Septuagint* varie. For the Greeke writes it to this effect; *For thus it is said Num. 37. In the booke: the Warre of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brookes of Arnon.* *Iosius* for the *Red Sea*, which is in the *Genea* and *Vulgar* Edition, names the Region of *Supha*, a Countrie bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the East, as hee coniectureth. The Text heradeth thus. *Idcirco dicit solet in recessione bellorum IERHOVA, contra VAHEBYM in Regione SYPH: & contra flumina, flumina Arnonis; Therefore is it*

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spoken 18. §. 3.

spoken in repeating of the battailes of *Iehovah*, against *Vahab* in the Countrey of *Seph*: and against the Rivers, the Rivers of *Arnon*. In which wordes he vnderstandeth, that amongst the Warres which the Lord disposed for the good of the *Israelites*, there was in those times a famous memorie in the mouth of most men, concerning the Warre of *Sehon* against *Vahab*, the King of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the Countrey neare *Arnon*, out of the possession of the *Moabites*. For this *Vahab* was the immediate Predecessour of *Balaac*, who liued with *Moses*: though it be written that this *Balaac* was the sonne of *Zippor*, and not of *Vahab*. For it seemes (as it is plaine in the succession of the *Edomites*) that these Kingdomes were electiue, and not successiue. And as *Iunius* in this translation vnderstandeth no speciall Booke of the battailes of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any speciall booke be meant; and if any; whether it bee not a prediction of Warres in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the booke of *Judges*. *Siracides* c. 46. tells vs plainly, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by *Io* sva. Who was there (saith he) before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord. But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe ouer matters of great weight in few wordes, referring the Reader to other bookes, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a booke as this there was; wherein the fuerrall victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the *Israelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with diuine discourse, haue perished in the long race of time, or haue bene destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the bookes of *Henech*, howsoever they haue bene in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an Epistle of *Thaddaeus*, and cited by *Origen* *apud* *Epiph.* and by *Tertullian*.

That worke also of the Patriarch *Abraham*, of *Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The bookes remembered by *Iosua* c. 10. v. 13 and in the second of *Samuel* c. 1. v. 18. called the Booke of *Iahser*, or *Iustorum*, is also lost; where in the slay of the Sunne and Moone in the middelt of the Heauens is recorded, and how they stood still, till *Israel* had auenged themselves of their enemies: out of which also *Dauid* tooke the precept, of teaching the children of *Iuda*, to exercise their bowes against their enemies.

Some thinke this to be the Booke of eternall Predestination, in which the iust are written, according to the 69. *Psalm* v. 28. where it is said, *Let them be put out of the booke of life, neither let them be written with the righteous*. *HiEROME* thinks, that *Dauid* by this booke vnderstood those of *Samuel*, *Rabbi Salomon*, that the bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the iust *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Iacob*, and *Moses*, are written; others, that it was the booke of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentarie vpon *Iosua* by an vnknowne Author.

The booke of *Chocai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* 33. v. 18. & 19. Of this booke, also lost, *HiEROME* conceiues that the Prophet *Isay* was the Author.

The same mischance came aswell to the Storie of *Salomon*, written by *Abia Silonites*, who met with *Ierobam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdom of *Israel* from the sonne of *Salomon*: as to the bookes of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Ieda* the Seer, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 9. v. 29. with these haue the bookes of *Semaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 12. v. 15. perished: and that of *Ishai* the sonne of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Iehoshaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron.* c. 20. v. 34. Also that booke of *Salomons* which the *Hebrewes* write *Hafarim*, of 5000. verses, of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum* only remaineth, 1. *Kings* 4. 32. and with this diuers other of *Salomons* workes haue perished, as his booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1. *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembered by *Origen*, *Iosephus*, *HiEROME*, *Cedrenus*, *Cicero* *Asculanus*, *Petrus Mirandula*, and others.

Of

Of these and other bookes many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Iherusalem*. But let vs returne thither where we left.

## §. VIII.

Of *Moses* his sparing the issue of *Lot*: and of the Giants in those parts: and of *SEHON* and *OG*.



Hen *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposit to the Citie of *Nebo*, leauing the Citie of *Midian* on his left hand, and attempting nothing vpon the *Moabites* on that side.

For *Moab* did at this time inhabit on the South side of *Arnon*, hauing lost all his ancient and best Territorie, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to prouoke them to battaile, God hauing giuen that Land to the children of *Lot*; the same which was anciently posselt by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called *Anakims*, or the sonnes of *Anac*.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zam-zummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, euen to the Desert of *Arabia*, aswell on the West, as on the East side of the Mountaines of *Gilead*, were inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time passe those Mountaines to the East of *Basan*, but left their Countrey to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We finde also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the flood: so these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it selfe, had among them many families of Giant-like men.

For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the Citie of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Iosua* is called the Father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also bene Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chief Citie was *Araer* or *Ar*, neare the Riuer of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zam-zummims*; which were of the same ancient *Canaanites*: and their chief Citie was *Rabbat*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Virrobusti*, horrendly Gigantes; Strong men, and fearefull Giants, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hem*, in the same Prouince, and not farre to the North of *Araer*.

Now *Moses* hauing past *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and hauing (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his Countrey, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proude by his former conquest vpon *Vahab* the *Moabite*, which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and vslurpers, (themselues being of the sonnes of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speede as he could, because *Moses* incamped in the Countrey of his new conquest; to wit, the Plaines of *Moab*; the two and fortieth and last Mansion? which *Moses* waisted with the multitude of his people, and cattle. Towards him therefore hauing himselfe, they encountered each other at *Iahaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited: and the victorie so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. Hee also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Esebon*, and also of the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were: and descended of *Emoreus* or *Amoreus*: for *Moses* calleth the *Basanites* also *Amorites*.

And although *Israel* might now haue taken a ready way and passage into *Iudea*: being at this time, and after this victorie at the banks of *Jordan*: yet hee knew it to bee perilous

perilous to leaue so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of *Basjan* or *Tracanis*: and therefore he led on his Armie to invade *Og*: a person of exceeding strength and stature: and the only man of mark remaining of the ancient Giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defended: lying between the mountaine of *Herman* (which mountaine saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shiron*, and the *Amorites* *Shenir*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell vnto the King of *Basjan* (who attended *Moses* coming at *Edrei*) as it did vnto *Sihon*: for he and his sonnes perished, and all his Cities were taken and posselt. After this *Moses* with-drawing himselfe backe againe to the mountaines of *Abarim*, left the persecution of that warre vnto *Iair* the sonne of *Manasse*: who conquering the East parts of *Basjan*, to wit, the Kingdome of *Argob*, euen vnto the Nations of the *Geshuri* and *Machati*, 60. walled Cities: called the same after his owne name *Hauath Iair*: of all which conquests afterward the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* posselt the North part as farre as *Edrei*, but the East part that belonged to *Sihon* the *Amorite*, with the mountaines of *Gilead* adioyning, was giuen to *Ruben* and *Gad*.

## §. IX.

Of the troubles about the *Midianites*, and of *Moses* his death.



FTER these victories, and while *Israel* sojourned in the valley of *Mosh*, the *Midianites* and *Moabites* (ouer both which Nations it seemeth that *Balaam* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chiefe) sought according to the aduise of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrewes* to the loue of their daughters, and by perswading them to honour and serue their Idols, to diuide them both in Loue and Religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their owne interest against them, as also to beat them out of *Mosh*, and the Countries adioyning. The *Israelites* as they had euer bene inclined, so were they now easily perswaded to these euill courses, and thereby drew on themselves the plague of pestilence, wherof there perished 24000. persons: besides which punishment of God the most of the offenders among the *Hebrewes*, were by his commandement put to the sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the sonne of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simconites*, together with *Cobbi* a Daughter of one of the chiefe of the *Midianites*, the plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appeased. For such was the loue and kindeesse of this all-powerfulnesse, respecting the ardent zeale of *Phineas* in prosecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chiefe among the *Hebrewes* became an Idolater) as hee forgave the rest of *Israel*, and slaid his hand for his sake.

In this valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbered the third time: and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601 730. of which as his last enterprise, he appointed 12000. to be chosen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the *Moabites* practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that fought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worship of the true God, to the seruice of *Beth-Peor*: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatrie. Ouer which companies of 12000. *Moses* gaue the charge to *Phineas*, the sonne of *Eleazar* the high Priest: who slew the five Princes of the *Midianites*, which were, or had lately bene, the vassalls of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Iosuah*. These five Princes of the *Midianites* slaine by *Eleazar* were at this time but the vassalls of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Eur*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba*, the Dukes of *Sehon*, saith *Iosua*. Hee slew also all the men, male-children, and women: slaying such as had not yet vied the companie of men, but those they slaid and disperst them among the children of *Israel* to serue them.

And *Moses* hauing now liued 120. yeares, making both his owne weakenesse of body

body knowne to the people, and his vnabletie to trauaile: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the spirit of God: from whom he receiued a new commandement to ascend the Mountaines of *Abarim*, and thereon to render vp his life: Hee haisted to settle the Gouvernement in *Iosua*: whom hee perswaded with most liuely arguments to prosecute the conquest begunne, assuring him of Gods fauour and assistance therein. And so hauing spent these his later daies after the Conquest of *Og* and *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and exposition of the Law (or an iteration of the Law, according to *S. Augustine*) vnto both arguments, prayers, and threats vnto the people: which hee often repeated vnto them; thereby to confirme them in knowledge, loue, feare, and seruice, of the all-powerfull God: Hee blessed the twelue Tribes, that of *Simcon* excepted, with seuerall and most comfortable blessings: praising the greatnesse and goodnesse of him, vnto whom in his prayers he commended them: Hee also commanded the Priests to lay vp the booke of the Law, by the side of the Arke of God: The last that hee indited was that Prophetical Song, beginning: *Hearken yee Heauens and I will speake, and let the earth heare the word of my mouth:* and being called by God from the labours and sorrowes of this life, vnto that rest which neuer afterward hath disquiet, hee was buried in the Land of *Moab*, ouer against *Beth-peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day, which happened in the yeare of the World 2554.

## §. X.

Observation: out of the Storie of *Moses*, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.

OW let vs a little, for instruction, looke backe to the occasions of sundrie of the great euents, which haue bene mentioned in this Storie of the life of *Moses*, for (excepting Gods miracles; his promise; and fore-choise of this people) hee wrought in all things else by the medium of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And so we shall find that the feare which *Pharao* had of the increase of the *Hebrewes*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cause of the sorrowes and losse, which befell himselfe, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he sought by cruell and vngodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the male-children of the *Hebrewes* to be slaine, God (whose prouidence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes preuented by all the foolish and saluage craft of mortall men) moued compassion in the heart of *Pharao*'s owne Daughter, to preserve that child, which afterward became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and milde, the most excellently learned in all Diuine and Humane knowledge, to be the Conductor and deliuerer of his oppressed Brethren, and the ouerthrower of *Pharao*, and all the flower of his Nation; euen then, when he sought by the strength of his men of Warre, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them vnder and burie them in the dust. The griefe which *Moses* conceiued of the iniuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrewes* in his owne presence, moued him to take reuenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his owne Nation, by threatening him to discover the slaughter of the *Egyptian*, moued him to flee into *Midian*: the contention betweene the sheep-herds of that place, and *Iethro*'s Daughters, made him knowne to their Father: who not only entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters: and in that solitarie life of keeping of his Father in lawes sheepe, farre from the presse of the world, contenting himselfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poore Herd-man, God found him out in that Desert, wherein hee first suffered him to liue many yeares, the better to know the waies and passages through which hee purposed that hee should conduct his people, toward the Land promised:

promised: and therein appearing vnto him, he made him know his Will and diuine Pleasure for his returne into *Egypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Storie of *Israel* before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seeme vnto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many yeares after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

## CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the *Israelites* had dealing after their coming out of *Egypt*; and of the men of renowne in other Nations, about the times of *Moses* and *Iosua*, with the summe of the Historie of *Iosua*.

## § I.

How the Nations with whom the *Israelites* were to haue Warre, were diuers waies, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.



IN like manner if we looke to the qualitie of the Nations, with whom the *Israelites*, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to doe, either in the *Wildernesse*, or afterward: we shall finde them long before-hand, by the disposing prouidence of God, as it were prepared for enmitie: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*: and the rest (as the *Edemites*, *Mosabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Ismaelites*) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: whereas the *Israelites* still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diuerſitie in Religion, were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the *Israelites*: and so to serue for such purposes as God had referred them for. To make these things more manifest, we must vnderstand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountaines of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the same mountaines continued as farre as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of *Egypt*, and the Red Sea on the South: and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the sonnes of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of *Sem*, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with \*one familie, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the *Canaanites*, the ancient Lords and Possessors of those Territories: by proceſſe of time diuided into severall families and names: whereof

some

some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummims*, or *Zuzzi*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly doe) did inhabit the vtter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the *Zidonians*, *Iebusites*, *Amorites*, *Heuites*, *Etites*, and others; who tooke name after the sonnes of *Canaan*, and after whom the Countrie in generall was still called.

As for the *Hebrewes* which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another familie, and strangers in that Countrie: especially the *Israelites*, and this was some cause that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them: no more then the *Philistims* did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himselfe being a stranger was highly esteemed and honoured among them: especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the West part of *Jordan*: yet now euen they which descending from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those partes, were alienated in affections from the *Israelites*: as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they dayly contracted affinity: than of their olde pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is that these Nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themselves and marched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so farre possessed themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to bee equall in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superiour. For of *Lot* came those two great families of the *Mosabites*, and *Amorites*: of *Eſau* the *Idumeans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Ismael*, the eldest sonne of *Abraham* came the *Ismaelites*, with whom are ioyned as of the same nation, the *Amalekites*, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to haue been a tribe of *Edom*, because *Eſau* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason conuinceth it to haue bin otherwise. For the *Israelites* were forbidden to provoke the *Edomites*, or doe them any wrong, whereas contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed and endlessse warre decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere. Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ismaels* eldest Sonne *Naboth* springing the *Arabians* of *Petrea*, called *Nabathians*. Now euen as *Abraham* besought God to bleſſe *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to promise and performe it. For of him those twelue Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land betwene *Haurath* vpon *Tigris*, and *Sur* which is the West part of the *Desart* of *Arabia Petrea*. Yet howeuer the strength of these later named nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great: yet it is not vnlikely, but that some reason which moued them not to fauour the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, was in respect of feare: because all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerful Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these families before named, were not so vnited, in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for Dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood a-part or vnited, they were taught by the care of their owne preservation, to ioyne themselves together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolutely as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumeans* only denied the *Hebrewes* a passage: which the *Mosabites* durst not deny: because their Countrie lay more open; and because themselves had lately beene beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites* their Countrie lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og* Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was strong by reason of the mountaines which diuided it from *Basan*. Again, that which moued the *Mosabites* in their owne reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his Confederate: was that the *Mosabites* might hope after such time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recover againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plains lying betwene the mountaines of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as soone as *Sehon* was slaine, and that the King of *Mosab*

\* It seemeth also that *Huz*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, & *Buz*, his Brother, planted themselves in the Eastside of *Jordan* about *Bas*, where they finde the Land of *Huz*: in which both *Isid* dwelt, as one of the issue of *Huz* the Sonne of *Nachor*, and *Elihu*, his friend, which is called a *Buz*. See hereafter Chap. 10. §. 7.

Mosab, Balac, perceived that Moses allotted that valley to the Tribes of Gad and Ruben, he beganne to practise with Balac against Israel, and by the Daughters of Moab, as aforesaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at length the Mosabites by speciall occasion were more and more stirred up to enmitie against Israel. And as for sinners of the rest that were descended from Abrahams kindred, wee may note, how in the beginning, betwene the Authors of their Perigrees, God permitted some enmities to be as it were prefaces of future quarrells, which in the posteritie might bee the easier incensed, by the memorie of old grudges: and withall by somedisdaine from the elder in nature to the younger. For the Ismaelites being descended from the eldest sonne of Abraham, and the Edomites from the eldest sonne of Isaac, Jacob, being but a second sonne, of a second brother, those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses being naturall men, might come to giue place, much lesse to subiect themselves, to their inferiours, as they tooke it, and for a more aggravation the issues of Esau Princes of Edumaea, might keep in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by Jacobs taking his advantage, and that he was deceived of his Fathers blessings also by him: and that Jacob after reconciliation came not vnto him as he promised into Seir or Idumaea.

So also in the posteritie of Israel, it might remaine as a seede or pretence of enmitie, that their fore-father was by the instigation of Sara, cast out into the Desert, with his Mother Hagar: and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angel to relieue them. Israel also had an Egyptian both to his Mother and to his Wife: and Amalec was also an Horite by his Mother: which Horites were of the ancient Canaanites. The Edumaeans also, or Edomites, were by their Maternall line descended of the Canaanites. For Esau tooke two Wives of that Nation: one of them was Adah, the Daughter of Elou, the Hittite, and the other Abolibamah, the grand-child of Zibzon the Hewite, Lord of Seir, before the same was conquered by Esau, and called after his name Edom or Edumaea.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those families of the Ismaelites, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, &c. were in proceffe of time corrupted, and drawne from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conuersation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those Wives of the Canaanites which they had married: only a few of the Kenites and those Madianites, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, wherof Iethro was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and euer-living God.

## §. II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the ancient Warres of the Israelites.

**T**H E Kings of the Canaanites, descended of Cham, (for Melchizedek may be thought to be of a better Perigree) wee finde foure named by Moses: and one and thirtie remembered by Iosua, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities ouer which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territory adioyning, and no other Dominion. These Canaanites in a generall consideration are to be vnderstood for all those Nations, descended of Cham by Canaan, as the Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, Gergesites, Henuites, &c. and so here we vnderstand this name in speaking of the Kings of the Canaanites: and so also we call the Countrey of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God had appointed that the seuen principall Families should be rooted out: and that his owne people should inherite their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by Iordah, on the East; and by the Mediterranean Sea on the West: in which narrow Countrey, and in the choicest places thereof, those Canaanites which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was Hamor or Hemar of the Henuites, whom Simcon and Leui slew, together with his Sonne Sicheu, in reuenge of their Sisters rauishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures haue remembered, who had that part of Canaan towards the South, neighbouring Edom and the Dead Sea; the same which surprised Israel, as they incamped in the Wilderness in the edge of Edumaea.

The third named was Sehon King of Essebon, who before Moses arrival had beaten the Moabites out of the West part of Arabia Petraea or Nabuthaea, and thrust them ouer Arnon into the Desarts, the same whom Moses ouer-threw in the plaines of Moab: at which time he tooke Essebon, and all the Cities of the Amorites.

Presently after which victorie, Og was also slaine by Israel, who commanded the North part of that Valley betwene the Mountaines Tracon or Galaad and Iordan, who was also a King of the Amorites.

The fift was Adonizedek King of the Jebusites, and of Hierusalem, with whom Iosua nameth foure other Kings.

Hobam, King of Hebron.

Piram, King of Larnuth.

Iapia, King of Lachis: and

Deber, King of Eglon, who were all Amorites ouerthrowne in battell: and hanged by Iosua. After this ouerthrow Iosua nameth Iabin, King of Hazor, and Iobab, King of Madon: whom he also slaughtered, and tooke his Cities: and this Iabin seemed to haue some Dominion ouer the rest, for it is said in the Text, For Hazor before-times was the head of all those Kingdomes.

After these Adonibezek that notorious Tyrant is named: who confess that he cut off the thumbs of the hands, and feete, of 70. Kings, forcing them to gather crummes vnder his Table: who after Iuda and Simcon had viue the same execution vpon himselfe; acknowledged it to be a iust reuenge of God: this King was carried to Hierusalem where he died.

The last King named is Iabin the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt Hazor, burnt by Iosua. For at such time as he employed Sisara against Israel, whom hee oppressed twentie yeares, after the death of Ehud, He inhabited Hazor. This Iabin, Barac (incouraged by Debora) ouerthrew; and his Captaine Sisara had by Iael, the Wife of Heber the Kenite, a naile driuen into his head while hee slept in her Tent: Iabin himselfe perishing afterward in that warre.

The Madianites had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the Moabites: and they held a corner of Land in Nabuthaea: to the South east of the Dead Sea. They descended from Madian, Abrahams sonne by Cethura. Raguel surnamed Gethogelus or Iethreus, faith Iosephus, called Iethro in Exodus, Kenis in the first of Judges, the sonne of Dathan, the grand-child of Iecanis, or Iokhan, the great grand-child of Abraham by Cethura, was Priest or Prince of the Madianites by the Red Sea: whose Daughter, or Neece, Moses married: and of whom I haue spoken elsewhere more at large. This Iethro if he were not the same with Hobab, must be his Father: and this Hobab had seuen Daughters. Hee guided Moses in the Wilderness: and became one of the Israelites: of him defended the Kenites so called of his Father Raguels surname of which Kenites was Heber, which had peace with Iabin the second, euen now remembered.

At such time as Saul inuaded the Amalekites, he knowing the good affection of the Kenites to Israel, gaue them warning to separate themselves: and yet the Kenites had strong fortresses, and liued in the mountaines of the Desarts.

The Kings of the Canaanites, and Madianites, and the Amalekites, as many as I find named were these.

1. Hemor the Heuie of Sichem
2. Arad of the South parts
3. Sehon of Essebon
4. Og of Basan
5. Adonizelek the Jebusite, King of Hierusalem
6. Hobam of Hebron
7. Piram of Iarmuth
8. Iapia of Lachis
9. Debir of Eglon
10. Iabin of Hazor
11. Jobab of Modon
12. Adonibezek of Bezek and
13. Iabin the second King of Hazor.

Of the MADIANITES these.

\* Eui or Eui.

Rokam or Recem who built *Petra* the Metropolis of *Petra* so called by the Greeks: and by *Esaic* cap. 16. vers. 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and so also it is called 2. Reg. 14. 7. where it is also called *Iokibeel*.

Zur  
Hur and  
Reba  
¶ Oreb  
Zeb  
Zebub  
Salmunna.

After the death of *Barak*, Judge of *Israel*, the foure last named of these *Medianite* Kings, vexed *Israel* seven yeares: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and slaine by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Jordan*, as in the 6. 7. & 8. of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterward in the pursue of the rest *Gideon* himselfe laid hands vpon *Zebub* and *Salmunna*, or *Salmunna*, and executed them, being prisoners, in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 120000. of the *Madianites* and their Confederates. Of the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speake hereafter in the description of their Territories.

### §. III.

Of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*.

**I**F the Kings of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*, I finde few that are named, and though of the *Ismaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according to 40 the promise of God made vnto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midianites* were numbered among them, were more renowned in *Moses* time than the rest of the *Ismaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* gouerned *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sur* vnto *Hailah*, to wit, ouer a great part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the *Desart*. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of *Ismael*, were content to leaue those barren *Deserts* of *Arabia Petraea*, called *Shur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the issue of *Abraham* by *Cetur*, that ioyned with them (for so seeme the *Amalekites* to haue bene, and so were the *Medianites*;) themselves taking possession of a better soile in *Arabia* the *Happie*, and about the Mountaines of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petraea*. For *Nabath* the eldest of those 50 twelve Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petraea*, which was very fruitfull though adioyning to the *Desart*, in which *Moses* wandred, afterward called *Nabathaea*: the same which neighboureth *Iudea* on the East side. They also peopled a Prouince in *Arabia* the *Happie*, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathes* (B) changed into (P).

Kedar

*Kedar*, the second of *Ismaels* Sonnes, gaue his owne name to the East part of *Basar*, or *Balanea*, which was afterward possit by *Manasse*, so much thereof as lay within the Mountaines *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Plinie* *Cedarani*.

*Adbel*, fate downe in the *Desart Arabia*, neare the Mountaines which diuide it from the *Happie*: and gaue name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomie* calleth *Agubens*.

*Misbam*, was the Parent of the *Mesamancuses*, neare the Mountaine *Zamath*, in the same *Arabia* the *Happie*.

- 10 The *Raahens* were of *Nisflma*: who ioyned to the *Orchens*, neare the *Arabian* gulfe, where *Ptolomie* setteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumians*, betweene the *Adubens* and *Raahens*: where the Citie *Dumeth* sometimes stood.

Of *Masfa* the *Massani*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar* the *Athritae*, who bordered the *Nabatheans* in the same *Happie* *Arabia*.

*Thema* begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountaines, where also the Citie of *Thema* is seated.

Of *Ietur* the *Iturians*, or *Chamathens*: of whome *Tobu* was King in *Dauids* time.

- 20 Of *Naphri* the *Nubcian Arabians*: inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: ouer whome *Adadesez* *Plin* l. 6. c. 28. commanded, while *Dauid* ruled *Israel*.

*Cadma*, the last and twelfth of *Ismaels* sonnes, was the Ancestor of the *Cadmoians*: who were afterward called *Asita*: because they worshipped the fire with the *Babyloni* *Ionians*.

The *Amalekites* gaue their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians* *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian Nabatheans*, *Aretas*, as names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moses*, after he past the Red Sea: *Exod* 17. when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

- 30 Afterward they ioyned with the *Canaanites*, and beate the *Israelites* neare *Cades*: *Num* 14. b. After the Gouernement of *Othniel*, they ioyned them with the *Moabites*: after *Barak* with the *Madianites*: and invaded *Israel*. God commanded that as soone as *Israel* had rest, they should roote out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldea*: from *Hailah* to *Shur*.

In *Dauids* time they tooke *Siklag* in *Simeon*: but *Dauid* followed them, and surpris- 1. Sam. 30. fed them, recovering his prisoners and spoiles. And yet, after *Dauid* became King, 2. Sam. 8. 12. they againe vexed him, but to their owne losse.

- 40 In *Ezekies* time as many of them as ioyned to *Edumaea* were wasted and displanted 1. Chron. 4. by the children of *Simeon*.

### §. IIII.

Of the insaturation of ciuilitie in Europe about these times, and of *PROMETHEVS* and *ATLAS*.

**H**ere liued at this time, and in the same age together with *Adoser*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength, as in all sorts of learning. And as the World was but euen now enriched with the written Law of the liuing God, so did Art and Ciuilitie (bred and fostered farre off in the East, and in *Egypt*) beginne at this time to discover a passage into Europe, and into those parts of Greece, neighbouring *Asia* and *Iudea*. For if *Pelagus* besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of *Aradia*, because he taught those people to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from raine

Ec 2

and

and forme: and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acornes, who before liued for the most part by Hearbs and Rootes: we may thereby iudge how poore, and wretched those times were, and how fallly those Nations haue vaunted of that their antiquities accompanied not only with ciuill learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge, And it was in this age of the World, as both *Ensebius* and *S. Augustine* haue obserued, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientia doctus fuisse perhibetur*; Of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of Wisdome: and so *Theophrastus* expoundeth the inuention of fire ascribed to *PROMETHEVS*, *Ad inuents sapientia pertinere*; To haue reference to wise inuentions: and *Aeschylus* affirmeth, That by the stealing of *Iapeters* fire was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the Starres, and other celestiall bodies. Again, it is written of him, that hee had the art so to vse this fire, as thereby hee gaue life to Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom hee liued had nothing else worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his entrails the while deuoured by an *Eagle*, was meant the inward care and restless desire hee had to inuigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heavenly bodies, for so it is said: *Idem altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno celo quam longissime astrorum obitus & ortus spectaret*; That hee ascended *Caucasus*, to the end that hee might in a cleare skie discerne a farre off the settings and risings of the Starres: though *Diodorus Siculus* expound it otherwise, and others diuerfly.

### Of this mans knowledge *ÆSCHYLVS* giues this testimonie.

*At agebant omnia  
Vt fors ferebat: donec ipse repperi  
Signorum obitus, ortusq. qui mortalibus  
Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium  
Huius reperi: componere inde literas;  
Matremq. Musarum auxi ego Memoriam  
Perutilem cunctis, &c.*

But Fortune gouern'd all their workes, till when I first found out how Starres did set and rise: A profitable art to mortall men: And others of like vse I did deuise: As letters to compose in learned wife I first did teach: and first did amplifie The Mother of the *Muses* *Memorie*.

*Africanus* makes *Prometheus* farre more ancient, and but 94. yeares after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrus* saies that hee liued at once with *Inachus*, who liued with *Ysaac*. There liued also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the Sonnes of *Iapetus*, of whome though it bee said, that they were borne before *Moses* daies, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date; yet the advantage of their long liues gaue them a part of other ages among Men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these Sonnes of *Iapetus*, *Aeschylus* findes two other, to wit: *Oceanus*, and *Hesperus*, who, being famous in the West, gaue name to the Euening, and so to the euening

euening Starre. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Lybia* or *Mauritania*, there were others, which bare the same name: but of the *Libyan*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountaines which crosse *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sus*, and *Idea*, with the Sea adioyning tooke name, which memorie *Plato* in *Critias* beflowes on *Atlas*, the Sonne of *Neptune*.

*Cicero* in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions, affirmeth that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to expresse diuine knowledge. *Nec vero Atlas sustinere caelum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucasus, nec stellarum Cephrys cum Pyro traditur, nisi diuina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabula transiisset*; Neither should *ATLAS* be said to beare up heauen, nor *PROMETHEVS* to be fastened to *Caucasus*, nor *CEPHEVS* with his wife to be steepled, vnlesse their diuine knowledge had raised vpon their names these erroneous fables.

*Orpheus* sometime exprest Time by *Prometheus*, sometime hee tooke him for *Sature*; as *Rheconius* alme *Promethen*. But that the *Storie* of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction: and that he liued about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Ensebius* and *S. Augustine* haue not doubted, For the great iudgement which *Atlas* had in *Astronomie*, saith *S. Augustine*, were his Daughters called by the names of constellations; *Pleades* and *Hyades*: Others attribute vnto him the finding out of the Moones course, of which *Archas* the sonne of *Orchomenus* challengeth the inuention. Of this *Archas* *Arceadia* in *Peloponessus* tooke name, and therefore did the *Arceadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone. *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be vnderstood, saith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any obseruation of the Moones course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that below the finding out thereof vpon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isacus Tzetzes*, a curious searcher of antiquities gaue it *Atlas* of *Lybia*: who besides his gifts of minde, was a man of vnequaled and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milesian*, as it is said, had the ground of his *Philosophie*.

### §. V.

#### Of DEUCALION and PHAETON.

And in this age of the World, and while *Moses* yet liued, *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessalie*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argues*. This *Deucalion* (Cem. Alex. Strabo lib. 1.) was the Sonne of *Prometheus*, saith *Heraclitus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gaue him *Pandora* for Mother, the rest *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifthenth of his *Odyssees* makes *Deucalion* the Sonne of *Atmos*: but he must needs haue meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Pysses* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Pysses* after his returne from *Troy* faimed himselfe to be the brother of *Idomeneus*; who was sonne to this later *Deucalion*, the sonne of *Atmos*: but this *Minos* liued but once before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* serued in that Warre) and this *Deucalion* the Sonne of *Prometheus*, who liued at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalions* time happened that great inundation in *Thessalie*: by which in effect euery soule, in those parts, perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his Wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this flood in *Thessalie*, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villanie: and as the impietie of men is the forcible attractiue of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their foule sinnes perish by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and crueltie of all mankind drew on them that general destruction by the flood *Vniuersall*. Only *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be louers of Vertue, of Iustice, and of Religion. Of whom *Ouid*:

*Non illo melior quisquam, nec amantior aqua  
Iris fuit: aut illa reuerentior vlla deorum.*

No man was better, nor more iust than hee:  
Nor any Woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed that *Prometheus* fore-told his sonne *Deucalion* of this ouer-flowing: and aduised him to provide for his safetie: who herupon prepared himselfe a kinde of Vessell, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue of Timon* calls *Cibotium*: and others *Larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out of the Doue, to discouer the Waters fall and decreafe, I should verily thinke that this Storie had bene but an imitation of *Noahs* flood deuiſed by the *Greekes*, did not the times ſo much differ, and *S. Auguſtine* with others of the Fathers and reuerent Writers approue this Storie of *Deucalion*. Among other his children *Deucalion* had these two of note, *Hellen* of whom *Greece* had first the name of *Hellas*, and *Melanio* on whom *Neptune* is ſaid to haue begot *Delphus*, which gaue name to *Delphos*, forrenowned among the Heathen for the Oracle of *Apollo* therein founded.

And that which was no lesse strange and meruailous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened vnder *Phaeton*: not only in *Ethiopia*, but in *Iſtria*, a Region in *Italie*, and about *Cuma*, and the Mountaines of *Teſtulus*: of both which the *Greekes*, after their manner, haue inuented many strange fables.

### §. VI.

#### Of HERMES TRISMEGISTVS.

**B**Vt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous, and renowned: the same which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Ter maximus*: and of the *Greekes* *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name: and how to distinguish, and set them in their owne times, both *S. Auguſtine* and *Lactantius* finde it difficult. For that *Mercurius* which was esteemed the God of Theeues, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the God of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that *Mercurius*, of whose many works some fragments are now extant.

*Cicero*, *Clement*, *Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certaine of the *Greekes* reckon five *Mercuries*. Of which two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worshipped; one, the Sonne of *Nilus*, whose name the *Egyptians* feared to viter, as the *Iewes* did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other, that *Mercurius*, which slew *Argus* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is said to haue deliuered literature to the *Egyptians*, and to haue giuen them Lawes. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying; That letters were not found out by that *Mercurius* which slew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercurius*, otherwise *Thoth*; whom *Philo Biblius* writeth *Tautus*; the *Egyptians* *Thoth*; the *Alexandrines* *Thot*; and the *Greekes* (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Tautus*, *Sanconiathos*, who liued about the Warre of *Troy*, giues the inuention of letters. But *S. Auguſtine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calls neither of them the sonne of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to haue slaine *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercurius*, the slayer of *Argus*, to be the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which liued while *Moses* was yet young. And yet *L. Vives* vpon *S. Auguſtine* seemes to vnderstand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest haue remembered. But that consisture of theirs, that any *Græcian Mercurius* brought letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any

any truth in prophane antiquitie) that all the knowledge which the *Greekes* had, was transported out of *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*; and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Græcians* into *Egypt*. For they all confesse, that *Cadmus* brought letters first into *Bœotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phœnicia*: it being true, that betwene *Mercurius*, that liued at once with *Moses*, and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* King of the *Argiues*, with whom *Moses* liued, and in whose time about his tenth yeare *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus* who reigned eleuen yeares; after him *Danaus* fiftie yeares; after him *Lyneus*: in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Cyrene*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Bœotia*. And therefore it cannot be true, that any *Mercurius* about *Moses* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom *S. Auguſtine* remembereth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moses* found out Letters, and taught the vse of them to the *Iewes*; of whom the *Phœnicians* their Neighbours receiued them; and the *Greekes* of the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*. But this inuention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembered; that is, because the *Iewes* and the *Phœnicians* had them first from him. For every Nation gaue vnto those men the honour of first Inuentors, from whom they receiued the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercurius*, vpon part of whose workes he Commenteth, to haue bene foure descents after *Moses*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calls *Atlas*, that liued with *Moses*, the maternall grand-father of the first famous *Mercurius*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counsailler and Instructor of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. But *Ficinus* giueth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercurius* instructed *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that such an inscription was found on a pillar erected on the Tombe of *Isis*. *Lod. Vives* vpon the sixe and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Booke of *S. Auguſtine*, *De Civitate Dei*, conceiveth, that this *Mercurius*, whose workes are extant, was not the first which was entituled, *Ter maximus*, but his Nephew or grand-child. *Sanconiathos*, an ancient *Phœnician*, who liued shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercurius*; affirming that he was the *Scribe* of *Saurine*, and called by the *Phœnicians*, *Tautus*; and by the *Egyptians* *Thoth*, or *Thoty*. It may bee, that the many yeares which he is said to haue liued, to wit, three hundred yeares, gaue occasion to some Writers to finde him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those which haue collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philosophie and Diuinitie, he is found more ancient than *Moses*: because the Inuentor of the *Egyptian* Wisedome, wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

It is true, that although this *Mercurius* or *Hermes* doth in his Diuinitie differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which *Moses* of all things most detested, yet whoseuer shall reade him with an euen iudgment, will rather resolve, that these workes which are now extant, were by the *Greekes* and *Egyptian* Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that euer they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and Spirit dictated. For there is no man of vnderstanding, and master of his owne wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those things which are directly contrarie in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (*Moses* excepted) there was neuer any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a like more reuerend and diuine, vnto almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two Treatises, now among vs; the one conuerted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had bene found in all things like themselves: I thinke it had not bene perilous to haue thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himselfe; and that the *Egyptians* in Theologie hereafter written, was deuiſed by the first, and more ancient *Mercurius*; which others haue thought to haue bene *Ioseph*, the sonne of *Iacob*: whom, after the exposition of *Pharaohs* dreames, they called *Sapienter phane*, which is as much to say, as *abconditorum repertor*; *A finder out of hidden things*. But these are ouer-venturous

*Auguſt. de Cinit. Dei. l. 18. c. 10. et. Eufebius de Hieronymo.*

*Virgil. lib. 4. Æneid. Ficin. in Prefat. Pamand. Mercurij Trismegisti.*

*Or. Sanconiathos. Sec. Euseb. de prep. Evang. lib. 1. c. 6. §. 7. Vives in lib. 8. c. 26. Aug. de Cinit. Dei.*

*Lod. Vives out of Cicero in Aug. de Cinit. Dei. lib. c. 26.*

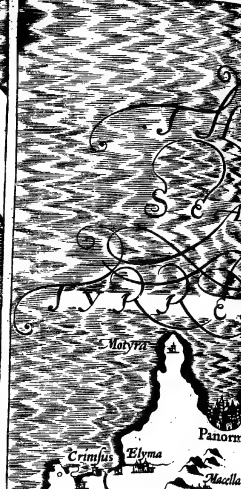
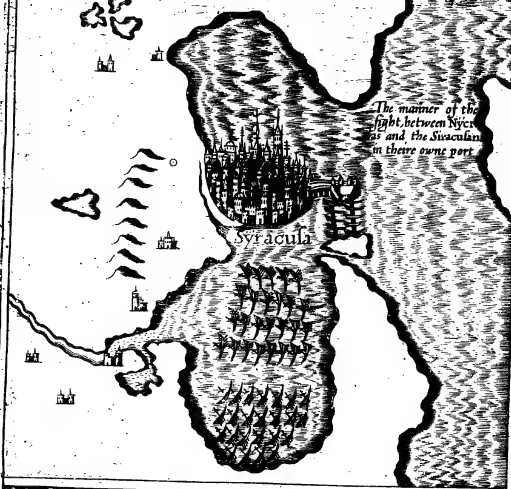
*Eufeb. l. 1. c. 6. de Prep. Evang.*

turous opinions. For what this man was, it is knowne to God. Enuie and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him : of whom, whosoever were, *Lactantius* writeth in this fort. *Hic scripsit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem diuinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus maiestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, ipsamque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; Hec hath written many Bookes belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of diuine things, in which he affirmeth the maiestie of the most high and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which we doe. The same Father also feareth not to number him among the Sybils and Prophets. And so contrarie are these his acknowledgments to those idolatrous fictions of the Egyptians and Grecians, as for my selfe I am perswaded, that whosoever is found in him contrary therunto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himselfe confesseth: Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & Spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim eius esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & opifex, &c. God (saith hee) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and Spirit: and all things are in him and vnder him. For his Word out of himselfe proceeding being most perfect, and generatiue, and operatiue, falling vpon fruitfull nature, made it also fruitfull and producing. And he was therefore (saith *Suidas*) called *Ter maximus*, quia de Trinitate loquutus est: in Trinitate unum esse Deum asserens; Because he spake of the Trinitie, affirming that there is one God in Trinitie. *Hic ruinam* (saith *Ficinus*) *præuidit* 10  
*præscie Religiois, hic ortum nouæ fidei, hic aduentum Christi, hic futurum iudicium, resurrectionem seculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This Mercvrie foresaw the*  
*ruine of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith: and of the coming of Christ, the future iudgement, the resurrection, the glorie of the Blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.**

In Prof. Istoru.  
 Trium.

To this I will only adde his two last speeches reported by *Calcidius the Platonist*, and by *Volateran* out of *Syrus*. *Hactenus filii pulsus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumq; post paulum à vobis corporis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis: Nam ad illam optimam beatamq; Ciuitatem regredior: ad quam vniuersi cives mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namq; solus Deus est summus Princeps: qui cives suos replet suauitate mirifica: ad quam hec, quam multi vitam excusant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita; Eiherto, O Sonne, being driuen from my Countrie, I haue lined a stranger and banished man: but now I am repairing home-ward againe in safetie. And when I shall after a few daies (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and bloud depart from you, see that you doe not bewaile me as a man dead, for I doe but returne to that best and blessed Citie, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) shall repaire. Therein is the only God, the most high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or fadeth his Citizens with a sweetnesse more than meruailous: in regard whereof this being which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death, than a life. The other and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus conuerted by others, agreeing in sense 40  
 not in wordes with *Syrus*. *O caelum magni Dei sapiens opus, teq; O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando vniuersum constituit mundum, adiuro per vniogenitum eius verbum, & Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miseremini mei; I adiure thee O heauen thou wise worke of the great God, and thee O voice of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole world, by his only begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Haue mercie vpon me.**

But *Suidas* hath his inuocation in these wordes: *Obtestor te caelum magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris quam loquutus est primum, cum omnem mundum firmavit, obtestor te per vniogenitum sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto; I beseech thee O heauen, wise worke of the great God, I beseech thee O voice of the Father, 50  
 which he spake first when he established all the World, I beseech thee by the only begotten Word containing all things, be fauourable, be fauourable.*



## p. VII.

Of IANNES and IAMBRES, and some other that liued about those times.

Here were also in this age both *Asculapius*, which after his death became the God of *Physicians*, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vines* thinks in his Commentarie vpon *Augustine*, de *Ciuitate Dei*, lib. 8. and also those two notorious *Sorcerers*, *Iannes* and *Iambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that euer haue beene heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himselfe doth not charge them with any familiaritie with *Deuils*, or ill Spirits: words indeed that seldome came out of his mouth; how euer by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophists* or *Venefices* and *Incantatores*, *Sophists*, poisoners, and *Inchanters*: by *Hierome* *Sapientes* & *malefici*, *Wise men*, and euill doers: and so by *Vatablus*, who also vseth the word *Magi*. The Greeke it selfe seemes to attribute somewhat of what they did to naturall *Magick*: calling them *magicians*, workers by drugges. The *Genenau*, *Sorcerers* and *Inchanters*: *lunivus Sapientes*, *Præstigiatores* & *Magi*. *Magicians* and *Wise men* here by him are taken in one sense: and *Præstigiators* are such as dazell mens eyes, and make them seeme to see what they see not: as false colours, and false shapies. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (religion and superstition hauing one face and countenance) so did the workes and workings of *Moses*, and of *Pharaos Sorcerers* appeare in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to bee one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the *Deuill* changeth himselfe into an *Angel* of light: and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrarie euery worke which surmounteth the *Wisedome* of most men, is not to be condemned as performed by the helpe or ministerie of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath giuen to naturall things, are such as where hee also bestoweth the knowledge to vnderstand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to passe, which seeme altogether impossible, and aboue nature or art: which two speculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names; *Opus de Beseftis*, & *opus de mercana*: the one they call *Sapientiam naturæ*; The *Wisedome of nature*: the other *Sapientiam diuinitatis*; The *Wisedome of diuinitie*: the one *Iacob* practised in breeding the pied Lambs in *Mesopotamia*, the other *Moses* exercised in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*, hauing receiued from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection; to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so farre as it pleased God to proportion him both which he vseth to his glorie, that gaue them: assuming to himselfe nothing at all; either in the least or most. Also *S. Augustine* noteth that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt* to the death of *Iosua*; diuers other famous men liued in the world, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inuentions, were numbred among the Gods: as *Dionysius* otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Græcians* the vse of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were instituted *Musickall* plaies to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regaine his fauour, who brought barrennesse and scarcitie vpon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his Temple and set it on fire: so did *Erichonius* institute the like games to *Xinerna*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of *Oile*, in memorie of her that first prest it out of the Oliue.

In this age also *Xanthus* rauished *Eurota*: and begat on her *Kadamanthus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*, which three are also giuen to *Iupiter* by other Historians. To these *Saint Augustine* addeth *Hercules*; the same, to whom the twelue labours are ascribed, native of *Tyrinthia* a Citie of *Peleponnesus*: (or as others say, only nursed and brought vp there) who came into *Italie*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*.

*L. Vines in lib. 8. August. de Ciuit. Dei. c. 26.*

*Exod. 9. 11.*

*Lib. De Ciuit. Dei. cap. 12.*

Philost. l. 2.

cules, according to *Philostratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian*: *Manifestum fit, non Thebanum Herculem, sed Egyptium ad Gades peruenisse, & ibi finem statuisse terræ* (saith *Philostatus*) *It is manifest that it was the Egyptian Hercules, and not the Theban, which traualled as farre as the streights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth.* In this time also while *Moses* wandered in the Deserts, *Dardanius* built *Dardania*.

But whosoever they were, or how worthy fouer they were that liued in the daies and age of *Moses*, there was neuer any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to worke greater things; whom he fauoured more; to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) hee fo often appeared; neuer any man more familiar and conuersant with Angells; neuer any more learned both in Diuine and Humane knowledge; neuer a greater Prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that receiued and deliuered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posteritie by letters, the truth and power of One infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World vniuersall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of idolatrie, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed it.

Syrac. 45. 13. 3.

*Syracides* calleth *Moses* the beloved of God and Men, whose remembrance is blessed. *He made him (saith the same Author) like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the feare of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his glorie, caused him to heare his voice, sanctified him with faithfulness, and meeknesse, and chose him out of all men.*

He is remembered among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetic* by *Megasthenes* and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long liues which the *Patriarchs* enjoyed before the flood, remembered by *Moses*, *Eustius*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius*, *Hecateus*, *Elanicus*, *Aufulaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander* the Historian, confirme. The vniuersall flood which God reuealed vnto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, and others haue testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Eustius*, and *Sybilus* haue approued. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecateus* wrote a Booke of him. *Damascenus* before cited speaketh of *Abrahams* passage from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the bookes of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth so the very fame of *Abraham*, which *Moses* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the ouerthrow thereof by diuine power, he saith that *Abraham*, borne in the tenth generation, in the Citie called *Camerina*, or *Frien*, excelled all men in wisdom: and by whom the *Astrologie* of the *Chaldeans* was inuented. *Is iustitia pietateq; sua* (saith *Eusebius* out of the same Author) *se Deo gratus fuit, et diuino precepto in Phœnicem venerit ibiq; habitauerit; for his iustice and pietie he was so pleasing vnto God, as by his Commandment he came into Phœnicia, and dwelt there.* Likewise *Diodorus Siculus* in his second Booke and fifth Chapter speaketh reuerently of *Moses*. There are many other among prophane Authors, which confirme the bookes of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparatione to the Gospel*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimonie of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words.

Strabo. l. 16.

*Moses enim affirmabat, docebatq; Egyptios non recte sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemq; Afros & Græcos, qui Dys hominum figuram affinxerunt: id verò solum esse Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod cælum & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cuius perfectæ imaginem, nemo sanæ mentis, alienius earum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem auderet fingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effigione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum.* *Moses affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amisse, which attributed vnto God the Images of beasts and cattail: Also that the Africans and Greekes greatly erred in giuing vnto their Gods the shape of men: whereas that only is God in deede, which containeth both vs, the Earth and Sea, which we call Heauen, the world, and the nature of all things, whose image, doubtlesse, no wise man will dare to fashion out vnto the likeness of those things; which are amongst vs: That therefore (all denying of Idoll cast aside) a worthy*

Temple

*Temple and place of priuer was to be erected vnto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all.*

Now concerning the *Egyptian* wisdom, for which the *Martyr Stephen* commended *Moses*, saying, *That Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in his workes and wordes*; the same is collected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Jamblicus*, *Philo Iudeus*; and *Eusebius Casarensis*, and diuided into foure parts, viz. Mathematicall, Naturall, Diuine, and Morall.

In the Mathematicall part, which is distinguished into *Geometrie*, *Astronomie*, *Arithmetick*, and *Musick*; the ancient *Egyptians* excelled all others. For *Geometrie*, which is by interpretation, measuring of grounds, was vsfull vnto them: because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nile*, were yearly ouerflowne and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged vnto him.

For the second part, to wit, *Astronomie*, the site of the Countrey being a leuell and spacious Plaine, free and cleare from cloudes, yielded them delight with ease, in obseruing and contemplating the risings, fillings, and motions of the Starres.

*Arithmetick* also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied: because without it, in *Geometrie* and *Astronomie*, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of *Musick* they made no other account, nor desired further knowledge; than seemed to them sufficient to serue and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisdom, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from *Peripateticall Philosophie*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies and liuing creatures haue their being; that Heauen is round like a Globe; that all Starres haue a certaine fount heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceede and bee from mutations in the aire; that the Planets haue their proper soules, &c.

The Diuine part of this wisdom, which is called *Theologie*, teacheth and beleeueth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first originall in *Egypt*; partly by means of the temperatenesse of that Countrey, where neither Winter with cold, nor Sommer with heate are offensive; and partly through the fertility, that *Nile* giueth in those places; That the soule is immortall, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and others Images, because the true similitudes of the Gods is not knowne; that many of the Gods haue bene in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefits bestowed on mankind, haue bene Deified; that those beasts, whose Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victorie, were adored for Gods: because vnder those Ensignes they prevailed ouer their enemies. Moreover, the *Egyptians* Diuines had a peculiar kinde of writing, mysticall and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to bee concealed from the vulgar sort, were obfured.

*Clemens* distributeth the whole summe of this latter *Egyptian* learning into three severall sorts, viz. *Epistolæ*, which is vsed in writing common Epistles; *Sacerdotalis*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *Sacerd*; which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which is expressed by letters Alphabetically in obscure and figurative wordes; as for example, where it is written: *The Isis* by the *Hornet* participateth the beautie of the Hawke; which is red thus: *The Moone* doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of diuine beautie; the other symbollicall, or by signatures, which is three-fold, viz. *Imitatie*, *Tropical*, and *Enigmaticall*: *Imitatie*, which designeth things by characters,

ractions, like to the things signified, as by a Circle the Sunne; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it selfe: Tropical or Transfrent, which applies the diuers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to signifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods and of Men. So with the *Egyptian* Diuines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the Hornet signifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird *this* signifieth the Moone: by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skillfullnesse: by a Lyon, Fortitude: by a Horse, Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudencie: by a Filth, Hatred is to be vnderstood: *Ænigmaticall* is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense, the monstrous Image of a Lyons body hauing a Mans head, was grauen on their Temples and Altars, to signifie, that to men all diuine things are *Ænigmaticall* and obscure. So the Image of the Sunne set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liueth aswell in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth, that the Sunne nourisheth Meteors in the Aire, aswell from the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eie, and an Eare, signifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and Governing all things. The *Scythians* are reported to haue bene delighted with this kinde of writing. For *Phereides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* sending letters, threatned *Idanthurā*, King of the *scythians*, with ruine and destruction of his Kingdome, vnlesse he would acknowledge subiection: *Idanthurā* returned to him a Moufe, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share: which *Orontopagus*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to signifie, that by the Moufe, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their aire: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their lands: were signified to be ready to be deliuered to *Darius*, as their Soueraigne Lord. But *Xyphodres* made an other construction, viz. that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his Men did hasten away, as a Bird through the aire, or creepe into holes as a Moufe, or runne into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape his armes, but either be slaine, or being made Captiues, till his grounds. The same Historie is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*.

The fourth and last part which is Morall, and Politique, doth containe especially the *Laynes*, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus* deuised: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Alepius*, hath written so many things of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) of the *Trinitie*, and of the coming of *Christ*, as of the last and fearefull day of Iudgement: that (as saith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not only to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

*Tamblicus* in his Bookes of Mysteries of the *Egyptians*, taking two very ancient Historians for his Authors, to wit, *Solomon* and *Menatus*, affirmeth that this *Mercurius* was not only the Inuentor of the *Egyptian* Philosophie, but of all other learning, called the *Wisedome of the Egyptians* before remembered: and that he wrote of that subiect 36525. Bookes, or Pages. Of which there were numbered, of Fierie Spirits, one hundred Bookes; of Aerall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thousand; which because they were out of the *Egyptian* language conuerted by certaine learned Philosophers into the naturall Greeke, they seemed to haue bene first written in that tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Bookes of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wisedome of the Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. of *Physick* fixe bookes; of the orders of *Priests* ten; and of *Astrologie* foure.

Herod. l. 4.

Clem. Strom. l. 6.

## §. VIII.

A Brieft of the Historie of *IOSVA*: and of the space betwene him and *OTHONIEL*: and of the remainders of the *Canaanites*; with a note of some Contemporaries to *IOSVA*: and of the breach of Faith.



FTER the death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth year of the Egrefc in, the first month called *Nisan*, for *Israhel*, *Iosua* the sonne of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wisedome, tooke on him the Gouvernement of *Israel*: God giuing him comfort, and encouraging him to passe the Riuer of *Jordan*, and to possesse, and diuide among the *Israelites* the Land promised.

The beginning of *Iosuas* rule St. *Augustine* dates with the raigne of *Aminas*, the eighteenth King in *Assyria*; with *Coras* the thirteenth King in *Sicenia*, when *Danaus* governed the *Argiues*; and *Erichonius*, the Athens. Lib. 18. de ciu. Da. c. 11.

*Iosua* imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent out *Jordan* certaine discouersers to view the feat and strength of *Jerico*, the next Citie vnto him on the other side of the Riuer, which hee was to passe ouer. Which discouersers being faued, and sent backe by *Rahab*, a Woman of ill fame, because shee kept a Tauerne or Visting house, made *Iosua* know, that the Inhabitants of *Jerico*, and those of the Countie about it, hearing of the approach of *Israel* had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the returne of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth year after the Egrefc, *Iosua* remoued from *Sittim* in the Plaines of *Moab*, and drew downe his Armie to the banks of the Riuer *Jordan*; and gaue them commandment to pur themselves in order to follow the *Arke of God*, when the *Leuites* tooke it vp, and moued towards the Riuer: giuing them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselves of his fauour and presence who is Lord of all the world, when the Riuer of *Jordan* should be cut off and diuided, and the waters coming from aboue should stand still in a heap; whereby those below towards the *Dead Sea* wanting supply, they might passe ouer into the land of *Canaan* with drie feet.

He also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, to prepare themselves (according to their Couenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and as we call it in this age, to leade in the Vanguard, which through all the Deserts of *Arabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the Tribe of *Juda* had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and the Countie and Cities of the *Amorites*, by the helpe of the rest, conquered for them: It agreed with iustice & equalitie, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe of *Manasse* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the banks of *Jordan* they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth, and on the tenth day of the first Moneth *Nisan* or *March*, they past ouer to the other side, taking with them twelue stones from the drie ground in the middle of the Riuer: which, for a memorie of that miracle by God wrought, they set vp at *Gilgal*, on the East side of the Citie of *Jerico*, where they incamped the first night. At which place *Iosua* gaue commandment, that all borne in the last fortieth year in the Deserts should be circumcised, which ceremonie to that day had bene omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. *Augustine* giueth for cause, The peoples contempt of their superiours. *Thom. u* excuseth it in this sort; That the *Israelites* knew not the certaine time of their remouing from one place to another: *Damasceus*, That it was not needfull by circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they liued by themselves and a-part from all Nations.

On the fourteenth day of the same Moneth, the children of *Israel* celebrated the *Passeouer* now the third time; first, at their leauing *Egypt*; secondly, at Mount *Sinai*; and now at *Gilgal*. After which being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Countie, and hauing, as it were, surfeited on *Nam*, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and ate thereof.

F f

And

And as *Moses* beganne to distribute those Regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites*, which *Og of Basan*, and *Shihon* held, so did *Iosua* performe the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gaue to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition, and distribution, was not doneat once, but at three severall times; first, by *Moses* to *Gad*, *Ruben*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands over *Jordan*; Secondly, by *Iosua*, to the Tribe of *Juda*, *Ephraim*, and the other halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, about the fifth year of his government: proued in the 14. of *Iosua*, v. 10. and a third diuision was made to the other fouen Tribes at *Shilo*, where *Iosua* seated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*.

The victories of *Iosua* against the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set downe in his owne bookes, as I shall not neede to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose storie I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or *Regulz* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much vnderstanding, as to vnite themselves together against the *Israelites*; but according to the custome of those estates, from whose Gouvernours God hath taken away all wilddom and fore-sight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the invaders, to themselves and to their owne defences: hoping that the fire kindled somewhat farre off, might againe haue been quenched, ere it could spread it selfe so far as their owne Territories and Cities. But after such time as *Ierico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed; five of those 31. Kings (all which at length perished in that warre) ioyned themselves together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendered themselves to *Iosua*. Only five (the rest looking on to see the success) namely the King of the *Iebusites*, in *Iebus*, or *Hierusalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmoth*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addrest themselves for resistance: whose Armie being by *Iosua* surpris'd and broken, themselves despairing to scape by flight, and hopelesse of mercy by submission, creeping into a Caeue vnder ground, were thence by *Iosua* drawne forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victorie hee also tooke *Makkedah*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the reliefe whereof *Horam* King of *Gezar* hastened, and perished. After which *Iosua* possesst himselfe of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countries were possesst, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings, and People made duitt: the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the ouer-late counsailes of necessity, vnited themselves, to make one grosse strength and bodie of an Armie: which *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, practis'd and gathered together, being at that time of all the *Canaanite* Kings the most powerfull; which Armie being by *Iosua* discouered, as the same rested neare the Lake of *Merom*, hee vs'd such diligence, as he came on them vnawares; and obtaining an absolute victorie ouer them he prosecuted the same to the vttermost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities: of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reseruing the rest for *Israel* to inhabite and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that *Iosua* shewed himselfe a skillfull man of Warre, for that in those ancient times he vs'd the stratageme of an ambush in taking of  *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the first five Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon*, by surpris. For he march'd all night from his camp at *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day; when they suspected no enemy at hand: as hee did also at *Asteram*, when he ouerthrew *Iabin*, and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victorie, he assaulted the great Citie of *Hazor*.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the Riuier of *Jordan* at the Springs, so as the Armie of *Israel* pass't it with a drie foot; the fall of *Ierico* by the sound of the Hornes; the shewers of 50 Haile-stones, which fell vpon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them perished, than by the sword of *Israel*: againe, the arrest of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lengthened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those, which fled after the ouerthrow: a wonder

of wonders, and a worke onely proper to the all-powerfull God.

Fourthly, out of the passage betweene *Iosua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all euasion, it admitteth no distinction, nor leaueth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousnesse, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Aequiuocation*. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Heuites*, expressly and by name, by the commandement of God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceiuers, and counterfeiters, and that they did ouer-reach, and as it were, deride *Iosua*, and the Princes of *Israel*, by feining to bee sent as Embassadors from a farre Countrey, in which traualle their clothes were worne; their brend mouldie, which they auowed to haue bene warme for newnesse when they first set out; their barrells and bottles of wine broken; their shoes patcht; and their thighs rent and ragged: Yet *Iosua* hauing sworn vnto them by the Lord God of *Israel*, hee durst not, though vr'd by the murmure of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but hee spared both their Liues, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Now if euer man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promise made, *Iosua* had it. For first, the commandement which hee receiued from God to root out this Nation among the rest, preceded by farre the peace which hee had granted to them. Secondly, he might iustly haue put these men to the sword, and haue sackt their Cities; if there bee any euasion from a promise made, whereof the liuing God is called to witness. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* that hee gaue peace, because hee knew them to bee a people hated of God. Hee told them, that if they were of the *Heuites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that hee gaue faith, and to a Nation which came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Israel* had done in *Egypt* and ouer *Jordan*, sought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Israel* made with these craftie *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the *Israelites* accepted their tale, that is, beleued what they had said, and counsaile'd not with the mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, these men who were knowne Idolaters, and seru'd those Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Apish Religion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witnesse of the true God, in whome they beleued not. I say therefore, that if euer man might haue seru'd himselfe by any euasion or distinction, *Iosua* might iustly haue done it. For hee neede not in this case the helpe of *Aequiuocation*, or *Mentall Reseruation*. For what hee sware, hee sware in good Faith; but hee sware nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithlesse subtiltie of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises hee made in the name of God, were made to the liuing God, and not to the dying Man, hee held them firme, and inuiolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom hee had sworn it, were worshippers of the Deuill.

For it is not, as faithlesse men take it, that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the name of the liuing Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God, that wee therein neglect: wee therein professe that wee feare him not, and that wee set him at nought and despise him. If hee that without Reseruation of honour giueth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point of Honour giue the lie to the King himselfe, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giueth Faith in the presence of God, promising in his name, and makes him a witness of the Covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Sonne to breake the Promise, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or King dome, to breake those Contracts

which haue beene made in former times, and confirmed by publique faith. For though it were 400. yeares after *Iosua*, that *Saul*, euen out of deuotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the *Gileonites*: yet God who forgot not what the Predecessours and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Israelites* had sworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased, till seuen of *Sauls* sonnes were deliuered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged vp.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to swear one thing by the name of the liuing God, and to referre in silence contrarie intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of Subiects to Kings, of Seruants to their Masters, of Vassalls to their Lords, of Wiues to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trials of right, will not onely be made vncertaine, but all the chaines, whereby freemen are tied in the world, be torne a sunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot passe) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies. It is by oath that warres take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his wordes are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witnesse, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poore euasions, which play with the feuerie of Gods Commandements in this kinde: But this indeede is the best answer, That he breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whose euer hath faith and the feare of God dares not doe it.

The *Christians* in the *Holie Land* when they were at the greatest, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely loose it againe, but were soone after beaten out of the *Holie Land* it selfe: by reason (saith *William* of *Tyre*, a reuerend Bishop which wrote that storie) that *Americ* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadad*, and his *Viceroy*, The *Soldan Samar*; who being sodainly inuaded by *Americ* drew in the *Turke Syracon* to their aide: whose Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his owne, beate the *Christians* out of the *Holie Land*; neither would the wooden Crosse (the very Crosse, say they that *Christ* died on) giue them victorie ouer *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge: seeing they had forsworne themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it beca direction from the holy Ghost, That hee that speaketh lies, shall be destroyed, and that the mouth which uttereth them, shall be the foule: how much more perillous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the foule) to swear a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungarie* after his great victorie ouer *Amurath* the *Turke*, and when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most aduantageous that euer was made for the *Christians*, to breake his faith, and to prouoke the *Turke* to renew the warre. And though the said King was farre stronger in the field than euer; yet he lost the battaile with 30000. *Christians*, and his owne life. But I will stay my hand: For this first volume will not hold the repetition of Gods iudgements vpon faith-breakers; bee it against *Infidels*, *Turkes*, or *Christians* of diuers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oathes now-a-daies, is rather made a matter of custome than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable; That it pleased God to leaue so many Cities of the *Canaanites* vnconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatrie, and as it is said in the Scriptures, To bee Thornes in their eyes to proue them, and to teach them to make Warre. For these Cities hereafter named did not onely remaine in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Iosua*; but soone after his death, the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and ensort to inhabit the Mountaines, and places of hardest access. And those of *Iuda* were not able to bee Masters of their owne Vallies, because, as it is writ-

ten in the *Iudges*, The *Canaanites* had Chariots of yron. And those principall Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adioyning vnto *Iuda*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philistins*: as *Azzab*, *Gath*, *Asdod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manasse* ouer *Jordan* expell the *Geshurites*, nor the *Maachabites*: which inhabited the North parts of *Basjan*, afterward *Tracountis*.

Nor the *Ephraim*s possesse themselves of *Beithshems*: nor of *Bethnabab*, but they infort those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Asher* expell the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*; or *Acon*, *Atidab*, *Ichab*, *Hebab*, *Aphike*, and *Rehob*, nor in- force them to tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enioy *Kiron*, and *Nahol*, but received tribute from them. Also the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraim*s: and among the children of *Manasse*, on the West of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Beithshem*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Moggado*; yea *Hierusalem* it selfe did the *Iebusites* defend about foure hundred yeares, euen till *Dauids* time.

Now *Iosua* liued one hundred and ten yeares, eigheteene of which he gouerned *Israel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expresse in the Scriptures, which causeth diuers to coniecture diuersly of the continuance. *Iosephus* giues him fife and twentie yeares, *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Author of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twentie: And *Masseus* fixe and twentie: *Aluanius* cited by *Masius*, fourteene: *Ioannes Lucidus*, fuentene: *Caietan*, ten: *Eusebius* giueth him seuen and twentie: and so doth *S. Augustine*: *Melancthon*, two and thirtie: *Codoman*, fife and twentie. But whereas there passed 480. yeares from the deliuerance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, vnto the building of the Temple, it is necessarie that wee allow to *Iosua* only eigheteene of them; as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to mee seemes the most likely, and as I thinke, a well approved opinion.

The same necessitie of retaining precisely 480. yeares from the departure out of *Egypt* vnto the building of the Temple, conuinceth of error, such as haue inserted yeares betwene *Iosua* and *Othniel*, of whom *Eusebius* finds eight yeares, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which hee giueth his reason in his foure and twentieth and last Chapters vpon *Iosua*: *Buring* reckons it nine yeares; *Bucholzer* and *Rehner* but one, *Codoman* twentie, and *Nicephorus* no lesse than three and thirtie: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. yeares, there can be no void yeares found betwene *Iosua* and *Othniel*, vnlesse they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed vnto *Iosua* by the account already specified. The praises and acts of *Iosua* are briefly written in the fixe and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where among many other things it is said of him. Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battles of the Lord?

That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter ver. 26. And *Iosua* wrote these wordes in the booke of the law of God: which seemeth rather to haue beene meant by the covenant which *Iosua* made with *Israel* in *Sichem*, where they all promised to serue and obey the Lord: which promise *Iosua* caused to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were *Caietan* and *Abulenfis*: *Theodoret* doth likewise conceiue that the booke of *Iosua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled *Liber Iustorum*: remembred by *Iosua* himselfe, and others, that it was the worke of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion vpon these wordes of the 26. verse. And *Iosua* wrote these wordes, &c. this place hath nothing in it to proue it, for when 50 people had answered *Iosua*: The Lord our God will we serue, and his voice will we obey, it followeth that *Iosua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the same in the booke of the Law of God.

There liued at once with *Iosua*, *Erichonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speede: And

about the same time the fiftie Daughters of *Danāus* (as it is said) slew the fiftie Sonnes of *Egyptus*, all but *Lyneus* who succeeded *Danāus*, if the tale be true. There liued also with *Iosua*, *Phœnix* and *Cadmus*, and neare the end of *Iosua* life. *Iupiter* is said to haue rauished *Europa* the Daughter of *Phœnix*, (afterward married to *Asterius* King of *Creta*) and begot on her *Minos*, *Radamantibus*, and *Sarpēdon*. But *S. Augustine* reports this rauishment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sonnes of *Iupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was Father to *Dencalion*, and *Dencalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the war of *Troy*, and *Sarpēdon* was in person a yong or strong man at the same *Troian* warre. And lo doth *Nestor* reckon vp in the Councell of the *Greekes*, *Thelcus* and *Perithous* for men of antiquitie, and of ages past: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of these. But hereof elsewhere.

Lib. 18. c. 12. De  
Cunt. Dei.

Homer. Odys.  
Iliad.

Hom. Iliad. 11.

## CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Israel, that were planted in the borders  
of Phœnicia, with sundrie Stories depending  
vpon those places.

## §. I.

The Proæme to the description of the whole Land of Canaan, with  
an exposition of the name of  
Syria.



THE Storie of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Iosua*, after whome the Common-wealth of the *Jewes* was governed by Kings, of which fo many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, shall bee remembered when we come to the description of *Samaria*: But because the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and *Theaters*, whereon the greatest part of the Storie past, with that which followeth hath bene acted, I thinke it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a *Geographical* description of those Regions: that all things therein performed by the places knowne, may the better bee understood, and conceiued. To which purpose (besides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I haue bestowed on euery Tribe his proper portion: and doe shew what Cities and Places of strength, were by the *Jewes* obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leaue vnconquered: by whom he might correct and scourge them, when vngrateful for his many graces, they at sundrie times forgot or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deafe and dead Idolls of the Heathen. *Diuina bonitas* (saith *S. AUGUSTINE*) *ideo maximè irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro: & misericorditer temporalem adhibet seueritatem, ne æternam iussit inferni ultionem*; The diuine goodnesse is especially therefore angrie in this world, that it may not be angrie in the world to come, and doth mercifully of temporall seueritie, that it may not iustly bring a populus eternall vengeance.

To the Cities herein described, I haue added a short Storie of the beginnings, and ends of diuers Kingdomes and Common-wealths: and to helpe my felie herein,

I haue

I haue perused diuers of the best Authors vpon this subiect: among whom, because I finde so great disagreement in many particulars, I haue rather in such cases aduentured to follow mine owne reason, than to borrow any one of their old paterternes.

And because *Canaan*, with *Palestina* of the *Philistins*, and the Lands of *Qg* and *Sidon* Kings of *Busan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but small Prouinces of *Syria*: it shall be necessarie, first to diuide and bound the generall, and so to descend to this particular, now called the holy Land.

*Syria*, now *Soria*, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently taken, embraced all those Regions from the *Euxine* Sea to the Red Sea: and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which looke into *Pontus* called *Leuce Syrians*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, vnto *Idumæa* towards the South, *Tigris* towards the Sunne rising, and the *Mediterran* Sea Westward: it then containeth besides *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, *Arabia* the *Desart*, and *Arabia Petraea*, that Region also which the *Greekes* call *Mesopotamia*, the *Hebrewes* *Syria*, of the two Riuer, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for so *Aram-Naharayn* is expounded: also *Padan Aram*: that is, *Ingum Syria*, because the two Riuer goe along in it as it were in a yoke.

*Edeffa*, sometime *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the Metropolis of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many small Prouinces, as *Celestria* which the *Latines* call *Syria Canea*, because it lay in that fruitful Valley betweene the Mountaines of *Lybanus* and *Anti-Lybanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others were seated. Then *Damascena* or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the Citie *Damascus*, and the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, the Regall seate of the *Adades*, the first Kings of *Syria*. Adioyning to it was the Prouince of *Sophene*, or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobab*: ouer which *Adadazer* commanded in *Salemens* time. Then *Phœnicia* and the people *Syrpharines*: and lastly *Syria Palestina* bordering *Egypt*: of which *Ptolome* maketh *Judea* also a part: and to that Prouince which *Moses* call the *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giuegh the name of *Syria Iudea*.

## §. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching  
this Land.

BE Vt that Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and stretcheth from behinde *Lybanus* to the great *Desart* betweene *Idumæa* and *Egypt*: bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the West, and the Mountaines of *Hermion*; *Galaad*, and *Arnon* towards the East: the same Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traceni* or *Tracemita*, and *Ptolome* *Hippata* sit *Canaan*; The language was also called *Canaan*, saith *Montanus*: and after *Hebraea* of the *Hebrewes*: who rooke name from *Heber*, the Sonne of *Sale*, according to *S. Augustine*. But *Arius Montanus* not so well allowing of this deriuation, makes it a common name to all those of *Zeobis* Sonnes, which past ouer *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, saith he, is as much as *transiens* or *transmittens*, of going or passing ouer. And because the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding: therefore as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebraei*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Eusebius* long before th-m both. It had also the name of *Judea* from *Iuda*; and then afterwards intituled the holy Land, because therein our Saviour *Christi* was borne, and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was againe diuided into foure, namely into *Edom*, (othervise *Seir*, or *Edumæa*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*. *Galilee* is double, the *superior* called *Gentium*, and the *inferiour*: and that *Galilee* and *Judea* are distinguished, it is plain in the *Euangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phœnicia*.

Now

Now besides these Prouinces of *Phanicia*, and *Palestine* (both which the Riuer of *Jordan* boundeth; siuing that *Phanicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Daniasus*) that part also to the East of *Jordan*, and within the Mountains of *Hermion*, *Gilead* and *Arnon*, otherwife *Tracanis*, fell to the possession of halfe *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also: as well because anciently possit by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the *Israelites*, which Eastermost parts are againe diuided into *Basan* or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Machati*, *Gessuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are knowne to the later *Cosmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in general: and by the names of *Tracomis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, &c. of which I will speake in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the later Prouinces, which fall to *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*, for these be his wordes. *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar vntill Asceab (which is Gaza) and this was the length of the Countrie North and South: then it followeth in the Text. And as thou goest vnto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboim, even vnto Lasba: by which wordes Moses setteth downe the breadth, to wit, from the Dead Sea to the Mediterraen.* But in *Deuteronomie* it seemeth to be farre more large. For it is therein written: *All the places whercon the sole of your feet shall treade shalbe yours: your coast shalbe from the wilderness, and from Libanon, and from the Riuer Perab, vnto the uttermost Sea.* Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this Description agreeth with the former: only *Libanon* is put for *Zidon*: and the *Wildernesse* for *Gerar* and *Asceab*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if *Perab* be taken for *Euphrates*: then the Land promised stretcheth it selfe both ouer *Arabia Petrea*, and the *Desert* as farre as the border of *Babylon*: which the *Israelites* neuer possit: nor at any time didd so much as inuade or attempt. And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceiue that by the Riuer *Perab*, was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*: taking light from this place of *IOSEPH*: *Behold I haue diuided vnto you by lot these Nations, that remaine to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan with all the Nations that I haue destroyed, euen vnto the great Sea Westward.*

And though it bee true that *Dauid* greatly enlarged the Territory of the holy Land: yetas *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perab* in the former place bee taken for *Euphrates*, then was it but per gentes in amicitiam receptas. For *Dauid* didd not at any time enter so farre to the East as *Assyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries giue aduantage to those that would make any irreligious cauilt, as touching the promise of God to the *Israelites* vnperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and seruice, it pleased him not only to inclose them within that Territory, which was for so many people exceeding narrow: but therein and elsewhere to subiect them vnto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish Gods themselves also serued and obaiad. And sure the promise by which the *Hebrewes* claimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the lasting enioying thereof, to wit, as long as the heauens were about the earth, was tied to those conditions both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent: which the *Israelites* neuer performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankind could or can expect: who know that all sorts of comforts from the mercifull goodness of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to bee attended, than while we perseuer in his loue, seruice, and obedience. So in the eighth Verse of the eleuenth of *Deuteronomie*, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition ioyned to the prosperitie of *Israel*. For therein it is written: *Therefore shall ye so keepe all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and goe in, and possesse the Land, whether ye goe to possesse it. Also that you may prolong your daies in the Land which the Lord sware vnto your Fathers, &c.*

The like condition was also annexed to the enioying of the land conquered, and the

the possession thereof, so long as the heauens were about the earth. For if ye keepe diligently, saith he, all these commandements, which I command you to doe, that is, to loue the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and ye shall possesse great Nations, and mightier than you. And here, though it bee manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandements, and their falling away from the worship of his all-powerfull Majestie, to the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditional promises of God were absolutely voided, as depending vpon obedience vnperformed: yet I cannot mislike that exposition of *Melancthon*: For, saith he, ostendit promissionem precipuam non esse de hoc politico regno; Hesheweth that his chief promise is not of a ciuill Kingdome. To which agrees that answer, which *S. Hierome* made to a certaine Heretique in his Epistle ad *Dardanum*, who accused *S. Hierome* that he ouertrew the reputation of the *seuer* Story, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an *Allegorie*, and ad illam duntaxat viuendum terram quae in celis est; (that is) Only to that Land of the lining which is in Heauen. Quoniam tota Iudeorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habet 160. miliarium, latitudinem vero 40. & in his citius regiones loca vrbes & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam a Iudeis occupata, sed tantum diuina pollicitatione promissa; Because the whole

Countrie of the Iewes is so narrow in compass that it scarce hath 160. miles in length, and 40. miles in breadth, and in these are Countries, Places, Cities, and many Townes, which the Iewes neuer possit, but were only granted by diuine promise. In like manner the same Father speaketh vpon *Ezay* touching the blessings promised vnto *Hierusalem*: where he hath these wordes. De quo dicimus *Hierusalem* nequaquam in *Palestina* Regione petendam: quae totius Provinciae deterrima est; & saxosis montibus aperiatur. & penuriam patitur sitis: ut ut celestibus vitatur pluujs; & raritatem fontium cisternarum extructione solet: sed in Dei manibus ad quam dicitur festinauerunt Ieruerores tui; From whence, saith he, we learne, that *Hierusalem* is not to be sought in that Region of *Palestina*, which is the worst of the whole Prouince, and ragged with craggie Mountains: and suffreth the penurie of thirst: so as it preserveth raine water, and supplieth the scarcitie of Wells by building Cisternes, but this *Hierusalem* is in Gods handes; to which it is said, Thy builders haue hastened, so farre *S. Hierome*, where also to prevent mistaking, hee thus expoundeth himselfe. Neque hoc dico in suggestationem terrae Iudeae, ut Hereticus Sycophtas mentitur: aut quo auctorem historiae veritatem: quae fundamentum est intelligentiae spiritualis sed ut decutiam supercilium Iudeorum: qui Synagoga angustius latitudinis Ecclesiae praeserunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam; & non spiritum viuificant: offendunt terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem; Neither (saith he) say I this to disgrace the land of *Judea* (as the Hereticall *Sycophtas* belieue me) or to take away the truth of the Historie, which is the foundation of spirituall understanding, but to beare downe the pride of the Iewes: which enlarge the straits of the *Synagoga* smaller then the breadth of the Church: for if they follow only the killing letter; and not the quickening spirit, let them shew the Land of promise, flowing with milke and honie.

By this it may also be gathered, how fouler it be vnkely (seeing the West-bound in the place, *Deut. 11. 24.* had his truth in the littell sense, that *Euphrates* or *Perab*, which is made the East bound; should be taken only in a spirituall sense) yet neuertheless that *Hieromes* opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perab* were not to be understood for *Euphrates*: and that the promise it selfe was neuer so large: much lesse the plantation and conquest of *Israel*.

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because *Asser*, *Neptulim*, and *Zabulon*, held the Northernmost part; and were seated in *Phanicia*, I will begin with these three, taking *Asser* for the first of which Tribe yet before I speake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reason of the diuers fancies of Translators: are diuersly exprest, so that to the vnkilfull they may seeme diuers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diuersitie (as by those learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly because the ancient Editions

of the Hebrew want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the Hebrew Editions have; and partly because the Ancient expressed or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the latter thinke fit.

## S. III.

## THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

## †. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

**T**He *Asherites* descended of *Asher* the Sonne of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maide of *Lea*, were increased while they abode in *Aegypt*, to the number of 41 500. odd persons, all men aboute twenty years of age, and able to beare armes at the time, when they were multered by *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*: all which number perishing in the *Deserts*, 20 there remained of their issues, besides women and children, 53 400. bodies fit for the warres: which past the River of *Arnon*, into the Plaines of *Moab*, and after the Conquest of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phanicia*, from *Zidon* and the fields of *Libanus*, vnto *Ptolomais Acon* alongst the Sea-coast: containing thirtie English miles or thereabout; and from the Mid-land sea to the East border some twelve miles: though *Antoninus* makes it somewhat larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oile, and Wheate, besides the *Balsamum*, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that *Propheeie*, *Asher pin-guis panis*: concerning *Asher*, his bread shall be fat: And bee shall give pleasures for a King.

†. II.  
of Zidon.

**T**He first Citie seated on the North border of the Territorie of *Asher*, was *Zidon*, which *Iosua* calleth the great *Zidon*: both for strength and magnitude. The *Greekes* and *Q. Curtius* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Iosue* deriues the name from the abundance of Fish found on those shores: whereof it hath beene called *Zidonia*. But that it was farre more ancient *Moses*, *Iosua*, and *Iosephus* witness, 40 the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaan*'s Sonnes: and so strong it was in *Iosua*'s time, as neither did himselfe attempt it, neither could the *Asherites*, or any of their Successors master it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, euen vnto the coming of *Christ*, a Citie interchangeably gouerned, by their own Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the *Prophets Eloy, Hieremie, Ezekiel, and Zacharie*, it was often afflicted both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

*Zidon* is seated on the very wall of the *Phanician* Sea, which is a part of the *Mediterran* or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarbat*: which standeth betwene it and *Tyre*, the distance betwene which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is fourteene thousand paces, saith *Segetius*: but *Padianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *VeisBarbarus* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five and twentie miles. This difference

of distance as well betwene these two knowne Cities, as all the rest, make it ouer difficult to deuise any new scale to the Map and description of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memorie: The *Storie* which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to be more ancient than *Tyre*: which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memorie of *Strab. l. 15.* *Tyre*: because it was but a member of *Zidon*, and a Citie subiect to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became faire more renowned, opulent, and strong: From *Zidon* had *Salomon* and *Zorabel*, their principall workmen, both in Timber and Stone; for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other *Mechanicall Arts and Trades*: the Prophet *Zacharie* calling them the wise *Zidonians*. The City was both by nature and art exceeding strong, hauing a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing vpon an vnaccessible Rocke, and compassed by the Sea; which after the Citizens became *Christians*, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Castle it hath on the South side by the Port of *Aegypt*, which the *Templers* guarded. It also sent many other Colonies besides that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as vnto *Thebes*, and *Sephria*, Cities of *Baetia* in Greece. *Zach. 9. v. 1.*

*Strabo* and *Plinie* giue the *Zidonians* the inuention of *Glasfe*, which they vfed to make of those sands which are taken out of the Riuer *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterran* Sea, neare *Ptolomais* or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of those cleare *Glasses* which they make at *Murano*: of which *S. Hierome* and *Plinie*, *Zidon ignis artifex vitri*: *Zidon vitrarj officinis Nobilis*; *Zidon a famosus Glasfe-maker, or a skillfull worker in Glasfe-houses.*

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Baal* and *Astaroth*: which Idolls though common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of *1. Sam. 3. 1. 10.* and *Judg. 10. 6.*) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the Gods of the *Zidonians*: as appeares *1. Kings 11. 5.* in the *Storie* of *Solomons* Idolatrie: where *Astaroth* is called the God of the *Zidonians*: and *1. Reg. 16. 33.* in the *Storie* of *Debab*, the chief worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said that he marrying *Iezabel* the Daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*. Diuers *Baals* and diuers *Astaroths* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appeares by the plurall names of *Baalim* and *Astaroth*, *1. Sam. 12. 10.* and elswhere: for euen the name *Astaroth*, as I am informed by a skillfull *Hebrutian*, is plurall: the singular being *Astoreth*: whence *Jud. 2. 13.* the *Septuagint* readeth *idolatrias suas adscripsit*. They worshipped the *Astarites*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals* and *Astoreths*, may be diuersly vnderstood: either in respect of the diueritie of the formes of the Images, or of the worship in diuers places, or of the stories depending vpon them: which (as fables vfe to be) were doubtlesse in diuers Cities diuers. *Aug. gulfine quæst. 1. 6. in Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Astarite* to be *Isupher* and *Iano*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Iuno* by some such name as *Astarite*. *Tullie, lib. 3. de Nat. Deorum*, making diuers Goddesses of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Astarite*: whom he makes to be borne of *Tyris* and *Syria*, and to haue beene the wife of *Adonis*: as also *Macrobius*, *2. Saturn. cap. 21.* saies that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worshipped of the *Affirians*: and *Hierome* vpon *Ezek. 8. 44.* notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) the name of *Adonis* among the *Tyrians*. So that it may seeme that in the worship of *Astarite*, or *Venus*, they did bewaile her husband *Adonis*: as also the *Grecians*, did in their songs of *Adonis*. *Mourne for Adonis the faire, dead is Adonis the faire.*

Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris* in the sacrifices of *Isis*: whose losse of her husband *Osiris* was as famous in the *Aegyptian* Idolatrie, as with the *Grecians*, *Venus* losse of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Isis et Osiride*: that *Osiris* with the *Aegyptians* is called *Ammus*: which word may seeme

seeme to be the same with *Ezekiel's Thammuz*. But how soeuer these *Zidonians* were thus anciently fostered with the milke of Idolatrie: yet they were more apt to receiue the Doctrine and Gospell of *Christ* after his Ascension, than the *Jewes*: who had bene taught by *Moses*, and the *Prophets* so many yeares, whereof our Saviour in *Matthew* and *Luke*. *Woe be to thee Chorazin, &c. for if the great workes which were done in thee, had bene done in Tyrrus, and Zidon, they had repented long agoe, &c. but I say vnto you it shall bee easier for Tyrrus, and Zidon, at the day of iudgement than for you.*

It receiued a *Christian Bishop* with the first: who was afterward of the Diocesse of *Tyre*. But in the yeare of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*: and continued in their possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then King of *Hierusalem*, in the yeare 1111. by the helpe of the *Danes* and *Normans*, who came with a flecte to visit the holy Land, and tooke Port at *Toppa*, it was againe recovered, the commandement thereof being giuen to *Eustace Gremer*, a Noble man of that Countrey. And againe in the yeare 1250. it was reedified and strengthened by *Lodowicke* the French King: while hee spent foure yeare in the Warre of the holy Land. Lastly, in the yeare 1289. it was reconquered by the *Saracens*: and is now in possession of the *Turke*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

## †. III.

Of *Sarepta*, with a briefe Historie of *Tyre* in the same coast.

*Sarepta*, or after the *Hebrew*, *Sarphath*, is the next Citie Southward from *Zidon*, betwene it and the Riuer called *Naur*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a Citie very famous for the excellent Wine growing neare it: of which *Sidonius*.

*Vinamibi non sunt Gazetia, Chba, Falerna,  
Quas Sareptano palmitis missa bibas.*

I haue no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,  
Nor any for thy drinking of *Sarepta's* vine.

This Citie had also a *Bishop* of the Diocesse of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, as the rest: and is now called *Saphet*, faith *Possellus*.

Not farre from *Sarepta* was situate that sometime famous Citie of *Tyre*, whose flects of ships commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatnesse and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Vtica*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*, of which *VIRGIL*. *Vrbis antiqua fuit Tyris ite-40  
nuere Coloni Carthago.* And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quasi Phœnicum*, a Colonie of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Calix*. In *Italie*, *Nola*: in *Asia* the lesse, *Dromos Achillis*, which Citie the *Schoolist* of *Apollonius* placeth neare the Riuer *Phyllis*, in *Bithynia*.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Iosua* the 19. taking name from the situation: because built on a high Rocke, sharpe at one end: the *Latines*, as it seemes, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *osfrum Sarraunum*, by which name *Iuuenall* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it vpon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day: the place being still knowne by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and because it was a Colonie of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet *Esay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*: which *Trogus* also confirmeth, though *Berosus* by assignie of name makes *Thir* the Sonne of *Iaphet* to bee the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient (for so much the Prophet *Esay* also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious Citie whose antiquitie is of ancient* daies:)

daies:) yet, that *Thir* as the sonne of *Iaphet* set himselfe in the bosome of the *Canaanites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region: I see nothing to perswade mee.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to bee the worke of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curtius*: and *Iosephus*, and *Eusebius* make this Citie elder than *Salomon's* Temple 240. yeares: *Cædrenus* 361. who also addeth that *Tyrrus* the Wife of *Agenor* gaue it her name: but of *Agenor* I will speake more at large in the storie of their Kings.

For strength and for the commoditie of the harbour, and the better to receiue Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Island, 700. paces from the continent: and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the middelt of the Sea, as some reade, or as others in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence hee calleth it *situat at the entrie of the Sea*, as also the same Prophet calleth it the *Mart of the people for many Iles*: and *ESAY* a *Mart of the Nations*: and so Proude, Wealthie, and Magnificent was this Citie, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof. Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the world.

It excelled both in learning, and in manufecture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlor cloth: which, faith *Julius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules Dogge*, who passing alongt the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*: the haire of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the same Idolls that *Zidon* did: sauing that *Hercules* became their Patron in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a crowne of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remaine his friends and allies, answered them, that hee had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defender of their Citie: and the Ancestor of the *Macedonians* Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountaine of old *Tyre*: where he might performe that ceremonie: but this auailed not. For *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious, hee desired to enter the Towne, which being denied, hee as one whome no perill could feare, nor labour wearie, gathered together as many ships as he could; and brought from *Libanus* so great a number of *Cedars*, and so many waigtie Stones, from the old Citie of *Tyre* adioyning, as notwithstanding that his materials were often walht away with the strength of the Sea, and the Tides, yet he neuer rested, till hee had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Island: and hauing once approached their Walls, hee ouer-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (hauing filled the body of force with the violent mouing Spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the sword that resisted, after which he caused 2000. more to be hung vp in a ranke all alongt the Sea-shore: which execution vpon cold blood he performed (as some Authors asseme) vpon the illues of those illues which had formerly slaine all their Masters, taking their Wiues, Children, Riches, and power of Gouernement to themselves. This victorie of *Alexander* ouer the *Tyrians*, *Iosephus* remembereth: and how *Sanaballet* reuolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Soldiers: who was the last *Satrapa* or Prouinciall Gouernour, which *Darius* seated in *Samaris*: the same who hauing married his Daughter to *Mamasse*, brother to *Iaddus* the high Priest of *Hierusalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a Temple might bee built on the Mountaines *Garizim* ouer *Samaris*: that the forces of the *Jewes* being diuided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The Honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his sonne-in-law *Mamasse*, whom the *Jewes* oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a Gentile: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballet*, whom *Gul. Tyrrus* calleth *Sanabul*, died.

Long before this defolation of *Tyre*, by the crueltie of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanasser* the *Assyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became enuious of the beautie, riches, and power of that Citie. He besieged it on the Land-side, and

and with three-score ships of Warre held the Port : to the end that neither any vituall nor any supply of men might enter it : but the *Tyrrians* with twelve fleet-scattered that flecte, and tooke 500. prisoners of the *Assyrians* : notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his resolution and lay before it by his Lieutenants five yeares, but with ill successe. And this siege *Menander Ephesius*, cited by *Iosephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as hee found the storie among the *Annals of the Tyrrians* (which the said *Menander* converted into Greeke) adding that *Elulais*, whom *Tyrinus* calleth *Heliassus*, was then King of *Tyre*, having gouerned the same fixe and twentie yeares. Soone after this repulse of *Salmanassar*, and about 200. yeares before the victorie of *Alexander, Nabuchodonosor* at such time as he destroyed *Jerusalem* with 10 the Temple, came before this Citie : who indeed gaue to *Alexander* the example of that despairefull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonosor* had formerly done it : though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawsey and passage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

Against *Nabuchodonosor*, for many yeares, the *Tyrrians* defended themselves: for so long did these *Babylonians* continue before it, As every head was made bald, and every shoulder made bare, saith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Ezra* had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proude place. In the end and after thirteene yeares siege or more, the *Tyrrians* despoiled of all their hopes, and remembering ouer-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, hauing prepared a conuenient number 20 of ships, abandoned their Citie, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained : and with their wiues, children, and portable riches sailed thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritime Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satisfie his many labours and perills, or any person vpon whom to auenge themselves for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a worke of his owne) to make *Nabuchodonosor* victorious ouer the *Egyptians* : and gaue him that Kingdome and the spoile thereof, as it were in wages for his Armie. Whereupon Saint *Hierome* noteth, that God leaueth not the good deeds of the Heathen vnrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable 30 worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happinesse reserved for his *Seruaunts* and *Saints*: yet such is the boundlesse goodnesse of God, as he often repaith them with many worldly gifts and temporall blessings.

Now of this enterprise of *Nabuchodonosors* against *Tyre*, prophane Historians haue not been silent. For both *Diodores*, and *Philostratus* (as *Iosephus* citeth them) the one in his second Booke, the other in his *Phenician* 1 histories remember it.

After these two great *Vassations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon* : this Citie of *Tyre* repaired and recovered it selfe againe : and continued in great glorie about 300. yeares, euen to the coming of our Saniour *Christ* : and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith neare 600. yeares : the *Archbishop* whereof gaue place to none 40 but to the Patriarke of *Jerusalem* only : who within his owne Diocesse had fourteen great Cities, with their Bishops and Suffragans : namely *Caipha*, otherwile *Porphiria*, *Acon* or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Casarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthessa*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus* (or *Tortosa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the yeare 636. it was with the rest of that beautifull Region of *Phœnicia* and *Palestina*, subiected to the cruell and faithlesse *Saracens*. Vnder the burthen and yoke of whole tyrannie it suffered with the other *Palestine* Cities 488. yeares.

In the yeare 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Jerusalem*; but in vaine : yet in the yeare 1124. by *Guaremonde*, Patriarke of *Jerusalem*, Vicegent to *Baldwine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their flecte of Gallies, 50 it was againe recovered, and subiected to the Kings of *Jerusalem*, and so it remained 165. yeares.

Finally, in the yeare 1189. *Saladine* hauing first taken *Jerusalem*, removed his whole Armie, and fate downe before *Tyre*: drawing his flecte of ships and Gallies from

from *Alexandria* into the port, this citie as then onely remaining in the *Christian* power.

The citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fierced, burnt, and brake the *Saracens* flecte, and falling out resolutely vpon his armie, slew so great numbers of them, and followed their victorie with such furie, as that the *Saracens* forsaking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two yeares after which victorie the bodie of that famous *Fredericke Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Christians* enemies ouer a Riuier vnforadable 10 perilled by the weight of his armor therein) was brought and interred in the Cathedral church of *Tyre*, neere vnto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and grauen with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeares before therein buried : but in the yeare 1289. the *Saracens* againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subiect to the *Turks*.

†. IIII.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

20 The third Citie alongst the coast of the Sea, which the *Asserites* could not obtaine, on the fourth bound of *Asser* was *Acho*, which was the ancient name there-after *Hierame*, though other good Authors affirme that it rooke name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolomie*. *Pliny* calleth it *Ace*: and otherwile the *Colonie of Claudius*. It had also the name of *Coth* or *Cod*, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hactipos*. *Plin. lib. 5. ca. 19. in descriptione sancti.*

But lastly, it was intitled *Ptolomais* after the name of one of the *Egyptian Ptolomies*: which citie also is it. 1. *Mac. 11.* an other of the *Ptolomies* infideliouly wrested from his sonne in law *Alexander*, which called him selfe the sonne of *Antiochus Epiphane*: the same *Alexander* hauing married *Cleopatra* daughter of the said *Ptolomie* not long before. Therein also was *Jonathan Maccabaeus* treacherously surprized 30 and slaine as it is 1. *Mac. 12. 48.* by the perfidiousnesse of *Tryphon*, whom soone after *Antiochus* pursued as it is in the storie ensuing : and by like reason about the same time was the aforesaid *Alexander* in the warre against *Demetrius* one of the sonnes of *Antiochus* the great with whom *Ptolomie* ioynded, ouerthrowne and treacherously murdered by *Zabdiel the Arabian* : to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented vnto his father in law *Ptolomie*: who enioyed not the glory of his victorie and treason aboue three dayes, for God stricke him by death. 1. *Mac. 11. 18.*

For the beautie and strength of this Citie, this *Alexander* made it his regall seate, two parts of the same being inuironed by the Sea, and the Port for safetie and capacitie not inferiour to anie other in all that Tract. This Citie is distant from *Hierusalem* some foure and thirtie miles : foure miles to the North from the Mountaine *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lamberti*: from *Tyre* *Antoni- 40 nus* maketh it two and thirtie Italian miles. In the middle of the Citie there was a Tower of great strength sometime the Temple of *Bel-zebub* : and therefore called the Castle of Flies, on the topp whereof there was maintained a perpetuall light, like vnto that called *Pharus* in *Egypt* : to giue comfort in the night to those ships, which came heere and sought that part. It had in it a Bilhous seate, of the Diocesse of *Tyre*, after it became *Christian* : but in the yeare 636. (a fallall yere to the *Christians* in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Harumarus* the *Saracen*. In the yeare 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the first, by the helpe of the Gallies of *Genoa*: to 50 whom a third of the reuencue was giuen in recompence. Againe, in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred foure score and leauen *Saladine* King of *Egypt*, and *Syria*, became Lord thereof. In the yeare of *Christ*, one thousand one hundred ninetie and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France* it was repoulesed and redeliuored to the *Christians*. Lastly, in the yeare 1291. it was

Ioseph. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 14.  
Ei. cont. 4p.  
1. Guli. Tyrinus. de Bell. Sacri. 13. 4.  
Ioseph. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 15.

Eze. 39. 18.  
Eze. 43. 20.

Eze. 39. 19.

Ioseph. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 13.

Gul. Tyr. bell. sac.

Gul. Tyr. Ant. Bell. sac. 17.

Plin. lib. 5. ca. 19. in descriptione sancti.

Ptolomies Phil. lunceter.

1. Mac. 11. 10.

Ant. lib.

Hierold.

G. Tyr. bell. sac. lib. 10. cap. 23.  
Hierold lib. 11.  
bell. sac. lib. 17.  
lib. 10. cap. 2.  
lib. 10.

was by the furie of the *Saracens*; besieged with an Armie of 150000. entred, sackt, and utterly demolished: though in some sort afterward reedified, and it is now *Turkish*.

## † V.

## Of the Castle of St. GEORGE.

Droch.

11in. 4.

Of the place & memorie of his death, See Chap. 9. §. 11.

**F**ive miles from *Ptolomais* towards the East, is the Castle of *St. George* seated, in which hee was borne: the Valley adioyning bearing the same name. And though for the credit of *S. Georges* killing the Dragon, I leave every man to his owne beliefe: yet I cannot but thinke, that if the Kings of *England* had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Successours Royally have continued, should have borne his name, seeing the world had not that scarcitie of Saints in those daies, as that the *English* were driuen to make such an erection vpon a Fable, or Person fained. The place is described by *Adrichomius* in his description of *Affer*, to have bene in the fields of *Libanus*: betweene the River *Adonis*, and *Zidon*: his owne wordes are these. *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, nunc longe à Beryto, memorant incolunt Christi Militem D. GEORGIUM, Regis filium ab inimicis Dracone asseruasse: eam, mactata bestia parenti restituisse. In cuius memoriam Ecclesia postmodum fuit adificata: In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called Cappadocia, not farre from Berytus, men say that the famous Knight of Christ Saint GEORGE, did rescue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: and hauing killed the beast, deliuered the Virgin to her Parent. In memorie of which deede a Church was after built there. Thus saith Adrichomius. His Authors he citeth *Codonius Roman. Patrie Natiuitatem*, l. 1. c. 3. and *Bridenbach* 11in. 5. The Valley vnder this Castle sometime called *Affer*, was afterward called the Valley of *S. George*. If this authoritie suffice not, we may rather make the storie allegoricall, figuring the victorie of *Christ*, than accept of *George* the *Arrian* Bishop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.*

## † VI.

Of *Acziba*, *Sandalium*, and others.

**B**etweene *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* alongst the Sea coast, was the strong Citie of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which *S. Hierome* calleth *Achzib*, and *Iosephus* *Ecdippus*, *Plinie* *Ecdippa*, one of those which defended it selfe against the *Assyriens*. *Belforrest* findes *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Castle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

Hieron. de Locis

Hebr.

10. Bell. Ind. l. 4.

c. 11.

Plin. l. 5. c. 19.

The twelue scarchers of the Land which *Moses* sent from *Cadesbarne*, trauielled as farre to the North as *Roob*, or *Rechob*, in the Tribe of *Affer*, which *Rechob*, as also *Berothe* which by *Ezekiel* cap. 47. v. 16. is placed in these North borders, belonged in *Dauids* time to the King *Hadarbezer*, as it may bee gathered out of the second of *Samuel* the 8. cap. and 8. verse, and cap. 10. v. 6. and it defended it selfe against the *Assyrites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achzib*, *Ptolomais*, *Alab*, *Helbah*, and *Aphek* did.

This *Aphek* it was, whose Wall falling downe, slew seven and twentie thousand of *Benhadads* Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had bene slaughtered by the *Israelites*, vnder the conduct of *Abab*. Here *Iunius* finds that the *Philistines* incamped a little before the battaile at *Gilboa*, though in his Note vpon the first of *Samuel*, the 9. and 1. he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which battaile the *Arke* was taken) to have bene in *Iuda*. Of which *Iof. 15. and 53.* and in the second of *Kings 13. 17.* hee reads, *Fortiter, for, in aphek*. Where others conuert it, *Peruitions* *Syros* in *Aphek*.

1. King. 20. 29.

1. Sam. 19. 1.

The

The next place alongst the coast is *Sandalium*, first called *Schandulum* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Macedon* built it, when hee besieged *Tyre*: and set it on a point of Land which extendeth it selfe into the Sea, betweene *Acziba* and *Tyre*: which Castle *Baldwine* the first rebuilt and fortified, in the year of *Christ* 1157. when he vndertooke the recouerie of *Tyre*.

Not much about a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentiful spring of water, which *Salomon* remembreth, called the *Well of living waters*: from whence not only all the fields and plaines about *Tyre* are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawne: but the same Spring, which hath not about a bow-shot of ground to traueile till it recouer the Sea, driueth fixe great Mills in that short passage, saith *Borchard*.

Within the Land, and to the East of *Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, standeth *Hofa*: and beyond it, vnder the Mountaines of *Tyre*, the Citie of *Achaph*, or *Axah*, or after *S. Hierome* *Acisap*, a Citie of great strength, whose King amongst the rest was slaine by *Iofua*, at the waters of *Merom*.

## † VII.

Of *Thoron*, *Giscala*, and some other places.

**F**urther into the Land towards *Jordan*, was seated the Castle of *Thoron*, which *Iung de Sancto Abdemare* built on the Easter most Hills of *Tyre*, in the year 1107. thereby to restrain the excursions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* against the *Christians*: the place adioyning being very fruitfull, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Lords of *Thoron*, famous in the storie of the Warres for the recouerie of the Holy Land, deriue their names, and take their Nobilitie. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the blessed *Virgin*, in which *Hamphrey* of *Thoron*, Constable to *Baldwine* the third, King of *Iherusalem*, lieth buried: There were fixe Castles besides this within the Territorie of *Affer*: whereof foure are seated almost of equall distance from each other: to wit, *Castrum Lamperti*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Castrum Regium*, and *Belfort*: The first neare the Sea vnder the Hills of *Saron*: the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort*, and *Regium*, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brother-hood and Fellowship of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch Knights* (by which they defended themselves, and gaue succour to other *Christians* at such time as the *Saracens* posselt the best part of the vpper *Galilee*) the chiefe of which Order was in *Ptolomais* *Acon*. The first Fortresse was for beaucie and strength called *Belfort*, seated in the high ground vpon the River *Nagar*, neare the Citie *Ramath*: of which in this Tribe *Iof. 19. 29.* for which the *Pulgar* reads *Honma*: making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels: from the siege of this Castle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine* King of *Syria* and *Aegypt*, was by the *Christians* Armie raised, and with great losse and dishonour repulsed.

To the East of *Belfort*, is the strong Citie of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which *S. Hierome* calleth *Chalab*, one of those that defended themselves against *Affer*, as *Roob* (or *Rechob*) not farre thence did.

Towards the South from *Roob* they place *Gatula* (which *Herod*, surnamed the *Ascalonite* rebuilt) making it of the Territorie of *Chabul*, *Quod Syrorum lingua dipicere significat* (saith *Veshtenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of *Tyre* was ill pleased with those twentie Cities, seated hereabout, which *Salomon* presented vnto him in recompence of those prouisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others thinke this *Chabul* or *Cabul*, containing a circuit of those twentie Cities giuen to *Hiram*, to haue bene without the compass of the holy Land: though bordering *Affer* on the North side: as it is said, 1. Reg. 9. 11. that they were in *Regione limitis*: that is, in *limite Regionis*, in the border of the Countrey: for it was not lawful, say they, to giue to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the *Israelites*: howlocuer, that af-

10. Eph. ant. 13. 21

1. Reg. 9. 11.

Gg 3

trr

ter *Hirani* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*; it appears 2 *Chron.* 8. 1. 4. And it seems they were conquered by *David* from the *Syri Reebob*, whose Citee *Roob*, or *Reebob*, was in these parts.

Almost of equal distance from the Castle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Gifcala*, and *Gadara*: of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed ouer *Jordan*: *Gifcala* was made famous by *John* the Sonne of *Leui*, who from a meane estate gathering together four hundred Theeves, greatly troubled all the vpper *Galilee*: at such time as the *Romans* attempted the conquest of *Judaea*: by whose practise *Iosephus*, who then commanded in the vpper *Galilee*, was greatly endangered: whereof himselfe hath written at large, in his second Booke of those Warres. This *John* betraying in all hee could the Citee of *Gifcala* (whereof he was native) to the *Roman State*: and finding a resistance in the Citee, gaue opportunitie, during the contention, to the *Tyrians* and *Gadarams*, to surprize it: who at the same time forst it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Iosephus* authoritie rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Titus* by composition. They finde also the Cities of *Cana Maier*, and \* *Cades*: (or *Cadesa*) of the first was that *Syro-phanician*, whose Daughter *Chirif* deliuered of the euill Spirit. Neare the other, they say, it was that *Ionathas Machabeus* ouer-threw the Armie of *Demetrius*.

There are besides these forenamed Cities within the Tribe of *Asher* diuers others: as of which *Iosephus* in vita sua. *a* Of both which *Iosephus* in vita sua. *b* Of both which *Iosephus* in vita sua. *c* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *d* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *e* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *f* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *g* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *h* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *i* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *j* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *k* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *l* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *m* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *n* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *o* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *p* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *q* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *r* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *s* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *t* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *u* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *v* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *w* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *x* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *y* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua. *z* Of *Ezechiel*, *Iosephus* in vita sua.

# ¶. VIII.

## Of the Rivers and Mountaines of *Asher*.

The rivers to the north of *Asher*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Ziegler* joyneth *Lycus*, *Ptolome*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea neare *Berytus*: which River of *Leontis*, *Montanus* drawes neare vnto *Zidon*: finding his head withoutstanding, where *Ptolome* doth, betweene *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a Riuer called *Fons horiorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brochard* intituleth *Eleutherus*: for which he also citeth *Plinie*; and the first of *Machabees* the 11. Chap. but neither of those authorities proue *Eleutherus* to be in *Asher*: for this Riuer falleth into the Sea at the Ile of *Aradus*: not farre from *Balanea*, witnesse *Ptolome*: and therefore *Pline* calleth it *Palania*, and *Possellus* *Velana*: which Riuer boundeth *Phenicia* on the North side: to which *Strabo* also agreeth: but this principall Riuer of *Asher*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gibatus*, *Christianus Schot* out of the mouth and Papers of *Peter Laislan* (which *Laislan* in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land) calleth the maine Riuer *Fons horiorum Libani*: and one of the streames which runneth into it from the North side, *Naar*, and an other from the South-west *Chabul*: of the Citee adioyning of the same name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be: There is also an other Riuer described by *Adrichome*, named *Iepthael*, which I finde in no other Author, and for which he citeth the nineteenth of *Iosua*, but the word *Ghe* which is added thereto to *Iepthael*, is not taken for a Riuer, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the

the *Vulgar*, the *Geneua*, and *Arias Montanus* turneit. There is also found in *Affer* the Riuer of *Belus*, remembered by *Iosephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, *Smith \* Plinie*: out of the sands of this Riuer are made the best *Giasse*, which sometime the *Zidoniens* practised: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedunim*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is knowne to flow from out the Lake *Candusa*, as all *Cosmographers* both Ancient and Moderne, and the later *Traualers* into those parts witnesse. It is true that the Riuer of *Chedunim* taketh water from *Chedunim*: but not in that fashion which *Montanus* hath described it: neither doth it finde the Sea at *Ptolemae Acon*, according to *Montanus*: but farther to the South betwene *Capphas* and *Sicaminum*, witnesse *Ziegler*, *Adrichome*, and *Schot*.

Besides these Riuers there are diuers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of liuing waters adioyning to *Tyre*: and \* *Maserephot*, or after *S. Hierome*, *Maserephot-mam*, whose Well filled by the flood of the Sea adioyning, (they say) the Inhabitants by seething the water make salt thereof, as at *Nantwich*.

The Mountaines which bound *Affer* on the North, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Calefryia*: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phenicia*, and *Syria*, extend themselves farre into the Land Eastward: foure hundred stadia or furlongs, according to *Strabo*: for that length he giueth to the Valley of *Calefryia*: which those Mountaines inclose: but *Plinie* giues them 1500. furlongs in length from the West (where they beginne at *Theiophoon*; or *Des facies*, neare *Tripolis*) to the Mountaines of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus*: where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the South. These ledges where they beginne to part *Traconitis* and *Basara*, from the Desert *Arabia*, are called *Herman*: which *Moses* also nameth *Sion*, the *Phenicians* *Syrian*, and the *Amorites* *Sanir*, neither is this any one Mountaine a-part; but a continuation of Hills: which running further Southerly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad* or *Gilead*: the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet *Jeremie* pro- ueth: *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*: noting that this *Galaad* is the highest of all those Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knowes them by the name of *Traconitis*: and *Ptolome* by *Hispus*. *Arias Montanus* calleth these Mountaines bordering *Affer*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrarie to all other *Cosmographers*, but hee giueth no reason for his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops; because according to *Tacitus*, the highest of them are covered with snow all the Sommer, the Hebrew word *Libanon* (saith *Weissenburg*) signifieth whitenesse. Others call them by that name of the Frankincense which those trees yeild: because *Libanus* is also the Greeke word for that Gumme.

*Niger* out of *Aphrodisius* affirmeth, that on *Libanus*, there falleth a kinde of honie dew, which is by the Sunne congealed into hard sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the Latine word *Saccarum*.

The Riuers which *Libanus* bestoweth on the neighbour Regions are, *Chyrorhus*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontis*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons horiorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the Mountaines of *Affer*, are those Hills about *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitfull: but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Neba*, or the Mountaine of *Abarim*, in *Ruben*, *Moses* beheld *Libanus* three-score miles distant.

## S. III.

## THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

## †. I.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis,  
and Abila.

10

**T**He next Portion of the Land of Canaan bordering *Asber*, was the upper Galilee: the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the Sonne of *Jacob* by *Billa*, the hand-maide of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increased to the number of 53400. persons, able to beare armes, numbred at Mount *Sinai*: all which leaving their bodies in the *Deserts*, there entered the Holy Land of their Soones 45400. besides Infants, Women, and Children, vnder twentie yeares of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of *Jordan*, and the Hills of *Libanus* adioyning as farre South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the West by *Asber*, and on the East and South-east by *Jordan*.

On the North-side of *Libanus*, and adioyning to this Territorie of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabite, in which Tract and vnder *Libanus*, was the Citie of *Heliopolis*: which the height of the Mountaines adioyning shadowed from the Sunne, the better part of the day. *Postellus* calls it *Babec*; *NIGER*, *Marbec*; and *Leonclausius*, *Beallebecca*.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great Cities in *Egypt*: the first called *On*, by the *Hebrewes*, and the *Chaldaean Paraphrast*, the otherwife *Beisbesmes*, or after the *Letines*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Damus Solis*; The Citie of the Sunne: into which, faith *Vipian*, *Seuerus* the Roman Emperour sent a Colonie: the other *Gestellus* nameth *Dealmarch*: 30 and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a Citie in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is also in the same Valley adioyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the Region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, ouer which *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Berenice* the Queene commanded.

*Abila* also gaue name to the Region adioyning, of which *Zysanus* the Sonne of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or Governour: whereof *Ptolomee* gaue it the addition of *Zysani*, and called it *Abila Zysani*. *Volaterran* names it *Abila*, of which hee notes that one *Diogenes* a famous *Sophist* was native, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Aphilius* not *Abiliens*. After that this Citie of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had received the Christian Faith, *Priscillianus* became Bishop thereof: flaine afterward by our *British Maximus* at *Treuer*. For distinction of this Citie (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembered that in the Tribe of a *Manasse*, ioyning vpon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is an other Citie of the same name, faying that it is written with an (E) for an (I) and called *Abela*, remembered in the 20. Chapter of the second of *Samuel*. The same *Iosephus* calls *Abelmachea*, and *Hierome* *Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel* for distinction sake it is written, *Abel Beth-Macha* (for belike it was the Towne of *Macha*, the Wife of *Maier*, the Sonne of *Manasse*), the Father of *Gilead*: in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This Citie *Isa* besieged: because *Seba* the sonne of *Biehi*, who rebelled against *Dauid*, fled thenceinto for succour: but a certaine wife woman of the Citie perswading the people to cast *Seba* his head ouer the wall, *Isa* retired his Armie. The same Citie was afterward taken by the King of *Damascus*, *Benadad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalasar*.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signifie bewailing, or a plaine ground, and therefore no meruaile that many Townes (with some addition for distinction

inction sake) were thus called: for euen of bewailing many places tooke name, as *Bochim*, *Iudg.* 2. 4. and so doubtlesse \* *Abel-Misraim*, *Gen.* 50. 1. 1. and yet *Iunius* in his note vpon *Nam.* 33. 49. thinks that *Abel-Sittim*, was so called, rather by reason of the plaine ground there (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*) and so perhaps *Abel-Meholah* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Towne of *Elisha* the Prophet: also *Abel-Tzinnab* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Iephth* pursued them.

\* And *Abel-Megum*, *1 Sam.* 6. 8. *Iudg.* 7. 24 & 1. *Rig.* 19. 15. *Iudg.* 11. 35.

## †. II.

Of Hazor.

10

**I**N this Tribe of *Nephtalim*, was that famous Citie of *Tabin*, in *Iosua*s time called *Azar* (so after the *Chaldaean Paraphrast*, *Hazor*) by *Iosephus* *Azora*, by *Iunius* \* *Chatzor*: which *Laestian* names *Hefron*: the Regall Citie and Metropolis of Canaan: seated in the West part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Asber*. In this Citie was that great *Rendous*, and assembly of those foure and twentie Kings against *Iosua*: who being all ouerthrowne, flaine; and scattered, this their powerfull Citie was by *Iosua* taken and burnt to dust. But in processe of time the same being rebuilt by the *Canaanites*, and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatrie, he preuailed against them, and held them in a miserable seruitude twentie yeares: till *Dehora* the Prophetesse ouerthrew *Sisera*, *Tabins* Lieutenant, and his Armie, neare the mountaine *Tabor*. This Citie *Salomon* restored at such time as he also reedified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharao* of *Egypt*, with a *Megido*, *Bethoron*, and other Cities; but about 260. yeares after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalasar*, King of the *Assyrians*. It is now, faith *Abdrichomius*, called *Antiochia*: it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*. There is an other Citie of this name in the Territorie of *Beniamin*, seated on the confines of *Ascalon*, called the new *Hazor*, b faith *Hierome*.

for *Safina*, of which 1. *Chron.* 4. 31. which also is called *Chatzar-Safa*, and *Chatzar-Gadde*: and lastly, *Chatzar Shaleh*, an other Citie of *Simeon*. *Iul.* 19. 3. a King. 1. 9. b *Hieron.* *loc. Hebr.* 1. 8. Out of *Nebem*: 11. 33. as it seemes.

## †. III.

Of Caesaria Philippi.

**T**Here was also on the border, and within the Territorie of *Nephtalim*, that renowned Citie of *Lais*, or *Lajsch*, as *Iunius* writes it, or *Leschen*; which Citie the children of *Dan* (being straightned in their Territorie vnder *Iuda*) invaded and mastered: and gaue it the name of their owne Parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Gen.* the fourteenth, at which place *Abraham* surprised *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates: and followed his victorie as farre as *Sobab*, formerly remembered in the diuision of *Syria*, otherwise called *Sophena*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the ioynt-name of *Leschen Dan*. *Weissenburg* writes it *Lais*, the *Geneue Lajsch*, *JOSEPHUS*, *Dana*; *BENIAMIN*, *Balinas*; *BREITENBACH*, *Belena*: but this is true *Iudg.* 18. Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belinas* to this day: witness *Neubrigenis*, *Tyrus*, *Volaterranus*, *Brocard* the *Monke*, and *Postellus*: who also taketh this Citie to be the same, which in *Matthew* the 15. v. 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greeke* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in *S. Marke*, speaking of the same storie, *Dalmatantha*. At such time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free Citie, of the alliance and confederacie of the *Zidomians*, or else subiect vnto the Kings thereof: for it is written in the eighteenth of *Iudges*: And there was none to helpe, because *Lais* was farre from *Zidon*: and they had no business with other men, for it was about thirtie English miles from the *Mediterranean* sea, and from *Zidon*.

In

Plin. l. 5. c. 15.

Heg. l. 1. c. 25.

\* Of another *Cæsaria* (or *Cæsarea*) called *Cæsarea Palestina*. See hereafter in the former part of *Mansell* Of *Dicaeus* *Scythus* in *Zabulon*.

Ench. bijl. 8. c. 1. l. 7. c. 1. 4. *Nicoph. l. 6. c. 1. 5*

\* *Iosiphus* in the Booke of the Jew War 18. l. 11. c. 1. *Philop. the Te- trarch* call'd *Chabaz* into a fountain called *Phiale*, distant 120. stadia North-east from *Cæsaria*, which Cistne being carried vnder ground was cast vp a gain at *Parik* or *Dan*, where by it is conie- ctured that the first Spring of *Jordan* is from this Fountaine called *Phiale*, from whence *Tor* and *Dan* receive their wa- ters.

In after-times when these Regions became subiect to the State of *Rome*, it had the name of *Panæas*, from a Fountaine adioyning fo called : and therefore *Ptolomie* calls it *Cæsaria Panæa*. *Hegippus* calls it *Parnum*, faith *Weissenburg* : but he had read it in a corrupt copie : for in *Hegippus* set out by *Badins*, it is written *Pancum* without an (R) : and at such time as *Philip* the sonne of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Gouverneur of *Tracanis*, sometime *Basan*, this Citie was by him amplified and fortified ; and both to giue memorie to his owne name, and to flatter *Tiberius Cæsar*, he called it \* *Cæsaria Philippi* : and so it became the *Metropolis*, and head Citie of *Tracanis* : and one of the first Cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the succeeding age greatly adorned : by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memorie of his impeticie : so in *S. Hieromes* time the Citizens remembered their former *Panæas*, and so recalled it, with the T erritorie adioyning by the ancient name. Of this Citie was that Woman whom *Christ* healed of a bloudie issue, by touching the hemme of his Garment with a constant Faith : who afterward as shee was a woman of great wealth and abilitie, being mindfull of Gods goodnesse, and no lesse grateful for the same, as *Ensebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two *Statues* to be cast in pure Copper : the one representing *Christ*, as neare as it could be moulded : the other made like her selfe, kneeling at his feete, and holding vp her hands towards him. These three mounted vpon two great Bases or *Pedestalls* of the same Mettall, which these three placed by a Fountaine neare her owne house : both which (faith *Ensebius*) remained in their first perfection, euen to his owne time : which himselfe had seene, who lived in the Raigne of *Constantine* the Great. But in the yeare after *Christ* 363. that Monster *Julian Apostata*, caused that worthie Monument to be cast downe and defaced : letting vp the like of his owne in the same place : which Image of his was with fire from heauen broken into fitters : the head, body, and other parts, sundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time liuing. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminus*, in his fifth booke and twentieth chapter.

This Citie built by the *Danites* was neare the ioyning together of those two Ri- uers which arise from the Springs of *Tor* and *Dan*, the two \* apparent Fountaines of *Jordan* : in a soile exceeding fruitfull, and pleasant, for as it is written *Iudg. 18*. It is a place which doth want nothing that is in the world. In the fields belonging to this Citie, it was that *S. Peter* acknowledged *Christ* to be the Sonne of God : whereupon it was answered, *Tu es PETRUS & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this Citie received the *Christian* faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate : and it ranne the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Christians* : vnder *Fuleh* the fourth King of *Hierusalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey of Bullion*, the King of *Damascus* wrested it from the *Christians* : and shortly after by them againe it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth with all that part of the world subiect to the

### †. IIII.

Of *Capernaum*, and the Cities of *Decapolis*.

**A**Mong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capernaum* is not the least : fo often remembered by the *Euangelists*, This Citie had the honour of *Christ*s pre- sence three yeares : who for that time was as a Citizen thereof, in which hee first Preached and taught the Doctrine of our saluation : according to that notable pro- phetic of *Esay 9*. The people that walked in darkness haue seene a great light : they that dwell in the Land of the shadow of death, vpon them hath the light shined.

*Capernaum* was seated on *Jordan*, euen where it entrench into the Sea of *Galilee* : in an excellent and rich soile : of whose destruction *Christ* himselfe prophecied in these

these wordes. And thou *Capernaum* which art lifted up vnto heauen, shalt bee brought downe to Hell, &c. which shewed the pride and greatnesse of that Citie : for it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*, and the *Metropolis* of *Galilee*. And although there were some markes of this Cities magnificence in *S. Hieromes* time, as himselfe confesseth : it being then a reasonable Burge or Towne : yet those that haue since, and long since seene it, as *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Salimiac* affirme, that it then consisted but of fixe poore Fishers mens houses.

The Region of ten principall Cities called *Decapolitana* or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mentioned, and in *S. Matthens*, *Markes*, and *Luke*, also remembered ; but I finde no agreement among the *Cosmographers*, what proper limits it had : and so *Plinie* himselfe confesseth : for *Marius Niger* speaking from others, bounds it to the North by the mountaine *Casius* in *Cositis* : and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabie* ; by which description it imbraceth *Phanicia*, a part of *Celestria*, all *Pa- lestina*, and *Iudea*.

*Plinie* also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he num- bereth foure of them to be situated towards *Arabia* : to wit, first these three *Damascus*, *Opotus*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphus* (which was first called *Ammana*, faith *Stephanus*, or as I ghesse *Amora* rather because it was the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites*, knowne by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Pto. Philadelphus* gaue it this later and new name.) Then *Scythopolis* sometime *Nysa*, built (as is said) by *Bacchus*, in memorie of his Nurse, who died therein, anciently knowne by the name of *Beisjan*, for the sixth he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Celestria*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Selenia* : but that *Gadara* in *Basan*, which *Plinie* in this place meaneth, seated on a high hill, neare the Riuer of *Hieromaix*. This Riuer *Ortelius* takes to be the Riuer *Iaboc* : which boundeth *Gad* and *Mansell* ouer *Jordan* : but he mistaketh it : for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, betweene *Hippus* and *Gerasa*, whereas *Iaboc* entrencheth the same Sea betweene *Ephron* and *Phannell*. For the seventh he nameth \* *Hippus* or *Hippion*, a Citie so called of a Colonie of Horsemen there garrisoned by *Herod*, on the East side of the *Galilean* Sea, described hereafter in the Tribe of \* *Mansell* ouer *Jor- dan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is also called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, seated in the South border of the Region ouer *Jordan* called *Pera*. For the ninth *Gelasa*, which *Iosephus* takes to be *Gerasa* : and *Gerasa* is found in *Celestria* by *Iosephus*, *Hegelsippus* and *Stephanus* : but by *Ptolomie* (whom I rather follow) in *Phanicia*. The tenth and last, *Plinie* nameth *Canathis*, and so doth *Suetonius*, and *Stephanus*, which *Voketerran* calls *Ganale*, but *Hegelsippus* rightly *Camala*, a Citie in the Region of *Basan* ouer *Jordan*, so called, because those two Hills on which it is seated, haue the shape of a Camell. But the collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Salimiac*, which make them to be these ; *Cæsaria Philippi*, and *Ajor*, before remembered, *Cedes Neptalim*, *Seppher*, *Corazin*, *Capernaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Iotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other Authors dis- agree herein and giue no reason for their opinion. One place of the *Euangelist* Saint *Matthew* makes it manifest, that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract betweene *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written : And he departed againe from the coasts of *Tyrrus* and *Zidon*, and came vnto the Sea of *Galilee*, through the middle of the coasts of *Decapolis* : so that it was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North, by the *Phanician* Sea, betweene *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the West : by the Hills of *Gilbo* and *Bethsan* on the South : and by the Mountaines *Tracomes*, otherwise *Herman*, *Sanir*, and *Galad*, on the East : which is from East to West the whole breadth of the holy Land : and from the North to the South, neare the same distance which may be

\* *Plinie* hath *Hippion* *Dius*, for which *Ptolemaeus* reads *Hippion*, *Ortelius* takes them for two Cities.

Mat. 4.

†. V.

†. V.

*Of Hamath.*

\* The Septuag. B Ut to looke backe againe towards *Libanus*, there is leated neare the foote thereof the Citie of \* *Hammath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the Countrey adioyning taketh name : the same which *Iosephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis* : *Iacobus Ziegler*, *Iuraca*. *Amara Regio tenet borealia tribus Nephtali per montem Libanum vsq; Trachones*. The Countrey of *Iuraca*, liath he, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nephtali*, along the Mount *Libanus* to

*Trachonitis*, but herein following *Siraso*, who calls *Trachonitis* *Ituraea*, he mistakes the feast of this Region : and so doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Ituraea* (which *Heggeppius* calls *Perea*, and *G. Tyrinus*, *Baccar*) the fame with *Trachonitis*, yet *Trachonitis* it selfe is farre more to the East than *Hammath* in *Nephthaim* : for *Trachonitis* lieth betwene *Casaria* & *Blippi*, and the Mountaines *Trachones* : which the *Hebreues* call *Gilead* : and this *Hammath* or *Chammath* is feated vnder *Casaria*, towards the Sea West-ward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Casaria*, beyond the Mountaines *Trachones*.

26. v.3. where there is mention of  
 the, and mentions a distinction from the  
 them, though *Abeth*, *Reb*, and *Rehob* may  
 follow the opinion of *Zegler* above men-  
 tioned it can not easily be justified, that ei-  
 der of these is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*,  
 which is evident from *Numbers 35. 19. 35.* it called  
 in *Numbers 35. 19. 35.* it called  
 placed in *Nephthulim*, was also called *Rehob*,  
 the word *Hammath* and *Emath* were framed)  
 derived partly because the other *Hammath*,  
 distinction is called *Chammath-Tylosa*, as this  
 is *Numbers 35. 19. 35.* it called  
 we have noted *2. Reg. 24.* Secondly, be-  
 8. and also *Exekiel 47. 10.* *Chammath* in the  
 the holy Land, is placed too near the West  
 that *Hammath-Tylosa*, in the line which  
 the North border of the holy Land, is placed  
*Abeth* to name near a place Eastward a-  
 a south of the holy Land, until we come to  
 they expound *Mout Hor*, *Num. 34. 7.*  
 the North border in this North side, they make  
 the North border, first *Chammath-Tylosa*,  
 and lastly *Chammath-henan*, a thing most vi-  
 ward had little or nothing Eastward be-  
 therefore we must needs expound *Hor*  
 the *Chammath-Tylosa*, and so like *Tanner*,  
 said to lie in order to the *Chammath*,  
 and *Manassia*: in which manner the  
 (*Abeth*, then *Chammath*, and so in order,  
*Tylosa*, *Chammath*, and *Chammath-henan*. c Of  
*2. Chron. 28. 18.* or *Rehob*, in *1. Chron.*  
*Altho* towards *Emath*, in the confines of

For though *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Ituraa* (and therefore it is said to be *finitima Gallieæ Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the mountaines *Traconis*, and so it stretcheth into the plaines of the Territorie of *Ituraa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herode* was *Tetrarch* or *President* both of *Ituraa* and *Traconitis*, both which

CHAP. 7. §. 4. †. 6. *of the Historie of the World.*

are over *Jordan* towards the East. But *Chamath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the west side of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterran* sea.

The Countrey *Ituræa* was so called of *Iethur* one of the Sonnes of *Ismael*, it is placed in the bounds of *Caleſyria* and *Arabia* \* the deſart.

The people of *Ithuri* were valiant and warlike men and excellent Archers. Of whom *Virgil*.

*Iturcos Taxi torquentur in arcus.*

Of Eugh the *Iturians* bowes were made.

This Citie *Chamath* or *Hamath* in *Nephtalim* ſeemes to haue been as ancient as the other in *Ithur*, both built by *Amathus* the eleuenth King of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *Dauid*, this, or the other had *Tobu* for King, it is not certain; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountains, and *Hamath* in *Nephtalim* were both neighbours to *Damascus*: of whole ſubigation *Tobu* reioyced, becauſe *Haddadeſer* whom the *Damaſceni* came to help, was his enemy. This *Tobu* fearing the ſtrength and proſperitie of *Dauid*, hearing of his approach towards his territorie, bought his peace with many rich preſents, and with many ancient veſſells of golde, ſiluer and

But it seemeth that *Dauid* in such great successfe would not haue had peace with *Tobiah* if he had bin King of any place in *Neptalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tybo*: which Citie *Salomon* after his Fathers death made himselfe Master of, as a part of the lands (\*in the larger and conditionall promise) allotted by God to the children of *Israel*.

But this *Hammath of Nephthalim*, in the end, and after diuers mutations and changes both of name and fortune, being as it hath beene said possessed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While Saint *Hierome* liued, it remained a Citie well peopled, knowne to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greekes* by *Epiphania*.

t. v l.

*Of Reblatha and Rama, and divers other Townes.*

IN the border of *Hamath* or *Emath* towards *Jordan* standeth the Citie *Reblatha*, or *Kibla*, watered from the fountaine *Daphnis*: which falleth into the lake of *Meron*. Herento was *Zebedek*s brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of *Iericho*:  
40 and deliuered to *Nabuchodonosor*: who to be auenged of *Zebedek*s infidelity, beyond the proportion of pietie, first cauled the Princes his children to be flaine in his presence: and to the end that this miserable spectacle might bee the last that euer hee should behold in this world, and fo the most remembered, hee commaunded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: and binding him in yron chaines, hee was led a flaueto *Babylon*, in which estate he ended his life. Of which feldome-exampled calamitie, though not in expresse words, *Hieremie* the Prophet fore-told him in *Hierusalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly, speaking in the person of God, *I will bring him to Babel to the Land of the Chaldeans; yet shall hee not see it, though hee shall die therein.*

30 There are besides these before remembered, many other strong Cities in *Nephthim*, as that which is called a *Cedes*: there are two other of the same name, one in *Basan*, an other in *Juda*, of which *Iof. 15. 23.* and therefore to distinguish it, it is knowne by the addition of *Nephthim*, as *Judg. 4.* It is seated on a high hill, whence *Iof. 20. 7.* *Kedesh* in *Galilee* in monte *Nephthi*: *Iof. 19. 38.* *Callin* in *Cades*, and *Ein* *Spring* at

Hh

THIS

\* The *Septuagint* reads *Amath*. Hierome *Emath*, Iosephus *Amath*, *Iofua*, c.19.v. 352. *Chammath*, c.21.v. 12, *Chammath-Dar* in the fifth of *Chran*, 6.76. *Chammot*, 2 Kings 14.8. *Chamath-Irbade*, as *lusius* reads it; whereas also for farther distinction there is added (*in Ifrael*) to note that it was of old belonging to *Jude*, though seated in *Ifrael*, that it was in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, the other *Chamath* being in *Syria Seba*. — *Ziegler*, in *Nepht*.

[illegible]

e *Tilemanus*  
Stell and Peter  
Laiflan, in  
their Tables of  
the holy Land.  
f *Ioseph. ant.*  
13.8.

Hierem. 32. 34.  
 &c.  
 Ezk. 52.  
 a Or Kedesh,  
 1of. 19. 37. & 10.  
 7. & 21. 32. item  
 Ind. 4. 6.  
 b 1. Chro. 6. 72.  
 which 1of. 19.  
 20. is called  
 Kishion.  
 c Sometime  
 Kedesh in Gali-  
 lea, 1. Chro. 6. 76



pharnams, and others, received the same curse of threatened miseries, as *Nabe* vnto thee *Beth*, &c.

Alonght the West border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethsaida*, was the strong Caltie of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Marie Magdalen*, not long since standing.

\* The names of the chiefe Cities feared about this Sea, or lake, through which Iordan runneth, were *Cyntrinum*, *Tiberias*, *Bethulda*, *Gadara*, *Tarichea*, and they adde *Cinnereth* which in some times gaue name to the Lake and Countrey.

And beyond it the strong and high seated Cite of *Isotapa*: fortified by *Iosephus* in the *Roman* Warre: but in the end after a long siege surprised by *Vespasian*: who slaughtered many thousands of the Citizens: and held 1200. prisoners, whereof *Iosephus* the Historian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that \*Sea and the Lake of *Genesareth* within *Zabulon* was that of *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilean* Sea also changed name, and was called the Sea of the Cite *Tiberias*, so named in honour of *Tiberius Cesar*, it was one of the ten Cities, and the Metropolis of the Region *Decapollitan*, and the greatest and last of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our *Sauour* called *Mathew*, from the toll or custom-house, to be an *Apostle*, and neare vnto it raised the daughter of *Tarnus* from death: it was built (as *Iosephus* reports) by *Herod the Tetrarch*, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the raigne of *Tiberius Cesar*: in the most fruitfull part of *Galilee*, but in a ground full of Sepulchres: *Quam iuxta nostras leges* (saith hee) *ad septem dies impurus habetur, qui in talibus locis habitat*: Where as by our law he should be seven daies held as vndeane who inhabited in such a place: by which wordes and by the whole place of *Iosephus* it appears, that this *Tiberias* is not (as some haue thought) the same as the old *Cinnereth*, which was seated not in *Zabulon* but in *Nephtalim*.

Neare vnto this *Tiberias* at *Emaus* there were hot baths, where *Vespasian* the Emperour encamped against *Tiberias*: More into the Land toward the South-west is *Bethulia*, seated on a very high Hill, and of great strength, famous by the storie of *Isabernes* and *Indith*, such as it is. Neare which standeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adioyning vnto it, *Capharath* fortified by *Iosephus* against the *Romanes*: and *Iapha* an exceeding strong place afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in furie slew 15000. of the Citizens: and carried away about 2000. prisoners.

On the South side are the Cities of *Caritha* of the *Leuites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Iosephus* in his owne life, then *Iasie* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Ios. 19. 12.*) for he thinks that it is not that *Iapha* of which we spake but now out of *Iosephus*, *Isadela* of which *Ios. 19. 15.* *Hierome* calls it *Isadela*: vnder it Westward *Legio*, (afterward a Bilhops seate) and the Cite *Belma* in ancient times exceeding strong, remembered *Indith* 7. 3. otherwise *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazareth* is the Cite *Saffar* or *Saffra*, the birth-Cite of *Zebedeus*, *Alphaus*, *James*, and *Iohn*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Iosephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, *saith Hegeffippus* and *Hierome*, was called *Diocæsaria*: the Cite of *Iachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Marie*, it was walled by *Herod the Tetrarch*: and by him, as *Iosephus* speaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*; in an other place he saith *Primum Gileacarum maxima* *Sephoris* & *Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* is greatly vexed *Vespasian* erreche wanne it. *Herod Antipas* when he made it the Regall seate of the neather *Galilee*, and so founded it with a strong wall, called it *Antiochiorida*, which is as much to say as Imperiall, saith *Iosephus*: and it is now but a Caltie called *Zaphet*.

To the South-west of this *Sephoris* or *Diocæsaria* was that blessed place of *Nazareth*, the Cite of *Marie* the Mother of *Christ*: in which hee himselfe was conceiued, it standeth between Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran* Sea. In this Cite hee abode chiefly foure and twentie yeares, and was therefore called a *Nazarene*, as the *Christians* afterward were for many yeares. It was erected into an *Archbishoprick* in the following age. Neare vnto it are the Cities *Baria* (afterward well defended against the *Turkes*) and *Nahalal* of which *Ios. 19. 15.* and *Jud. 1. 30.* where it is called *Nahalal*: and *Ios. 21. 35.* where it is a Cite of the *Leuites*, neare the Sea: adioyning to the Riuer of *Chifon* is *Sarid*, noted in *Iosua* for the vttermoost of *Zabulon*.

In this Territorie of *Zabulon* there are diuers small Mountaines: but *Tabor* is the most renowned, by the Apparition of *Moses* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Christ* in the presence of *Peter*, *James*, and *Iohn*: vnto whom *Moses* and *Elias* appeared: in memorie whereof on the top of the Mountaine, the Emperesse *Helena* built a sumptuous Chappell.

The chiefe Riuer of *Zabulon* is *Chifon*, which rising out of *Tabor* runneth with one streame Eastward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with an other streame Westward into the great Sea. This Riuer of *Chifon* where it riseth, and so farre as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedunim* or *Cadunim*: and for mine owne opinion, I take it to be the same which *Ptolemie* calleth *Chorfeus*: though others distinguish them: and see *Chorfeus* by *Cæsaria Palaestina*. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a riuer rising out of the Fountaines of *Capharnaum*, which falleth also into the same Sea, and neare *Magdalum*: which Torrent they call *Dorham*, from the name of the Cite, from which it passeth Eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so ioyning with *Jordanis parvus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Iephthai* which *Iosua* reckneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See *Lactantius* Morte in *Ortibus* *Ios. 19. 14.*

## S. VI.

## THE TRIBE OF ISACHAR.



The next adioyning Territorie to *Zabulon*, to the South and South-west, was *Isachar*, who inhabited a part of the neather *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increased in *Egypt*, as appeared by their multers at Mount *Sinai* 54400. able and warlike men, who leaning their bodies with the rest in the *Deserts*, there entred the Holie Land, 64300.

The first Cite of this Tribe neare the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, distant from *Tiberias* eight English mile, or somewhat more, a Cite wherein the *Jewes* (by the practise of a certaine mutinous vpstart, *Iohn the sonne of Leui*) tooke armes against *Iosephus* the Historian, then Gouvernour of both *Galilees*. This Cite was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000. *Jewes* carried thence captiue; and afterward with great difficulty by *Vespasian*: who entred it by the Sea side, hauing first beaten the *Jewes* in a sea fight vpon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*: he put to the sword all forts of people, and of all ages: sauing that his furie being quenched with the Riuer of blood running through euery street, hee referred the remainder for slaues and bond-men.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Cesion*, or *Cishion*, of the *Leuites*, and then *Safar*, remembered in the first of *Kings*, 4. 2. v. 17. then *Abes* or *Ebes*, *Ios. 19. 20.* and *Remeth* of which *Ios. 19. 21.* otherwise *Kamoth*. 1. *Chron. 6. 73.* or *Iarmuth*, *Ios. 21. 29.* this also was a Cite of the *Leuites*, from whose Territorie the Mountaines of *Gilboa* ete beginning: and range themselves to the *Mediterran* Sea, and towards the West as farre as the Cite of *Iezrael*, betwene which and *Kamoth* are the Cities of *Bethpheser*, or *Bethpheser*, according to *Ziegler*, and *Enadada*, or *Ben-chadda*: neare which *Saul* slew himselfe: vnder those *Aphes* or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Isachar*: betwene which and *Suna*, he saith, that the *Philistines* incamped against *Israel*, and afterward against *Saul*: a Land thirstie of blood, for herein also, saith hee, the *Syrians* with two and thirtie *Reguli* assisting *Benhadad* encountered *Achal*: and were overthrowne and slaughtered: to whom the King of *Israel* made a most memorable answer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victorie: which was, *Tell, BENHADAD, Let not him that girdeth his harness boast himselfe, as he that putteth it off*: meaning that glorie followed after victorie, but ought not to precede it. In the yeare following in

*Tarichea* *Sue-* *100.*

*Ios. 17. 28.* *Kishion*, which *Kishion* is called *Kishion*.

*Iosua. 19.* *1. Sam. 4. 1.*

*1. Kings 20. 26.* *1. Kings 20. 26.*

two places *Isachar* makes *Apheca* after.

*Ios. 19. 20* in the first he placeth it in *Iudo*, out of *Ios. 19. 20.*

*1. Kings 20.*

the fields, as they say, adioyning to this Citie, was the same vaine-glorious Syrian vterly broken and discomforted by Achub: and 100000. footmen of the Aramites or Syrians slaine: before which overthrow the seruants and Counsaillors of Benhadad (in derision of the God of Israel) told him, That the Gods of Israel were Gods of the Mountaines: and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines they should ouer-come them.

Vnder Aphec towards the Sea they set the Citie of Esdrelon, in the plaines of Galilee, called also the great field of Esdrelon, and Maggedo: in the border whereof are the ruines of Aphec to be seene, saith Brochard, and Breidenbach. After these are the Cities of Casaleth, of which 1. Machab. 9. 2. Anem or Hen-Gannim of the Leuites, and Seefima or Shashtima, the West border of Isachar, of which 19. 22. From hence ranging the Sea coast, there is found the Cattle of Pilgrimes: a strong Castle inuironed with the Sea, sometime the store-houise and Magaline of the Christians, and built by the Earle of S. Giles or Tolouse.

From the Cattle of Pilgrimes the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthestmost shore beginneth Mount Carmell, not farre from the Riuer Chifon: where Elijah assembled all the Prophets, and Priests of Baal, and praised King Achub and the people assembled, to make triall whether the God of Israel, or the Idoll of Baal, were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done the Priests of Baal praised, and cut their owne flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while Elijah in derision told them that their God was either in pursuit of his enemies not at leisure, or perchance a-sleepe, &c. but at the prayer of Elijah his fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many Vessells of water thereon: by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those Idolaters on the banks of Chifon adioyning.

At the foote of this Mountaine to the North standeth Caiphas, built, as they say, by Caiphas the high Priest. It is also knowne by the name of Persina and Porphyria, sometime a Suffragane Bishops seate. Returning againe from the Sea coast towards Tiberias by the banks of Chifon, there are found the Citie of Hapharaim or Aphram, and the Cattles of Mesra, and Saba: of which Brochard and Breidenbach: and then Naim on the Riuer Chifon: a beautifull Citie while it stood, in the Gates whereof Christ raised from death the widows only sonne.

Then Seen or Shion named Iesua 19. betwene the two Hills of Hermon, in Isachar: beyond it standeth Endor, famous by reason of the Inchauntresse that vnder-tooke to raise vp the body of Samuel at the intligation of Saul.

Beyond it stands Anabarith and Rabbith named Ios. 1. 19. v. 19. 20. Then Daberath as it is named, Ios. 21. 28. or Debratha, as it is named, 1. Chron. 6. 72. This Citie (which stretcheth it selfe ouer Chifon) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the Leuites.

Next to Daberath is Arbela situate, neare the Caues of those two Theeues which so greatly molested Galilee in Herodes time. It ioyneth on one side to the Mountaine of Isachar or Hermon, and on the other to the Valley of Iesael: which valley continueth it selfe from Bethsan or Scythopolis, the East border of Isachar, euen to the Mediterranean Sea: two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of Gilboe on the South, and by Hermon, and the Riuer Chifon on the North. In these \* plaines Geleon ouerthrew the Madianites, and herein, they take, Saul fought against the Philistims: Achab against the Syrians, and the Tartars against the Saracens.

\* Called Campagna magna.  
1. Macc. 13. 49.  
and Nabath for Harabath.  
2. Macc. 5. 13.  
2. 9. 14.  
Judg. 6.  
1. Sam. 31.  
1. Kings. 10.

## S. VII.

THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE  
OF MANASSE.

## I.

Of the bounds of this halfe Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therja, and others.

The next Tribe which ioyneth it selfe to Isachar towards the South, is the halfe of Manasse, on the West side of Jordan. Manasses was the first begotten of Ioseph, the eleuenth sonne of Jacob. His mother was an Egyptian, the Daughter of Putiphar, Priest and Prince of Heliopolis: which Manasses with his brother Ephraim, the grand-children of Jacob, were by adoption numbered amongst the sonnes of Jacob, and made vp the number of the twelue Patriarchs.

Of Manasse there were increased in Egypt, as they were numbered at Mount Sinai, 322000. able men: all which being consumed in the Deserts, there entred of their issues 52700 bearing armes. The Territorie which fell to this one halfe of Manasse, was bounded by Jordan on the East, and Dora vpon the Mediterranean Sea on the West, Iesael on the North, and Machmata is the South border.

The first and principall Citie which stood in this Territorie was Bethsan, sometime Nysa, saith Plinie, built by Liber Pater, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of the same name, which Solinus confirms. Afterward when the Scythians invaded Asiathe lesse, and pierst into the South, to the vttermost of Calesyria, they built this Citie a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of Scythopolis, or the Citie of Scythians giuen it by the Greekes.

These barbarous Northren people, constrained the Iewes to fight against their owne Nation and kindred, by whose handes when they had obtained victorie, they themselves set on the Iewes which serued them, and slew them all. Stephanus makes it the vtmost towards the South of Calesyria: and Strabo ioynes it to Galilee. It is seated betwene Jordan and the Hills of Gilboe, in aulone ad montes acris abietis, saith Ziegler. But I finde it in the East part of the Valley of Iesael neare Jordan: after that Jordan streighteneth it selfe againe into a Riuer: leauing the Sea or Lake Genesareth. Notwithstanding, Montanus describes it farre to the West, and towards the Mediterranean Sea, neare Endor, contrarie to Stella, Lieftan, Adrichome, and all other the best Authors. This Citie was the greatest of all those of Decapolis: but the children of Manasse could not expell the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it Sane an enimie, or Beth-san, the house of an enimie.

Ouer the walls of this Bethsan the Philistims hung the bodie of Saul, and his sonnes, slaine at Gilboe. It had, while the Christian Religion flourished in those parts, an Archbishop, who had nine other Bishops of his Diocesse, numbered by Tyrtius, in his 14. Booke and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward translated to Nacareth. The later traualiers in those parts affirme, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that Citie, goodly pillars and other peeces of excellent marble, which witness the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poore and desolate Village.

From Bethsan keeping the way by Jordan, they finde an ancient Citie called Salem, which Citie the ancient Rabbines, saith Hierome, doe not finde to bee the same with Hierusalem: there being in the time of Hierome and since a towne of that name, neare

Hieron. in Epist. ad Euag. & in Luc. lxxv.

neare *Scythopolis* before remembred, which if the place of Scripture Gen. 13. 18. doe not confirme, where the *Pulgar* readeth *transiit in Salem urbem Sichemorum* (for which others reade, *venit in columnis ad Civitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Salem* not to be a proper name, but an adiective) yet the place *Iohn* 3. 13. where it is said, that *Iohn* was Baptizing in *Enon* neare *Salem*, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Salem* of which *Iohn* speaketh, is but contracted of *Shahalem*, of which in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, 1. Sam. 9. 4. This word *Iunius* maketh to be the Plurall of *Shubal*: of which we reade, 1. Sam. 13. 17. for as for that which is added out of Cant. 6. 12. of *Shulammitis*, as if it had beene as much as a Woman of this *Salem*, neare *Enon*, it hath no probability.

Not farre from thence where they place *Salem*; they finde *Bezeck* the Citie of *Admibezeck*, *Iosephus* calls it *Bala*: here it was that *Saul* assembled the strength of *Israel*, and *Juda*, to the number of 330000. when he meant to relieue *Iabesh Gilead*, against *Naash* the *Ammonite*: who would give them no other conditions of peace than to suffer their right eyes to be thrust out. Neare *Bezeck* is the Citie of *Bethbera* or rather *Beth-barai* of which *Iudg*. 7. 24. in the storie of *Gedeon*: and then *Ephra* or *Ephra* wherein *Gedeon* inhabited: in the border whereof stood an Altar consecrated to *Baal*: which he pulled downe and defaced: and neare it that stone, on which *Abimelech* the Bastard slew his 700. brothers: a Heathenish crueltie, practised by the *Turke* to this day; and not farre hence, betwene the Village of *Asphon* and *Jordan*, *Ptolomeus* *Lathurius* overthroweth *Alexander* King of the *Jewes*: and slaughtred as *Iosephus* numbreth them 3000. but according to *Timagenes* 50700. after which victorie, as *Ptolomeus* saith by the Villages of the *Jewes*; hee slew all their women: and caused the young children to bee sod in great caldrons, that the rest of the *Jewes* might thereby thinke that the *Egyptians* were growne to be men-eaters, and like them with the greater terrour.

Towards the West and on the border of *Isachar*, they place the Cities of \* *Aner* of the *Leuites*, and *Abel-Mehola*, which *Iunius*, *Iudg*. 7. 22. placeth in *Ephraim*; it was the habitation of *Heli* saw the Prophet, numbred among those places, 1. Reg. 4. 12. which were given in charge to *Baanai* by *Salomon*; to whose charge also *Takenai* belonged, a place of great strength, which at the first resisted *Iosias*, though their King was afterward hanged, and their Citie given to the *Leuites*.

In the body of this Territorie of *Manasse*, but somewhat nearer *Jordan*, than to the *Mediterran* Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, *Thersa*, whose King was one of those that *Iosua* slew: which the Kings of *Israel* vied for their Regall seate: till such time as *Samar*ia was built. From hence the wife of *Ieroboam* went to *Ashta* to enquire of her sonnes health: who knowing her, though shee were disguised, told her of her sonnes death.

The second was *Thebes* neare *Samar*ia, of which name there are both in *Egypt*, and *Greece*, of great fame: in the assault of the Tower of this Towne, whereinto the Citizens retired, the Bastard *Abimelech* was wounded by a waigite stone, throwne by a Woman ouer the Wall, who despairing of his recoverie, commanded his Page to slay him out-right, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a Woman. But others set this Citie in *Ephraim* neare *Sichem* or *Neapolis*.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the Territorie adjoining is called *Acrabathena* (one of the Ten *Tetrarchies* or Governments in *Judea*) for which *Hierome* 1. *Macc.* 5. reades *Arabathena*: but in the *Greeke* it is *Acrabathine*: *Isidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This Citie had one of the largest Territories of all *Palestine* belonging to the Governour thereof. *Iosephus* remembreth it often, as in his second Booke of the *Jewes* Warres, c. 11. 25. 28. and elsewhere.

The difference betwene a *Tetrarchie* and a *Toparchie*, was, that the first was taken for a Province, and the other for a Citie with some lesser Territorie adjoining, and a *Tetrarch* is the same with *Præses* in Latine, and *President* in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdome: and thereof so called. *Plinius* nameth *Epiphanes*

Epiphanes

teene *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had foure, and so hath the Kingdome of *Teland* to this day, *Leuisler*, *Pisler*, *Connath*, and *Mounslar*.

To the South-west of *Acrabata* they place the Cities of *Balaam* or *Bilham*, and *Geshremmon* of the *Leuites*: but *Iunius* out of *Ios.* 2. 1. 2. 5. and 1. *Chron.* 6. 70. gathers that these two are but one: and that *Ibleham* *Ios.* 16. 11. is another name of the same Citie.

Then is *Iezrael* a Regall Citie, set at the foot of the Mountaines of *Gilboe*, towards the South-west: herein *Iezabel* by a false accusation caused *Naboth* to be stoned, to the end shee might possesse his Vineyard adjoining to the Citie, which *Naboth* refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his Father.

*Ioram* also was cast vnburiad into the same field: for which his Mother *Iezabel* King. 2. cap. 2. murdered *Naboth*.

Toward the Sea from *Iezrael* is the Citie which they call *Gaber*: in whose ascent as *Ahasiah* King of *Juda* fled from *Iehu*, when hee had slaine *Ioram*, hee was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound hee died at *Mageddo* adjoining. The 2. King. 9. 27. Scripture calls this Citie *Citie of Gaber*, *Gur*.

Then *Adadrammon*, neare vnto which the good King *Iosias* was slaine by *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, in a Warre vnadvisedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Affrica* against the King thereof: by the commandement of God: whome *Iosias* thought to resist in his passage. It was afterward called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour Citie to *Adadrammon* was *Mageddo*, often remembred in the Scriptures: whose King was slaine among the rest by *Iosias*: yet they defended their Citie for a long time against *Manasse*. The River vvhich passeth by the Towne, may perhaps bee the same vvhich *Ptolomeus* calleth *Chorfeus*: and not that of vvhich wee haue spoken in *Babylon*. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that haue described the Holy Land delineate no such River. *Moore* only sets it downe in his *Geographie* of the twelue Tribes: but the River vvhich passeth by *Mageddo* hee vnderstandeth to bee but a branch, falling thenceinto. *Laisian* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place: agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Judges*: Then fought the Kings of *Canaan* in *Tanac* by the waters of *Mageddo*. But these Authors, and with them *Stella*, giue it no other name then the *Torrent* so called.

But seeing that ancient *Cosmographers* stretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia*, euen to *Sebaste* or *Samar*ia; and *Strabo* farre beyond it on the Sea-coast: And *Iosephus* calls *Cæsaria* *Palestina* a Citie of *Phœnicia*, yea *Laurentius Corinius* extendeth *Phœnicia* as farre as *Gæza*: feeling also *Ptolomeus* sets downe *Chorfeus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* and *Iudea*: is this River running East and West parallel with *Samar*ia: it is very probable that this *Torrent* called *Mageddo*, after the name of the Citie, which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolomeus* in his fourth Table of *Asia* calleth *Chorfeus*. The 40 later trauellers of the holy Land call *Mageddo* *Subimbre* at this day.

## t. II.

Of *Cæsaria* *Palestina*, and some other Townes.

FROM *Mageddo* toward the West, and neare the *Mediterran* Sea, was that glorious Citie of *Cæsaria* *Palestina*: first, the Tower of *Siraton*: the same which *Plinius* calls *Apollonia*: though *Ptolomeus* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and toward *Egypt*, betwene this Citie and *Ioppe*, to which *Vespasian* gaue the name of *Flavia Colonia*. It was by *Herod* rebuilt, who therein laboured to exceede all the workes in that part of the world: For besides the edifices, which hee reared within the Walls, of cut and polihnt marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence hee might looke ouer the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: hee forced a Harborow of great capacitie, being in former times but an open Bay: and the wind blowing

blowing from the Sea the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their cables and Anchors. This worke hee performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that kinde hath not bene found in any Kingdome, nor in any age: which because the Materialls were fetcht from farre, and the waight of the stones was such as it exceedeth beliefe, I haue added *Iosephus* owne vvordes of this worke: which are these. *Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magna clasti recipienda sufficere: & in viginti vltimorum profundum, prae grandia sacra demisit: quorum plerique, pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis vero octodecim, altitudine nouem pedali: fuerunt quaedam etiam maiora, minoralia; To mend this inconvenience of place (saith Iosephus) hee compass in a way wherein a great fleet might well ride: and let downe great stones twentie fadome deepe: whereof some were fiftie foote long, eighteen foote broad, and nine foote thicke: some bigger, and some lesser. To this he added an arme or cawlie of two hundred foote long, to breake the waues: the rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with diuers flately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent hee called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus*, the sonne in law of *Cesar*: in whose honour hee intituled the Citie it selfe, *Cæsaria of Palaestine*: all which he performed in twelue yeares time. It was the first of the Easterne Cities that receiued a Bishop: afterward erected into an Archbishoppicke, commanding twentie others vnder it, saith *Tyrius*.*

Y. 14. c. 12. bell. Ioseph.

*St. Hierome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorius*, and *Gelasius* to haue bene Bishops thereof: In this Citie was *Cornelius* the Centurion baptized by *S. Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip the Apostle*: *S. Paul* was herein two yeares prisoner, vnder the *President Felix*, vnto the time and gouernment of *Porcius Festus*: by whom making his appeale, he was sent to *Cesar*. Here vpon *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a God by his flatterers, hee was stricken with an *Angel* vnto death, saith *Iosephus*.

To the North of *Cæsaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphth Dor*, as some reade *Ios. 1. 2.* so called (saith *Adrichomius*) because it ioyneth to the Sea, whose King was slaine by *Iesua*. But *Iunius* for in *Naphth Dor*, reades in *tractibus Dor*: and so the *Pulgar*, in *regionibus Dor*: although *1. Reg. 4. 11.* for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth *30 omnis Nephth Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Iesua* call it *Nephth Dor*, and in the other of the Kings *Nepht Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Ios. 12. 23. Iudg. 1. 27.*) may seeme to bee *Dor*. It was a strong and powerfull Citie: and the fourth in account of those twelue Principalities or *Sitarchies*, which *Salomon* erected. *Iunius* vpon *Maccab. 1. 1.* placeth it betwene the Hill *Carmel* and the mouth of the Riuer *Chorfeus*: for so some name the Riuer *Chorfeus*, of vvich vve haue spoken already.

Into this Citie, for the strength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the sonne of *Demetrius*: where he was by the same *Antiochus* besieged vvith 120000. foot-men and 8000. Horse: the same perfidious villaine that receiued 200. talents for the ran-some of *Jonathan Maccabaeus* (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then slew him: and after him slew his owne Master, vsurping for a while the Kingdome of *Syria*. It had also a Bishops seate of the Diocesse of *Cæsaria*.

Macc. 1. 13. 15.

From *Cæsaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Capharnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for besides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Euangelists* they find in these parts neare the West Sea, an other of the same name. Of *Gabe Hierome* in *locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgal* or *Galgal*, was in *Beniamin*: but this *Galgal*, they say, it was whole King was slaine by *Iosua*.

Gul. Tyr. de v. lib. sac. 120. c. 6.

Then *Antipatris* so called of *Herode*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Machabees* it was called *Capharsalama*: in the fields vvhereof *Indus Machabaeus* ouerthrew a part of the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an armie drawn into *Iudaea* by a traitorous Iew, called *Alcimus*: vvho contended for the Priest-hood, first vnder *Bacchides*, and then vnder *Nicanor*. To this was *S. Paul* carried prisoner from *Hierusalem*, conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the *Jewes*.

Macc. 1. 7. v. 31.

*Jewes*. In after-times the Armie of *Gadifrey of Bulion* attempted it in vaine: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in those daies with a Bishops seate, but it is now a poore Village called *Assur*, saith *Brachard*. Neare vnto this Citie the Prophet *Iona* was three daies preferred in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Amipatris* and *Cæsaris*, standeth *Nicarbata*, whereof the Ter-ritorie taketh name: which *Cestius* the *Romane* wasted with fire and sword, because the *Jewes* which dwelt at *Cæsaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of *Moses*. Neare vnto it is the Mountaine of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*: where- in he hidde an hundreth Prophets, and fed them, after which hee himselfe is said to haue obtained from God the Spirit of propheticall.

## CHAP. VIII. Of the Kingdome of Phœnicia.

### § I.

The bounds and chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this Kingdome: and of the inuention of Letter's ascribed to them.



BECAUSE these five Tribes, of *Asser*, *Nephthalim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the halfe of *Manasse*, posselt the better part of that ancient Kingdome of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*: I haue therefore gathered a Briefe of those Kinges which haue gouerned therein: at least so many of them as time (which deuoureth all things) hath left to posteritie: and that the rest haue perished, it is not strange: seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and reuolution, & in so many changes of Estates and Conquests of Heathen Princes, haue bene torne, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, as touching the South parts, are very vncertaine: 40 but all *Cosmographers* doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Casus*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthosia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomie* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the Riuer *Elcuthernus*, that falls into the Sea at the land of *Aradus*, somewhat to the North of *Orthosia*, and stretching from thence alongst the coast of the *Mediterranean* Sea, as farre as the Riuer of *Chorfeus*, which seemes to bee that which the *Jewes* call the *Torrent* or Riuer of *Maggeddo*. *Plinie* extends it farther and comprehends *Ioppe* within it: *Cornelius* and *Budans*, *Ioppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia* apud *priscos appellata* (saith *Bydæus*) quæ nunc *Palaestina* *Syria* dicitur; It was called *Phœnicia* of old (saith hee) which now is called *Palaestina* of *Syria*.

Pto. 4. Tab. 1. p.

Plin. lib. 5. c. 12.

*Strabo* comprehends in this Countrey of *Phœnicia*, all the Sea side of *Iudaea*, and *Palaestina*, euen vnto *Pelusiū*, the first Port of *Aegypt*. On the contrarie *Diodorus Siculus*, foldeth it vp in *Cæsaryia*, which hee boundeth not. But for my selfe I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolomies* description, who was seldome deceived in his owne art. It had in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the Lands)

Strab. l. 16. Jude. de A. l. 4.

lands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthofia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Casaria* *Palestina*: and by reason of the many ports and goodly Sea-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Easterne world: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterran* Sea.

The ancient Regall Seate of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first sonne of *Canaan*: and the people then subject to that familie were called *Zidonians*: the same state continuing euen vnto *Iosua* time. For till then it is probable that there was but one king of all that region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Booke of *Vandal Wars*. But in procelle of time the Citie of *Tyre* adioyning became the more magnificent: yet according to the Pro-  
10 phet it was but a Daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built and peopled.

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Iosua* yet gouerned *Israel*, *Agenor* an *Egyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his sonnes *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and possit the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second Sonne) the vse of letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuit after his sister *Europa* taught the *Græcians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he surpris'd *Tyre*, had rollen her thence: of which the Poets deuised the fable of *Iupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also suppoed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*: and findes *Cadmus* 20 his succellour: whom he calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the succellours of *Dido* held that name alwaies in reuerence, making it a part of their owne as *Astrubaal*, *Hannibaal*: which memorie *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verſes:

*Hic Regina grauem gemmis auroq. poposcit  
Implicitq. moro pateram: quam BELVS & omnes  
A BELO soliti.*

The Queene anon commands the waightie bowle  
(Waightie with pretious stones and masse gold)  
To flow with wine. This *BEVS* vsd of old,  
And all of *BEVS* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seemeth to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancellor to those *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Iupiter Belus*, the sonne of *Neptune* by *Libya*, the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the sonne of *Telegonus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops* time, saith *S. Augustine*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenor*s succellour liuing at once with *Iosua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territorie of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither doe I denie, but that he gaue that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Sonne. But in steede of the building of *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nabuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For bee it true that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought vp in *Egypt*: where he learnt the vse of letters (*Egypt* flourishing in all kind of learning in *Moses* time) or were he by Nation an *Egyptian*: yet is it very likely that either he came to saue his owne Territorie: or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan*, from the *Israelites*: who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great losse and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Iosua* conducted ouer *Jordan*, to conquer and possesse the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Egyptians* by reason of the losse which they receiued by the hand of God, in the Red sea, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the Male children at the same time, could  
not

not hinder the *Hebrewes* from inuading *Canaan* by Land: which also they knew had so many powerfull Nations to defend it: the *Desarts* inter-jacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Amalites*, *Emorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* hauing such Vessells, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in vse: did not in all probability neglect to Garrison the Sea coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces, as they had to spare; and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the *Philistines* which held the shores of *Canaan*, next adioyning vnto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now as it appeareth by the course of the storie, those Cities of *Phœnicia*, which  
10 *Agenor* was fild to haue built (that is, to haue fortified and defended against *Iosua*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Iosua* called the strong Citie, *Ascho* afterward *Ptolomais*, *Atzib* and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those daies.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mightie, especially by Sea, it appeareth, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly by this, that *Dauid* and *Salomon* could not master them: but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it selfe 13. yeares against a King of Kings, *Nabuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed vnresistable) spent more time in the recouerie of *Tyre*, than  
20 in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Iosephus*, who conceiues that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the sonne of *Iaphet*. And for the Region it selfe, though *Callisthenes* deriue it ab arbore *daſylorum*, and the *Greekes* from the word *Phonoi*, of slaughter, because the *Phœnicians* slew all that came on their coasts, yet for my selfe I take it that *Phœnix* the sonne of *Agenor* gaue it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his sonne in *Greece*, were the Inuentors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute vnneceſſarie.

The *Ethiopians* affirme that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and  
30 euill Policies, which they afterward profest and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himselfe was instructed by the *Libyans*: to wit, from the South and Superior *Egyptians*: from whom those which inhabited nearer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their Diuinitie and Philosophie: and from them the *Greekes*, then barbarous, receiued Ciuitie. Again, the *Phœnicians* challenge this inuention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all; neither doe they allow that *Agenor* and his sonnes were *Africans*: whence *Lucan*.

*Phœnices primi (sæua si creditor) ausi  
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.*

*Lucan. l. 5. 31*

*Phœnicians* first (if same may credit haue)  
In rude Characters dar'd our wordes to graue.

And that *Cadmus* was the sonne of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*: when he in a kinde of reproch was called a stranger and a *Phœnician*:

*Si patria est Phœnix quid tum? nam CADMVS & ipse  
Phœnix: cui debet Græcia docta libros.*

*Athen. 1. Dignus*

If a *Phœnician* borne I am, what then?  
*Cadmus* was so: to whom *Greece* owes  
The Bookes of learned men.

Judea, contra  
Apocam.

Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient : and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Iosephus* the Historian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The *Thracians* againe subscribe to none of these reports : but affirme constantly, that the great *Zamoxis* flourished among them : when *Atlas* liued in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Oebus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the *French* doe not blush to maintaine, that the ancient *Gauls* taught the *Greekes* the vse of Letters, and other Sciences. And doe not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druids* are as ancient as those *Gauls*, and that they sent their sonnes hither to bee by them instructed in all kinde of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this inuention on *Mose*, the same hath no probability at all, for hee liued at such time as learning and arts flourished most, both in *Egypt*, and *Assyria*, and he himselfe was brought vp in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is that letters were inuented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the generall flood: either by *Seth*, or *Enos*, or by whom else God knows; from whom all wisdom and vnderstanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he giuen the same inuention to diuers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other: as well in this as in many other knowledges: for euen in *Mexico*, when it was first discovered, there was found written Bookes: after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently vsed by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations: and so had those *Americans* a kinde of *Heralrie*: and their Princes differing in *Armes* and *Scutcheons*, like vnto those vsed by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations. *Iura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c.* *Natura all Lawes are common and general.*

Iarison.

### §. II. Of the Kings of Tyre.

**B**Vt whatsoeuer remaineth of the storie and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the bookes of *Zoro*, *Sachoniathe*, *Mnæstas*, and others of that Nation, being now here found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

*Agenor* liued at once with *Iosua*, to whome succeeded *Phanix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so farre towards the North as *Aradus*, tooke the name of *Phœnicia*: what Kings succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appeare: but at such time as the *Græcians* besieged *Troy*, *Phæto* gouerned *Phœnicia*.

C. 17. v. 3.

In *Hieremies* time and while *Iehoiakim* ruled in *Iuda*, the *Tyrians* had a King a-part: for *Hieremie* speaketh of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of seuerall Kings.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith he inuaded *Greece*, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia*, about *Tyre*, and *Zidon*: who commanded as some Writers affirme, *Xerxes* fleet, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himselfe brought to his aide: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were subiected by *Nabuchodonosor*; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembered, *Hieremie* prophecied.

*Tennes*, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*: remembered by *D. Sculus* in his 14. Booke.

*Strato*, his successor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependance vpon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had serued the East Empire against the *Græcians*. But diuers Kings, of whome there is no memorie, came betwene *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 120. yeares and somewhat more betwene *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed

esteemed the more vnworthie of restitution, because (saith *Curtius*) hee rather submitted himselfe by the infligation of his Subiects (who forewore their vtter ruine by resistance) than that hee had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*.

Of this *Strato*, *Athenaus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that hee was a man of ill liuing: and most voluptuous; also that hee appointed certaine games and prizes for Women dancers, and fingers: whom he to this end chiefly inuited, and assembled: that hauing beheld the most beautifull and liuely among them, hee might recouer them for his owne vse and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, *S. Hierome* and others make mention: who hauing heard that the *Persians* were neare him with an Armie too waigbrie for his strength, and finding that hee was to hope for little grace; because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the *Egyptians*: hee determining to kill himselfe, but fainting in the execution, his wife being present wrested the sword out of his hand and slew him: which done shee also therewith pierced her owne bodie; and died.

After *Alexander* was posselt of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, Hee gaue the Kingdome to *Hephæstion*, to dispose of: who hauing receiued great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen no lesse vertuous than rich, desired *Hephæstion* that this Honour might bee inferred on some one of the blood and race of their ancient Kings: and presented vnto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolonimus*, *Iustine* *Abdolonimus*, and *Plutarch Alynonus*: who at the very houre that he was called to this regall Estate, was with his owne hands working in his Garden, setting herbs, and rootes, for his relief: and sustenance: though otherwise a wife man and exceeding iust.

These were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whose estate being afterward changed into Popular or *Aristocraticall*: and by times and turnes subiected to the Emperours of the East: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly deliuered in the Tribe of *Asser*.

The Kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appeare: *Iosephus* the Historian, as is said, had many things wherewith hee garnished his Antiquities from the *Tyrian* Chronicles: and out of *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a descent of some twentie Kings of the *Tyrians*, but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Ephesus*, doe in no sort agree in the times of their reignes, nor in other particulars.

*Abibulus* is the first King of the *Tyrians*, that *Iosephus* and *Theophilus* remember: whom *Theophilus* calls *Abermalus*: the same perchance that the sonne of *Sirach* mentioneth in his fourth and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*.

To this *Abibulus*, *Suron* succeeded, if he be not one and the same with *Abibulus*. *David* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Eusepius*) constrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth *Psal.* 83.

*Hiram* succeeded *Suron*, whom *Iosephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieramennus*, sometime *Hieramas*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras* *Chiram*. He entered into a league with *David*, and sent him *Cedars* with *Masons*, and *Carpenters*, to performe his buildings in *Ierusalem*: after he had beaten thence the *Iebusites*. The same was hee that so greatly assisted *Salomon*: whom he not only furnished with *Cedars*, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great summes of money, but also heioyned with him in his enterprize of the East *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Salomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: and lent him 120. talents of gold. Of this *Hiram* there is not only mention in diuers places of Scripture, but in *Iosephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. chap. 2 & 3. in *Theophilus* his 34. booke, in *Tatians* his Oration against the *Greekes*: and in *Zonaras* Tome the first. This Prince seemed to be very mightie and magnificent, he despised the 20. townes which *Salomon* offered him: he defended himselfe against

II 2 that

L. 4.

Athen. lib. 12. c. 13

Hieron. lib. 1. c. 10. toin.

C. 46.

Prep. Evang. 19. c. 4.

2. Sam. 1. c. 6.

3. Sam. 6. c. 5.

1. Kings. 5. 1. 9. 20

1. Chron. 14.

2. Chron. 2. 8. 9.

1.King.11.

that victorious King *David*: and gaue his Daughter in marriage to *Salomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Asteroth*, the Idoll of the *Phenicians*. *Hiram* liued 53. yeares.

Theoph. 17.  
yeares.

*Balesartus* whom *Theoph.* *Antiochenus*, calleth *Bazorus*, succceeded *Hiram*, King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7. yeares according to *Iosephus*.

*Abdasartus* the eldest sonne of *Balesartus*, gouerned 9. yeares, and liued but 20. yeares according to *Iosephus*: but after *Theophilus* he reigned 12. yeares, and liued 54. who being slaine by the foure sonnes of his owne Nurce, the eldest of them held the Kingdome 12. yeares.

*Astartus* brother to *Abdasartus*, recovered the Kingdome from this Vsurper, and reigned 12. yeares.

Ioseph. 54.  
Theoph. 30.

*Astarimus*, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother followed *Astartus*, and ruled 9. yeares, and liued in all 54.

*Phelles* the fourth sonne of *Balesartus*, and brother to the three former Kings, slew *Astarimus*: and reigned 8. Moneths: liued 50. yeares.

Theoph.

*Ithobalus* (or *Iuthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) sonne to the third brother *Astarimus*, who was the chiefe Priest of the Goddesse *Astarta*, which was a dignitie next vnto the King, reuenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his Vncle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. yeares, the same which in the first of Kings cap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose Daughter *Iezabel*, *Achab* married.

Ioseph. 32.  
Theoph. 32.

*Badesor* or *Bazor* the sonne of *Ithobalus* or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Iezabel*, succceeded his Father, and reigned 6. yeares, and liued in all 45.

1.King. 16. v. 31  
Ioseph. 6. yeares  
Theoph. 36.

*Metimus* succceeded *Badesor*, and reigned but 9. yeares, (saith *Iosephus*) he had two sonnes *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two Daughters *Elisa* and *Anna*.

Ioseph. 9.  
Theoph. 39.

*Pygmalion* reigned after *Metimus* his Father 40. yeares, and liued 56: In the 7. yeare of whose raigne, *Elisa* failed into *Africa*, and built *Carthago*, 143. yeares and 8. Moneths, after the Temple of *Salomon*: which by our account was 289. yeares after *Troy* taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Aeneas* and *Dido* must be farre out of Square. For *Pygmalion* couetous of *Sithens* riches, who had married his sister *Elisa*, slew him traiterously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we beleue *Iustine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Elisa* fearing to be depouled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into *Africa* as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his Mothers teares, and by threats from the Oracle arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Familie of the *Barca* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous Captaines, and the great *Hannibal*. *Seruus* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her man-like acts, others from *Iedidia*, a surname of *Salomon*.

Iustin. l. 11.  
Virgil. l. 1.

*Elielus* succceeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned 36. yeares: the same that ouerthrew the flecte of *Salmanassar*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which hee continued his siege before it on the Land side five yeares, but in vaine.

After *Elielus*, *Ethobales* gouerned the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himselfe to be as wise as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it is gathered, that this Prince died, or was slaine in that long siege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who ferrouned and attempted *Tyre* 13 yeares together, ere he prevailed.

*Baal* followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. yeares a tributarie, perchanee, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death it was gouerned by diuers *Judges*, succceeding each other: First, by *Enibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Priest, *Mittonus*, and *Gerasus*, who held it among them some 7. yeares, and odde Moneths: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one yeare: after him *Mervalus* sent from *Babylon* 4. yeares: after him *Irom* sent thence also, 20. yeares. In the 17. of whose raigne *Cyrus* beganne to gouerne *Persia*.

¶ III.

¶ III.

Of *Bozirus* his conceit that the *Edumeans* inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the *Tyrians*, and that the *Tyrians* from them received and brought into *Phenicia* the knowledge of the true God.

God.

**I**F the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a discourse of diuers other Nations, there is one *Bozirus* that hath written a Tract at large, intituled *de ruinis Gentium*. And although the great, and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea in all things vnder Heaven, haue proceeded from his ordinance who only is vnchangeable, and the same for euer; yet whereas the said *Bozirus*, enforcing herence, that the prosperitie and ruine of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true Religion, to proue this his assertion, supposeth the *Tyrians* to haue bene *Edumeans*, descended from *Esaui*, *Jacobs* brother: first, it can hardly be beleueed that *Tyre*, when it flourished most in her ancient glorie, was in any sort truly deuout and religious. But to this end (besides the prooue which the Scriptures giue of *Hiram*s good affection when *Salomon* built the Temple) he brings many coniecturall arguments: whereof the strongest is their pettiegre and descent: it being likely in his opinion that the posteritie of *Esaui* receiued from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Isaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumeans*, he endeuours to shew, partly by weake reasons, painfully strained from some affinitie of names, which are arguments of more delight than waight: partly by authoritie. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, and others witnesse, that the *Tyrians* came from the Red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards giuen to the Cities of *Phenicia*. Considering therefore that all the coast of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) vnder the *Edumeans*: as *Elah* and *Esiangaber*, or vnder the *Amalekites*, who descended of *Amalek* the Nephew of *Esaui*, whose chiefe Citie was *Madian*, so called of *Madian* the sonne of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whose posteritie did people it: the consequence appeares good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edumites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Israhel*. Hercunto hee addes that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worship of *Astartus*, the Idoll of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thules* and *Pherecydes* being *Phenicians*, themselves differed much in their Philosophie from the Idolatrous customes of the *Greekes*. That in *Teman*, a Towne of the *Edumeans*, was an *Enueusitie*, wherein as may appeare by *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*, who disputed with *Job*, Religion was sincerely taught.

Boz. de ruin.  
Gent. l. 5. c. 7.

Such is the discourse of *Bozirus*, who labouring to proue one *Paradoxe* by an other; deferues in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumeans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his People: neither is it true that they were *Edumeans* at all. In what Religion *Esaui* brought vp his children it is no where found written, but that himselfe was a prophane man, and disauowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expresse. That his posteritie were Idolaters, is directly proued in the five and twentieth Chapter of the second booke of *Chronicles*. That the *Edumites* were perpetual enemies to the House of *Israhel*, saue only when *Dauid* and some of his race, Kings of *Iuda*, held them in subiection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *Dauid*s vnfriendly behaviour amongst them, when first they were subdued? Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance, betweene *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held such good correspondence with *Dauid*: euen then when *Israhel* slew all the Males of *Edom*: neither was it for their deuotion to God, and good affection to *Israhel*, that the *Edumites* were so illintreated. It seemeth that the pietie and ancient wisdome of *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*,

*Themanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumaeans* punished, for being such as *David* in his owne daies fought them. Although indeede the Citie of *Teman* whence *Eliphas* came to reason with *Job*, is not that in *Edumaea*, but an other of the same name, lying East from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adioyning to *Hus*, the Countrie of *Job*: and to *Sueh* the Citie of *Bildad* the *Sabite*, as both such *Chorographers* who best knew those parts, doe plainly shew, and the holy Text makes manifest. For *Job* is said to haue exceeded in riches; and *Salomon* in wisdom, all the people of the East; not their inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Palestina*. True it is that *Eliphaz*, the sonne of *Esfau* had a sonne called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in those daies to take name of their sonnes, I no where finde. And *Ismael* also had a sonne called *Thema*: of whom it is not vnlike that *Theman* in the East had the name: for as much as in the seuenth Chapter of the booke of *Judges* the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the East are called *Ismaelites*. And he that well considers how great and strong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durst giue battaile to the Host of *Israel*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleue that such a people were descended from one of *Esfau* his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberlesse must the forces of all *Edom* haue bene: if one Tribe of them, yea one Familie of a Tribe had bene so great? surely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adioyning could not haue held them. But wee no where finde that *Edom* had to doe with *Amalec*: or assisted the *Amalekites*: when *Saul* went to roote them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it selfe, if distinct from the *Ismaelites*. The like may be said of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being sonne to *Abraham* by *Ceturah*, doublelesse was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seigniorie* of the Red Sea-coast, which *Bozsius* imagines the *Edumaeans* to haue held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held some places as *Elan* and *Esfongaber* on the Red Sea shore, yet in *Moses* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moses* himselfe saith that *Israel* did compass all the border of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* stood, *Moses* must needs haue knowne it: because he had sojourned long in that Countrie: and there had left his Wife and Children, when he went into *Aegypt*.

But coniecturall Arguments, how probable fouer, are needlesse: in so manifest a case. For in the 83. *Psalm*, *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as distinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authors shew, and *Bozsius* himselfe confesseth, were *Canaanites*, as appeares *Gen. c. 10. v. 15. & 19.* appointed by God to haue bene destroyed, and their Lands giuen to the children of *Israel*. 29. because they were euer Idolaters, and of the cursed seede of *Canaan*, not Cofens to *Israel*, nor professors of the same Religion. For though *Hiram* said, *Blessed be God that hath sent King David a wise Sonne*, we cannot inferre that he was of *Dauids* Religion. The *Turke* hath said as much of *Christian* Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is that the *Sidonians* then worshipped *Astaroth*; and drew *Salomon* also to the same Idolatrie.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Salomon* in building the Temple, hee did it for his owne endes, receiuing therefore of *Salomon* great prouision of Corne, and Oile, and the offer of twentie Townes or Villages in *Galilee*. And if wee rightly consider things, it will appeare that *Hiram*, in all points, dealt Merchant-like with *Salomon*. Hee allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is ouer-pestured: being otherwise apt to yeeld silkes: as the *Andarine* silkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne and Oile, which hee wanted, hee gaue that which he could well spare to *Salomon*. Also gold for Land: wherein *Salomon* was the wiser: who hating got the gold first, gaue to *Hiram* the worst Villages that hee had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleased. But it was a necessarie policie which informed *Tyrrus* to hold league with *Israel*. For *Dauid* had subdued *Moab*, *Ammen*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, euen to *Euphrates*: through which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carrie and recarrie their Wares on Cammells,

to their fleets on the Red Sea: and backe againe to *Tyrrus*: so that *Salomon* being Lord of all the Countries, through which they were to passe, could haue cut off their Trade.

But the *Israellites* were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the *Tyrians* in their adventures. Yet *Salomon* as Lord of the Sea-townes, which his Father had taken from the *Philistims*, might haue greatly distressed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps haue brought them euen into subiection. Which *Hiram* knowing was glad (and no meruaile) that *Salomon* rather meant as a man of peace to employ his Fathers treasure, in magnificent workes, than in pursuing the conquest of all *Syria*. Therefore hee willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to increase his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages betwene *Salomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong Arguments of pietie in the *Tyrians*: so those other proofes which *Bozsius* frames negatively vpon particular examples, are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I thinke, no man knowes. It seemes to me that hauing more cunning than the *Greekes*, and being very ambitious, hee would faine haue purchased diuine honours: which his Daughters, Nephewes, and others of his house obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but fine examples. Euery language Nation hath some whose wilddome excelleth the vulgar, euen of ciuill people. Neither did the morall wisdom of these men expresse any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whome being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not knowne to haue taught Idolatrie, therefore the *Tyrians* were not Idolaters. But this is of force, that *Carthage*, *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Cadix*, and all Colonies of the *Tyrians* (of which, I thinke, the Islands before mentioned in the Red Sea to haue bene, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, euen from their first beginnings: therefore, the *Tyrians*, who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were likewise.

This their Idolatrie from *Salomons* time onwards is acknowledged by *Bozsius*, who would haue vs thinke them to haue bene formerly a strange kinde of deuout *Edomites*. In which fancie he is so peremptorie, that he lieth men of contrarie opinion, *impious politicians*, as if it were impietie to thinke that God (who euen among the Heathen, which haue not knowne his name, doth fauour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honestie, with temporall happinesse. Doubtlesse this doctrine of *Bozsius*, would better haue agreed with *Julian* the *Apollata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Affyrians*, *Greekes*, *Romanes*, and all those Nations of the *Gentiles*, did then prosper most when they drew neare vnto the true Religion: what may bee said of the foule Idolatrie which grew in *Rome*, as fast as *Rome* it selfe grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost vpon euery new victorie? How few great battailes did the *Romanes* winne, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new God, or some new Honour to one of their old Gods? yea, what one Nation saue only that of the *Jewes*, was subdued by them, whose Gods they did not afterward entertaine in their Citie? Only the true God, which was the God of the *Jewes*, they reiected, vbraiding the *Jewes* with him, as if he were vnworthie of the *Romane* Majestie: shall we hereupon inforce the leud and foolish conclusion, which Heathen writers vsed against the *Christians* in the *Primitive Church*: That such Idolatrie had caused the Citie of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperitie were a signe or effect of true Religion. Such is the blinde zeale of *Bozsius*, who writing against those whom he falsely termes impious, giues strength to such as are impious indeede. But such indiscretion is usually found among men of his humour: who hauing once either foolishly embraced the dreames of others: or vainly fashioned in their owne braines any strange *Chimera*'s of Diuinitie, condemne all such in the pride of their zeale, as *Atheists* and *Infidells*, that are not transported with the

the like intemperate ignorance. Great pittie it is that such madde Dogges are oftentimes encouraged by those, who hauing the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

## CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of EPHRAIM, and of the Kings of the  
ten Tribes, whose head was  
EPHRAIM.

## § I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of  
EPHRAIM.



Plat. 59. 78. 108  
Fol. 25.

AVING now past ouer *Phenicia*, we come to the next Territorie adioyning: which is that of *Ephraim*: some time taken *per excellentiam* for the whole Kingdome of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second sonne of *Ioseph*, whose issues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Deserts* (*Iosua* excepted) then entered the Holy Land of their children, growne to bee able men 32500. who late 30  
downe on the West side of *Jordan*, betwene *Manasse*, and *Beniamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan*, and the *Mediterran* Sea, did by the East and West.

The first and chiefe Citie which *Ephraim* had was *Samaria*: the *Metropolis* of the Kingdome of *Israel*: built by *Amri* or *Homri* King thereof: and seated on the top of the Mountaine *Somron*, which ouer-looketh all the bottome, and as farre as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Sebaste*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *August. Cesar*. This Citie is often remembered in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brochard* obserueth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which *Brochard* found greater than those of *Ierusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood vpright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly marble pillars, with other heuen and carued stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the Sonnes of *Hyracanus* the high Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod* the sonne of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cesar* called it *Sebaste*. Herein were the Prophets *Heliſam*, and *Abdias* buried: and so was *Iohn Baptiſt*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Gracian* Monkes.

Nearer *Samaria* towards the South, is the Hill of *Bethel*, and a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine *Ieroboam* erected one of his golden Calues, to bee worshipped: with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In light of this Mountaine of *Bethel*, was that ancient Citie of *Sichem*; after the restoration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelusa*, and *Napolaſa*: It was destroyed by *Sinnon* and *Lewi*, in reuenge of the rauishment of their Sister *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* cued

Sichem. Job. 4. 5.  
Haborian.  
Ioseph. 11. am. 1.

cued with the foile. *Ieroboam* raised it vp againe: and the *Damascens* a third time calt it downe.

Vnder *Sichem* towards the Sea standeth *Pharaton* or *Pirhathon* on the Mountaine *Iudea*. 12. 15. *Ameter*, the Citie of *Abdon* Iudge of *Israel*. And vnder it *Bethoron* of the *Leuites*, built as it is said by *Sara*, the Daughter of *Ephraim*. Neare to this Citie *Iudas Macchabeus* ouerthrew *Seron* and *Lysias*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This Citie had *Samaron* formerly repaired and fortified.

Betweene *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth *Samir* of which *Iof. 10.* And *Saron* whole King was slaine by *Iosua*: it is also mentioned *Act. 9. 35.* and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Casaria Palestina* extendeth it selfe alongst the coast as farre as *Ioppe*, faith *Adrichome*. Though indeede the name *Saron* is not particularly giuen to this Valley, but to euery fruitful plaine Region; for not only this Valley is so called, to wit, betwene *Casaria* and *Ioppe*, but that also betwene the Mountaine *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for so *S. Hierome* vpon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Esey* interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries vpon *Abdia*, reade *Saron* for *Asaron*: vnderstanding thereby a Plaine neare *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Diopolis*, or the Citie of *Iupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Iudea*, the fifth in dignitie (or the third after *Plinie*) where Saint *Peter* (*non sua sed Christi virtute*) cured *Aeneas*. *Niger* callsa that Region from *Anti-libanus* to *Ioppe Saron*. This *Ioppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romanes*, those *Rauens* and spoilers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, viurpers of other Princes Kingdomes: who with no other respect led than to amplifie their owne glorie, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most saluage and barbarous Nations.

In *Diopolis* (saith *Will. of Tyre*) was *S. George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memorie *Iustinian* the Emperour caused a faire Church to bee built ouer his Tombe, these be *Tyrius* his wordes: *Relicta a dextris locis maritimis Antipatriade, & Ioppe, per late patentem planitiem Eleutheriam pervenſimus, Liddam qua est Diopolis, ubi & egregij Martyris GEORGII vsque hodie Sepulchrum ostenditur, pervenerunt, eius Ecclesiam quam ad honorem eiusdem Martyris pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum, AVGVSTVS IVSTINIANVS multo studio & deuotione prompta edificari preceperat, &c.* They hauing left (saith he) on the right hand, the Sea Townes *Antipatriade*, and *Ioppe*, passing ouer the great open plaine of *Eleutheria*, came to *Lidda*, which is *Diopolis*: where the sumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr *S. GEORGE* is at this day shewed: whose Church, when the Godly and Orthodox Prince of the Romans, *High and Mightie IVSTINIAN* had commanded to bee built, with great earnestnesse and present deuotion, &c. Thus saith *Tyrius*, by whose testimonie we may coniecture, that this *S. George* was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but rather some better *Christian*: for this of *Alexandria* was slaine there in an vpror of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better *Christian*, than hee is commonly thought: for his wordes of the Temple of *GENIVS*, *How long shall this Sepulcher stand*: occasioned the vpror of the people against him: as fearing least hee would giue attempt to ouerthrow that beautifull Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports: who though hee say that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the *Christians*, who else might haue rescued him: yet he addeth that his ashes with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, least if their Reliques had bene gathered vp, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part I rather thinke that it was not this *Georgius*, whose name liues in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather an other, whom *Tyrius*, aboue cited, witnesseth to haue bene buried at *Lidda* or *Diopolis*. The same also is confirmed by *Vitruvius*. *S. Hierome* affirms that it was sometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Christians* inhabited the holy Land, it had a Bishop *Suffragan*.

Near to *Lidda* or *Diopolis*, standeth *Ramatha* of the *Leuites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward

Of this *S. George* see more aboue in this second Booke. c. 7. §. 3. f. 5.

L. 22. c. 11.

Sailg. Tom. 6. c. 4.

ward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native Citie of *Ioseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. There are many places which beare this name of *Rama*: one they set in the Tribe of *Iuda* near *Thecus* in the way of *Hebron*: an other in *Nephthim*, not farre from *Sepher*: a third in *Zabulon*, which, they say, adioyneth to *Sepheris*: a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*: and a fifth which is this *Rama* in the Hills of *Ephraim*, called *Sama*. *c. 15. v. 5*

See in the  
Tribe of Benie-  
min, cap 12 §.1.

*Sama*. *c. 15. v. 5*

Ant. 13. 52. de  
Bell. Ind. 1. 6.

From hence to the North along the coast are *Helon*, or *Aidon* of the *Leuites*, of which *1. Chron. 6. Apollonia*, of which *Iosephus* in his Antiquities, and in the Warre of the *Iewes*. Also *Bal'alisa* (for which *Iunius* 2. Reg. 4. 42. reades *planities Shalifite*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*: but *Iunius* vpon *1. Sam. 9.* where we reade of the Land of *Shalifis*, findeth it in *Beniamin*.

On the other side of the Mountaines of *Ephraim* standeth *Gofna*, one of the *Toparchies* or Cities of government, the second in dignitie, of which the Countrey about it taketh name.

Inde. 2. 9. it is  
called Thim-  
nath chere,  
15. 19. 50.

Then *Thamnath-jara*, or according to the *Hebrew* *Thimnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Toparchies* or *Presidencies* of *Iuda*, which they call *Thamnithica*: a goodly Citie and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*: on the North of the Hill called *Gaa*: which Citie and Territorie *Israhel* gaue vnto their Leader *Iofua*: who also amplified it with buildings, near which hee was buried. His Sepulcher remained in *S. Hieromes* time, and ouer it the *Sunne* ingrauen, in memorie of that greatest of wonder, which God wrought in *Iofua*'s time.

Hieron. in locis  
Hebr.

Maccab. 1. 9. 40.

In the places adioyning standeth *Adarfa* or *Alafa*: where *Iudas Maccabaeus* with 3000. *Iewes* ouerthrow the Armie of *Tigianor*, Lieutenant of *Syria*: neare to *Gafar* or *Gezer* which *Iofua* tooke, and hung their King: a Citie of the *Leuites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharao* of *Egypt*: the people all slaine, and the Citie razed: *Salomon* rebuilt it.

To the East of this place is the Frontier Citie of *Iesteti*, of which *Iof. 16. 3.* otherwise *Pelethi*, whence *Dauid* had part of his *Pratorian* Souldiers, vnder the charge of *Bensai*. Then that high and famous Mountaine and Citie of *Silo*, whereon the *Arke* of God was kept so many yeares, till the *Philistims* got it.

See in Reue-  
min.  
Maccab. 1. 9.  
v. ult.

King. 1. 4. 4. and  
see Rama in  
Beniamin.

To this they ioyne the Citie of *Machmas* or *Michmas*: in which *Ionathas Maccabaeus* inhabited, a place often remembered in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hierusalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

Then the Village of *Naith* where *Saul* prophesied: and neare it *Ephron*, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Ieroboam*: after the great ouerthrow giuen him. Then *Eshijam* of the *Leuites*, of which *Iofua* 2. 1. 22. which *Iunius* thinks to be the same with *Iokneham*, of which *1. Chron. 6. 28.* As for *Abidoms Basalor*, which they finde hereabout, *Iunius* reads it the *Plaine* of *Chazor*: and findeth in the Tribe of *Iuda*: as *Iof. 15.* we reade of two *Chazors* in that Tribe: one neare *Kedesh* 40 v. 23. and the other the same as *Chetzeron* v. 25. toward *Jordan*.

Ind. 2. 9. 6. 30

1. Reg. 11. 27.  
Vatablus ex-  
pounds Millo in  
this place, lo-  
cam publicum  
necessarium ci-  
uitatis Ierofoly-  
mitanis atque  
Israhelitis.  
2 Kings. 11. 29.  
105. 17. 24. 5. 16.

In this Tribe also they finde the Citie of *Mello*: whose Citizens, they say, ioynd with the *Sichimites* in making the Bastard *Abimelech* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Salomon* raised a tribute vpon the people. But it seemes that *Mello* or *Millo* is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadell: and so *Iunius* for *domus Mello*, reades *incola munitionis*, and for *Salomo edificabat Millo*, he reades *edificabat munitionem*, and so the *Septuagint* reades *in arxibus* in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Salomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but an other in *Hierusalem*.

The other Cities of marke in *Ephraim* are *Taphuach*, whose King was slaine by 50 *Iofua*: and *Ianoach* or *Ianoah* spoiled by *Teglabalsasser*: *Pekab* then gouerning *Israhel*: with diuers others, but of no great fame.

The Mountaines of *Ephraim* sometime signifie the greatest part of the Land of the Sonnes of *Ioseph*, on the West of *Jordan*: seuerall parts whereof are the Hill of

*Samaria*


*Samron* or *Samaria*, *1. Reg. 16. 24.* \* the Hill of *Gahaz* *Iudg. 2. 9.* the Hill of *Tsalmon* or *Salmon* *Iud. 9. 48.* the Hills of the Region of *Tijphor* or *Tijophim* *Iud. 9. 5.* where *Rama-Tijophim* stood, which was the Citie of *Samuel*.

The great plentie of fruitfull Vines vpon the sides of these Mountaines, was the occasion that *Israhel* in the Spirit of propheticke *Genes. 49. 22.* compared *Ioseph* two branches, *Ephraim* & *Manasse*, to the branches of a fruitfull vine planted by the Well side, and spreading her a Daughter-branches along the Wall: which *Allegorie* also *Ezekiel c. 22.* in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) persecutes: as also in his Lamentation for *Iuda*, hee followeth the other *Allegorie* of *Iacob Gen. 49. 9.* comparing *Iuda* to a Lyon. Vpon the top of one of the highest of these Hills of *Ephraim*, which ouer-looketh all the plaines on both sides of *Jordan*, they finde the Castle called *Dak*: which they make to bee the same with *Dagon*, of which *Ioseph. 1. Bell. Iud. c. 2.* in which Castle as it is *1. Maccab. 16.* *Ptolomie* most traiterously, at a banquet, slew *Simon Maccabaeus* his Father-in-Law.

Among the Riuer of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaa*, remembered in the second of *Samuel. c. 23. v. 30.* where though *Iunius* reade *Hiddai* ex *vna vallum Gaba*: yet the Vulgar and *Vatablus* reade *Hiddai* of the Riuer of *Gaa*. Also in this Tribe they place the Riuer of *Carith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought: where he was fed by the Rauens: and after that the Riuer was dried vpon hee traualled (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon*: where hee was relieved by the poore Widdow of *Zarepta*, whose dead Sonne hee reuiued, and increased her pittance of Meale and Oile: whereby hee sustained her life.

## ¶ II.

### Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from IEROBOM to ACHAB.

30  F the first Kings of *Israhel*, I omit in this place to speake: and referue it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Iuda*: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the diuision from *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, now it followeth to speake. The first of these Kings was *Ieroboam*, the sonne of *Nebat*, an *Ephraimite* of *Zereda*, who being a man of strength and courage was by *Salomon* made ouer-see of the buildings of the *Millo* or *Munition* in *Hierusalem*, for as much as he belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasse*: and so many of them as wrought in those workes. During which time hee went from *Hierusalem*, hee comming the Prophet *Abijah*: who made him know that he was by God destinated to be King of *Israhel*: and to command ten of the twelue Tribes. After this fearing that those things might come to *Salomons* knowledge, hee fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*, whom *Esechias* calleth *Osechores*, whose Daughter he married: the Predecessour of which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertaine *Adad* the *Idumean*, when hee was carried yong into *Egypt* from the furie of *Dauid*, and his Captaine *Iaab*: which *Adad*, the King of *Egypt* married to his Wiues sister *Taphnes*: vning both him and *Ieroboam* as instruments to shake the Kingdom of *Iuda*: that him selfe might the easier spoile it, as he did: for in the fifth yeare of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* sackt the Citie of *Hierusalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, and all the spoiles which *Dauid* tooke from *Adad* of *Seba*, with the presents of *Tobin*, King of 50 *Hamath*, which were of an inestimable value.

This *Ieroboam* after the death of *Salomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to gouerne the *Israhelites*, and from a meane man exalted to that state: yet preferring the policies of the world before the seruice and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes vnder his rule should repaire to *Hierusa-*

\* Also the Hill  
of *Plonchis*  
where *Eterzer*  
the high Priest  
the son of *Ad-*  
*ura* was burned  
*10. 24. 31.*  
and the two tops of  
the Hills, *Gerazim*  
where the blis-  
sing, and that  
where the cut-  
tings were to  
be made to the  
people, of  
which *Deut. 11.*  
*27. 28. 10. 6.*  
a It seemeth  
that *Iacob* in  
this propheticke  
the rather v-  
leth the word  
*Daughters* for  
Branches, there  
by the more  
plainly to fig-  
nifie *Coluias*:  
which in the  
*Hebrew* phrase  
are called  
*Daughters* of  
the *Metropoli*:  
as in *Iofua* and  
elsewhere oie  
b *1. Reg. 17. 3.*  
*2. Reg. 17.*

*Ambrus* upon  
the 1. Chap.  
of the Epistle  
to the *Romanes*.

1. King. 11. 13.  
13. 14.  
15. Chron. 13.

lem to doe their vsuall Sacrifices, they might be drawne from him by degrees) hee erected two golden Calues, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, faith *S. Ambrose*, or rather of *Atrons Calfe in Horeb*) further hee made election of his Priests out of the basest and vnlearned people. This King made his chiefe seate and Pallace at *Sichem*: He despised the warning of the *Iudaean* Prophet, whome *Iosephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas* Iud: His hand there after withered, and was againe restored: but continuing in his Idolatrie, and hardened vpon occasion that the Prophet returning was slaine by a *Lyon*, *Ahijah* makes him know, that God purposed to roote out his posteritie.

He was afterward ouerthrowne by *Abia* King of *Iuda*, and died after hee had gouerned two and twentie yeares: whome *Nadab* his sonne succceded: who in the second year of his raigne, together with all the race of *Ieroboam* was slaine, and rooted out by *Bascha*, who reigned in his stead: so *Nadab* liued King but two yeares.

*Bascha* the sonne of *Ahijah*, the third King after the partition, made Warre with *Afa* King of *Iuda*: hee seated himselfe in *Thersa*: and fortified *Rama* againt *Iuda*, to restraine their excursions. Hereupon *Afa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* againt him, who inuaded *Nephtalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the meane while *Afa* carried away the Materials, with which *Bascha* intended to fortifie *Rama*; but being an Idolater hee was threatened by *Iehu* the Prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to *Ieroboam*: which afterward came to passe: He ruled foure and twentie yeares and died.

To *Bascha* succceded *Ela* his sonne, who at a feast at his Pallace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slaine by *Zambri* after hee had reigned two yeares: and in him the prophetic of *Iehu* was fulfilled.

*Zambri* succceded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a King seuen daies; But *Ambris* in reuenge of the Kings Murther, set vpon *Zambri*, or *Zimri*: and inclosed him in *Thersa*, and forst him to burne himselfe.

*Ambris* or *Humri* succceded *Ela*, and transferred the Regall seate from *Thersa* to *Samaris*: which he bought of *Shomer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambris* was also an Idolater, no lesse impious than the rest: and therefore subiect to *Tabremmon*, King of *Syria*: the Father of *Benadad* according to *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceiue: seeing *Benadad* the Sonne of *Tabremmon* was inuited by *Afa* King of *Iuda*, to assaile *Bascha* King of *Israel*, the Father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambris*. This *Ambris* reigned twelue yeares, fixe in *Thersa*, and fixe in *Samaris*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

### §. III.

Of *Achab* and his Successors, with the captiuitie of the ten Tribes.



**CHAB** or *Ahab* succceded *Omri*, who not only vp-held the Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians*: but hee married *Iezabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Ieroboam* followed the Religion of his *Egyptian* Wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*: and erected an Altar and a Grove to *Baal* in *Samaris*. He suffered *Iezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the Land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* preuailed in the trial of the Sacrifice, and killeth the false Prophets: and afterward flieth for feare of *Iezabel*.

*Benadad*, not long after, besieged *Samaris*: and taken by *Achab* was by him set at libertie: for which the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michaeas*) reprooueth him: afterward he caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to bee stoned. Then ioyning with

*Iosaphat*

*Iosaphat* in the warre for the recouerie of *Ramoth*, hee was slaine as *Michaeas* had foretold him.

Hee had three sonnes named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Ioram*, and *Ioas*: besides seuentie other sonnes by sundry wiues and Concubines.

*Ochozias* succceded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: hee bruised himselfe by a fall: and sent for counsaile to *Beelzebub* the God of *Acharon*. *Elisha* the Prophet meeteth the messenger on the way: and milking that *Ochozias* sought helpe from that dead Idoll, asked the messenger, If there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias* sendeth two Captaines, and with each fiftie souldiers to bring *Elisha* vnto him, both which with their Attendants were consumed with fire. The third Captaine besought mercie at *Elisha* hands, and hee spared him, and went with him to the king: auowing it to the king that he must then die, which came to passe in the second year of his raigne.

*Ioram* the brother of *Ochozias* by *Iezabel*, succceded: He allured *Iosaphat* king of *Iuda*, and the king of *Edom* to assist him againt the *Moabites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000. sheepe. The three kings wanted water, for themselves and their horses, in the Deserts. The Prophet *Elisha* causeth the ditches to flowe. The *Moabites* are ouerthrowne: their king flieth to *Kirharsis*: and being besieged, according to some Expollitors, burnt his sonne on the walles as a Sacrifice, wherewith the three kings moued with compassion returned and left *Moab*, waisting and spoyling that Region. Others, as it seemes with better reason, vnderstand the Text to speake of the sonne of the king of *Edom*: whom they suppose in this irruption to haue bene taken prisoner, by the *Moabites*, and that the king of *Moab* shewed him ore the walls, threatening vnlesse the siege were disolued, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the king of *Edom* besought those of *Iuda* and *Israel* to breake off the siege for the safetie of his sonne: which when the other kings refused to yeeld vnto, and that *Moab* according to his former threatening had burnt the king of *Edoms* sonne vpon the rampire, that all the assaillants might discern it, the king of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle enraged, forooke the partie of the other kings: for want of whose assistance the siege was broken vp.

After this the king of *Aram* sent to *Ioram*, to heale *Naaman* the Captaine of his Armie of the leproulie. The answer of *Ioram* was; Am I God to kill, and to giue life, that hee doth send to heale a man from his leproulie? adding, that the *Aramite* sought but matter of quarrell againt him. *Elisha* hearing thereof, willed the king to send *Naaman* to him: promising that hee should know that there was a Prophet in *Israel*, and so *Naaman* was healed by walshing himselfe seuen times in *Iordan*. *Elisha* refused the gifts of *Naaman*. But his seruant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the sellers of spirittuall gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians*.

Afterward *Benhadad* king of *Aram* or *Damascus*, hauing heard that this Prophet did discouer to the king of *Israel* whatsoeuer the *Aramites* consulted in his secretest counsell, sent a troupe of horse to take *Elisha*: all whom *Elisha* stroke blinde, and brought them captiues into *Samaris*, *Ioram* then asking leaue of the Prophet to slay them, *Elisha* forbade him to harne them: but caused them to be fed and sent backe to their owne Prince in safetie.

The king of *Aram* notwithstanding these benefits did againe attempt *Samaris*: and brought the Citizens to extreame famine. *Ioram* imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha* by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and armor to sound in the ayre, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege, an act of great admiration as the same is written in the second of *Kings*. After this, when *Azed* obtained the kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his Master, *Ioram* entring vpon his frontire tooke *Ramoth Gilead*: in which warre he receiued diuers wounds: and returned to *Israel* to be cured. But whilest hee lay there, *Iehu* (who commanding the armie of *Ioram* in *Gilead*, was annoyed king by one of the children of the

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Prophets

Prophets sent by *Elisha*) surprized and slew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posteritie of *Ahab*.

*Iehu* who reigned after *Iehoram*, destroyed not only the race of his foregoers, but also their Religion; for which hee receiued a promise from God, That his seede should occupie the Throne unto the fourth generation. Yet hee vpheld the idolatrie of *Ieroboam*, for which hee was plagued with grievous warre, wherein hee was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countreies to the East of *Jordan*: in which warre hee was slaine saith *Cedrenus*: whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Iehu* reigned 28. yeeres.

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*Iothaz* or *Iehozabaz* the sonne of *Iehu* succeeded his father, whome *Azael* and his 10 sonne *Benhadad* often invaded: and in the end subiected: leaving him onely 50 horse, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot: and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Iothaz* reigned 17. yeeres.

2. King. 13.

After *Iothaz* *Joas* his sonne gouerned *Israel*: who when hee repaired to *Elisha* the Prophet as he lay in his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories ouer the *Aramites*: and first commaunded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and *Elisha* couered the kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. He againe willed him to beate the ground with his arrowes, who smote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that hee should haue smitten five or sixe times: and then hee 20 should haue had so many victories ouer the *Aramites* as hee gaue strokes. And so it succeeded with *Joas*, who ouerthrew the *Aramites* in three battells, and recovered the Cities and Territorie from *Benhadad* the sonne of *Azael*, which his father *Iothaz* had lost. He also ouerthrew *Amazias* king of *Juda*, who prouoked him to make the war: whereupon hee entred *Hierusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This *Joas* reigned fixteene yeeres and died; in whole time also the Prophet *Elisha* exchanged this life for a better.

2. King. 14.

*Ieroboam* the third from *Iehu*, followed *Joas* his father, an Idolater as his predecessors: but hee recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath* which is neere *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and fortie yeeres.

*Zacharias* the fift and last of the house of *Iehu*, slaine by *Shallum* his vassall, who reigned in his stead, gouerned six moneths. *Shallum* held the kingdome but one moneth, being slaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

*Menahem* who tooke reuenge of *Shallum*, vsed great crueltie to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with child. This *Menahem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with tenne thousand talents of silver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fiftie shekels from euery man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menahem* gouerned twentie yeeres.

2. King. 16. 19.

*Pekahiah* or *Phacia*, or after *Zonaras* *Phaceia*, succeeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres, hee was slaine by *Phacac* or *Pekab* the Commander of his armie, who 40 reigned in his place. In this *Pekab* time *Phulassar* or *Tiglat-Phylassar* invaded the kingdome of *Israel*, and wanne *Sion*, *Ahel-Bethmaaca*, *Ianoach*, *Kedesb*, *Hafor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captiues into *Assyria*: he was drawn in by *Achas* king of *Judaea* against *Pekab* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adadei*. For *Achas* being wasted by *Pekab* of *Israel* and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church riches, and therewith ingaged the *Assyrian*, who first suppressed the Monarchie of *Syria* and *Damascus*: and then of *Israel*: and this inueting of the great *Assyrian*, was the vtter ruine of both States, of *Israel* and of *Judaea*. *Pekab* reigned twentie yeeres.

2. King. 15. 29.

Then *Hoshea* or *Osee*, who slew *Pekab*, became the vassall of *Salmanassar*: but hoping to shake off the *Assyrian* yoke, he sought aide from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* king of *Egypt*: which being knowne to the *Assyrian*, hee cast him into prison, besieged *Samar*ia, and maltred it: carried the ten idolatrous Tribes into *Ninive* in *Assyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Esterne Regions, and there disperfed them: and

and re-planted *Samar*ia with diuers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthae* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a Riuer in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Canaanites* bounding vpon *Syria*, and with those of *Sepharuim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Medes* 37. *Sopetania* vpon *Euphrates*, of whose conquest *Sennacherib* vaunteth) also with those of *Assa*: which were of the ancient *Assians* who inhabited the Land of the *Philistims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling neare vnto *Gaza*: whom the *Caphorims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Desart*, called *Hanai*: willing to returne to their ancient seats. To these he added those of *Chamath* or *Ituraa*, the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometime the Vassalls of the *Adads* of *Damascus*: which so often assailed them. And thus did this *Assyrian* aduise himselfe better than the *Romans* did. For after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had wasted the Cities of *Judaea*, and *Hierusalem*, they carried the people away captiue: but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their owne thinne Garrisons, which sodne decayed: and thereby they gaue that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who neuer could bedriuen thence againe to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, hapned in the yeare of the world 3292. the sixth yeare of *Ezekia* King of *Juda*: and the ninth of *Hoshea* the last King of *Israel*.

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### A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

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1.	<i>Ieroboam</i> ,	Raigned	22.	Yeeres.
2.	<i>Nadab</i> ,		2.	Yeeres.
3.	<i>Baasha</i> ,		24.	Yeeres.
4.	<i>Ela</i> ,		20.	Yeeres.
5.	<i>Zambri</i> ,		7.	Daies.
6.	<i>Omi</i> ,		11.	Yeeres.
7.	<i>Achab</i> ,		22.	Yeeres.
8.	<i>Ochozias</i> ,		2.	Yeeres.
9.	<i>Ioram</i> ,		12.	Yeeres.
10.	<i>Iehu</i> ,		28.	Yeeres.
11.	<i>Ioashaz</i> ,		17.	Yeeres.
12.	<i>Joas</i> ,		16.	Yeeres.
13.	<i>Ieroboam</i> ,		41.	Yeeres.
14.	<i>Zacharias</i> ,		6.	Moneths.
15.	<i>Shallum</i> ,		1.	Moneth.
16.	<i>Menahem</i> ,		10.	Yeeres.
17.	<i>Pekahiah</i> ,		2.	Yeeres.
18.	<i>Phacia</i> ,		20.	Yeeres.
19.	<i>Hoshea</i> ,		9.	Yeeres, about whose time writers differ.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of DAN, SIMEON, IUDAH,  
RUBEN, GAD, and the other halfe of  
MANASSE.

§ 1.

Of DAN, where of Ioppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and  
other Townes.



Now following the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, that  
portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of Dan, ioyneth  
to Ephraim, whereof I spake last: of which familie  
there were numbred at Mount Sinai 62700. fighting  
men, all which leauing their bodies with the rest in the  
Deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their sonnes  
66400. bearing armes. The first famous Citie in this  
Tribe on the Sea coast was Ioppe, or Iapho, as in the  
19. of Iosua: one of the most ancientest of the World,  
and the most famous of others on that Coast, because  
it was the Port of Hierusalem. From hence Iosua imbarked himselfe when hee fled  
from the seruice of God, towards Tharsis in Cilicia. In the time of the Machabees  
this Citie receiued many changes: and while Iudas Machabaeus gouerned the Iewes, the  
Syrians that were Garifond in Ioppe, hauing their fleet in the Port, inuited 200. principall  
Citizens about them, and cast them all into the Sea: which Iudas reuenged by  
firing their fleet, and putting the companies which fought to escape to the sword.

It was twice taken by the Romanes, and by Cestius the Lieutenant vtterly burnt  
and ruined. But in the yeare of Christ 1250. Lodowick the French King gaue it new  
Walls and Towers: It is now the Turkes, and called Iaffa. There are certaine Rocks  
in that Port, whereunto it is reported that Andromeda was fastned with chaines: and  
from thence deliuered from the Sea-Monster by Perseus. This fable (for so I take it)  
is confirmed by Iosephus, Solinus, and Plinie. Marcus Scanius during his office of  
Aduleship, shewed the bones of this Monster to the people of Rome. S. Hierome  
vpon Iosua speaks of it indifferently.

The next vnto Ioppe was Iamnia, where Iudas Machabaeus burnt the rest of the Sy-  
rian fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seene at Hierusalem 240. furlongs off. It  
had sometime a Bishops seate, saith Will. of Tyre; But there is no signe of it at this  
time that such a place there was.

After Iamnia is the Citie of Geth or Gath, sometime Anibedon, saith Volaterran. And  
so Montanus seemes to vnderstand it. For he sets it next to Egypt, of all the Philis-  
tim Cities, and in the place of Anibedon. But Volaterran giues neither reason nor au-  
thoritie for his opinion; for Ptolomee lets Anibedon farre to the South of Ioppe: And  
Geth was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Ci-  
ties of the Philistims: and about sixteen miles from Ioppe; where S. Hierome in his  
time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the Habitation and  
Seminarie of the Anakims: strong and Giant-like-men, whom Iosua could not expell,  
nor the Danites after him: nor any of the Israellites, till Dauids time: who slew Goliath,  
as his Captaines did diuers others not much inferior in strength and stature vnto  
Goliath.

Roboam

Roboam the Sonne of Salomon rebuilt Geth: Ozias the sonne of Amazia destroyed  
it againe. It was also laid wast by Azazel King of Syria. Fulke the fourth King of  
Hierusalem, built a Cattle in the same place out of the old ruines. Whether this Geth  
was the fame that Will. of Tyre in the holy Warre calls Gylgin, I much doubt: the er-  
rour growing by taking Gath for Anibedon.

Not farre from Geth or Gath standeth Bethsemes or the house of the Sonne. In the  
fields adioyning to this Citie (as is thought) was the Arke of God brought by a yoke  
of two Kine, turned loose by the Philistims: and the Bethsemes presuming to looke  
therein, there were slaine of the Elders 70. and of the people 50000. by the ordi-  
nace of God. After which slaughter and the great lamentation of the people: it  
was called the great \* Abel, saith S. Hierome. Benedictus Theologus finds three other  
Cities of this name; one in \* Nephtulim: an other in Iuda: and another in Iachar.  
Hierome finds a fifth in Benjamin.

Keeping the Sea-coast the strong Citie of Accaron offereth it selfe, sometime one  
of the five Satrapies, or Governments of the Philistims. S. Hierome makes it the same  
with Casaria Palastina. Plinie confounds it with Apollonia: It was one of those that  
defended it selfe against the Danites and Iudaans. It worshipped Beelzebub the God  
of Hornets or Flies. To which Idoll it was that Abimelech King of Israell sent to enquire  
of his health: whose Messengers Eliab meeting by the way caused them to returne,  
with a sorrowfull answer to their Master. This Citie is remembered in many places  
of Scripture.

Christianus Schrot placeth Azotus next to Geth, and then Accaron or Ekron. This  
Azotus or Asdod was also an habitation of the Anakims, whose Iosua failed to de-  
stroy, though he once posselt their Citie. Herin stood a sumptuous Temple dedi-  
cated to the Idoll Dagon: the same Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it selfe;  
after the Arke of God was by the Philistims carried into their Temple; and in the  
second fall it was vtterly broken and defaced. Neare it was that famous Iudas Ma-  
chabaeus slaine by Bacchides and Alcimus, the Lieutenants of Demetrius. Afterward it  
was taken by Ionathas: and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that  
fled into the Temple of Dagon were with their Idoll therein consumed with fire:  
neare which also he ouerthrew Apolloniue.

Gabinus the Roman reuilt it. It had a Bishops seate while Christianitie flour-  
ished in those parts. But in S. Hieromes time it was yet a faire Village. And this  
was the last of the Sea-Townes within the Tribe of Dan.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from Azotus, and beyond the  
Fountaine of Ethiopia, wherein Philip the Apostle baptized the Eunuch, are Tjorah,  
or Sora, and Elbaal, and betwene them Casira Danu near Hieron: though this  
place where Sampson was borne, may seme by the wordes Iud. 18. 12. to bee in  
the Tribe of Iudah, as the other also were bordering Townes betwene Dan and  
Iuda.

After these within the bounds of Iuda, but belonging to the Danites, they finde  
Gedor, or as it is 1. Mac. 15. Cedron, which Cenebeus the Lieutenant of Antiochus for-  
tified against the Iewes, and neare which himselfe was by the Machabees ouer-  
throwne.

Then Modin the Natiue Citie of the Machabees: and wherein they were buried,  
on whose Sepulcher the seuen Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heigh  
as they served for a marke to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeares after  
their first setting vp, as Brochard and Breidenbach witnesseth.

There are besides these the Citie of Cariatharim, that is, the Citie of the woods:  
seated in the border of Iuda, Benjamin, and Dan, wherein the Arke of God remained  
twenty yeares in the house of Aminadab: till such time as Dauid carried it thence to  
Hierusalem: Of this place (as they say) was Zacharias the sonne of Barachias, or Je-  
hoiada, who was slaine betwene the Temple and the Altar: also Prius whom Iachim  
King of Hierusalem slaughtered as we finde in Ieremie. Many other places which

K k 3

L. 21. c. 18.

Sam. 1. c. 6. v. 18.

\* Or rather  
not the citie it  
selfe, but the  
great stone in  
the field, vpon  
which stone the  
Philistims let  
the Arke, the  
change be-  
ing caule from  
Ekron or Azot,  
which signifi-  
eth a stone to  
Abel which sig-  
nifieth mour-  
ning.

a See in Nepht.  
c. 7. d. 4. 1. 6.  
b It was be-  
sieged by Ptole-  
maeus the fa-  
ther of Ptole-  
my.  
Neo 107. 29.  
Years together  
whence Iremy  
31. v. 20. speaks  
of the residue  
of Asdod, 10  
wit, the great-  
est part ha-  
uing perished  
in this siege.  
c 1. Sam. 5. 4.  
d Mac. 1. c. 9.  
Mac. 1. c. 10.  
10. 19. 41.  
Iud. 13. 25. c.  
18. 24.

1. Mac. 15. 18.

Alas Carithar-  
im and Beth-  
or Bethphorim  
1. Sam. 7. 1. c. 8.  
Sam. 8. 2.  
1. Chron. 24. 22.  
1. Chron. 25. 13.  
Jer. 42. 20.

they

v. 46.

Mac. 3. 13.

L. 2. 1. 1. de bel.  
Iud. Solin. c. 47.  
Plin. 15. c. 9.

2. Mac. 12.  
De Bell. Iac.

F. 244.

Hieron in Mi-  
dicam.

2. Macc. 12. 13.  
10. 1. 11.  
2. Macc. 1. 19.

they place in this Tribe, rather as I take it vpon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caphin* taken with great slaughter by *Iudas Machabeus*: and *Lachis*, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*, in which also *Amazias* was slaine: The same which *Senacherib* rooke, *Ezechias* raigning in *Iuda*.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, see in *Iosua* c. 19. from the *Verse* 41. where also it is added that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded *Lechem*, and inhabited it: which Citie after amplified by *Philip* the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæsarea Philippi*, as before, and made the Metropolis of *Galilee*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was *Tetrarch*: but of this Citie see more in *Nephtalim*. In this Tribe there are no 10

Mountaines of fame.

It hath two Riuer or Torrents: the Northern-most riseth out of the Mountains of *Iuda*: and passing by *Modin*, fallerh into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name of *Sorek* or *Sored*, whose banks are plentifull of Vines which haue no feedes or stones: The wine they yeeld is red, of excellent colour, tast, and fauour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, so called from the Riuer, inhabited *Dallia* whom *Samson* loured.

Histor. in 2. 12.  
& Macc. 12.  
Brach.  
Breid.  
Jud. 16. 4.

## §. II.

### THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

**T**He Tribe of *Simeon* takes vp the rest of the Sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the second Sonne of *Iacob* by *Lea*, they were increased of that Familie while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbered at Mount *Sinai* 59300. able men, all which ending their liues in the *Desart*, were entred the Land of Promise of their issues 22200. bearing armes, who were in part mixed with *Iuda*, and in part seuered, inhabiting a small Territorie on the Sea-coast, belonging to *Edumæa*, of which the first Citie adioyning to *Dan*, was *Ascalon*.

The *Regni* or petty Kings thereof were called *Ascalonite*: of which *Volaterran* out of *Xenobius*, in the Historie of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Ascalus* were the sonnes of *Hymenæus*: and that *Ascalus* being imploied by *Asiamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Armie in *Syria*, falling in loue with a young Woman of that Countrey, built this Citie and called it after his owne name: the same hath *Nicolas* in his Historie, faith *Volaterran*.

*Diodorus Siculus* in his third Booke remembreth a Lake neare *Ascalon*, wherein there hath been a Temple dedicated to *Demeter* the Goddess of the *Syrians*: hauing the face of a Woman and the bodie of a Fish: who, as I haue said before, in the storie of *Venus*, was the Mother of *Semiramis*, fained to be cast into this Lake, and fed and releued by Doves. And therefore was the Doue worshipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tribulus* the Poet:

*Alba Palästina sancta Columba Syro.*

The white Doue is for holy held, in *Syria Palästina*.

It was one of the chiefe and strongest Cities of the *Philistims*. It bred many learned men (faith *Volaterran*) as *Antiochus*, *Sofus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the Historian, and *Artemidorus* who wrote the storie of *Bithynia*.

In *Ascalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* borne, that seeking after our Saviour, caused all the Male-children of two years old and vnder to be slaine. In the Christian

Vol. vi. supra.

Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard King of England* while he made Warre in the holy Land, gaue it a new wall and many buildings. *Eius muros cum SALADINVS diruisset*, *RICHARDVS ANGLORVM Rex* instaurauit, faith *Abricobinus*.

In *Dauid's* time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the *Philistims*: for he nameth *Gath* and *Ascalon* only, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul*, and *Jonathan*: not speaking of the other three. Tell it not in *Gath*, nor publish it not in the streets of *Ascalon*: It is now called *Scalene*. *Gabinus* restored it as hee did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

Next to *Ascalon* stood *Gaza* or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrewees* call *Hazza*, the *Syrians* *Azotus*: (as they say) the sonne of *Heraclides*. Other prophane writers affirm, that it was built by *Iupiter*. *Pomp. Metela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyses* the Persian: because belike he rebuilt it, and *Gaza* in the Persian tongue is as much to say as Treasure. This *Gaza* was the first of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philistims*: and the South bound of the Land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this Citie was farre more ancient than *Cambyses*, as it is proved by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire of *Persia*, he receiued a Garrison for *Darius*: in despite whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long siege demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the *Desart*.

*Alexander Ianneus* King of the *Iewes* surpris'd it: and slew 500. Senators in the Temple of *Apollo* which fled thither for Sanctuary: but this *Gaza* was not let vp in the same place againe, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had ouerturned, but somewhat nearer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the *Machabees*, and gaue many wounds to the *Iewes* till it was fort by *Simon*: of which he made so great account as he purposed to reside therein himselfe, and in his absence left *Iehnn* his Sonne and Successeur to be Governour. In *Brochard* his time it was still a goodly Citie, and knowne by the name of *Gazara*.

At the very out-let of the Riuer of *Bezor*, standeth *Maïoma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the priuledge of a Citie was given by the great *Constantine*, and the place called *Constance* after the name of the Emperours Sonne. But *Julian the Apostate* being after fauouring the *Gazarians* made it subiect vnto them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza maritima*.

On the other side of *Bezor*, standeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Ianneus*, restored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the fauourite of *Augustus*.

Then *Raphia* where *Philopater* ouerthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura* whose Torrent is knowne in the Scriptures by the name \* of the Torrent of *Egypt*, till the *Septuagint* conuerted it by *Rhinocura*: to difference it, *Es. 27. 12.* giuing the name of the Citie to the Torrent that wateereth it. *Plinie* calls it *Rhinocoura*; and *Iosephus*, *Rhinocorura*: *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was diuided by lots, betweene the three Sonnes of *Noah*.

Within the Land and vpon the Riuer of *Bezor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth betwene *Kadeb* and *Shur*, *Gen. 20. 1.* That it was neare to the Wilderness of *Beer-Shebah*, it appears *Genes. 20. 31.* and therefore no meruaile that as elsewhere *Beer-Shebah*, so sometime *Gerar*, became the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a distinct Kingdome from the *Philistim* *Satrapies*, the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*; *S. Hierome* faith that afterward it was called *Regio Iudæaria*; The healthy Countrey: so that it was no meruaile that *Abraham* and *Isaac* liued much in these parts. Of King *Asa's* conquest of the Cities about *Gerar*, see *2. Chron. 14. 14.*

More within the Land was *Steeleg* or *Tsiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *Dauid* in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philistims* had left his carriages there, *1. Sam. 30.* but

Abich. in Trib.  
Simeon.

2. Sam. 1.

1. 11.

Steph. de Trib.

Iud. 1. 6. 16.

1. Kings. 6. 2. 2. 11.

10. 13. 12. 19.

2. 1. 14. 2. 1.

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but *Dauid* followed them ouer the Riuer of *Befor*, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey.

Next *Dabir* sometime *Cariath-Sepher*, the Citie of Letters, the Vniuersitie, as they say, or *Academie* of old *Palestine*. In *S. Hieromes* time it seemes it had the name of *Daema*: *Iofua* 15. 49. it is called *Vrbs Sanna*: from the name, as it seemes, of some of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Vrbs Arbabi*. For euen hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othomel*, encouraged by *Calebs* promise of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Iofua* and the Hoast of *Israell* were at the surprize, it appears *Iof.* 10. 39. This Citie *Iof.* 21. 15. is named among those which out of *Simcon* and *Juda* were giuen to the *Leuites*. And hence it seemes they attribute it to this Tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simcon*, but of lesse fame, as *Hayn*, of which *Iof.* 19. 7. which also *Iof.* 21. 16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Leuites*, giuen out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simcon* (for which *Iunius* thinks of *Esilham* is named 1. *Chron.* 6. 59. though \* in the place of *Iofua* these two are distinguished) also *Tholad* so named 1. *Chron.* 4. 29. for which *Iofua* 19. 4. wee haue *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Sufa* so named *Iofua* 19. 5. for which *Iofua* 15. wee haue *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in signification: for *Gadda* is *Turma*, and *Sufa* *Equitatus*.

In the same places of *Iofua* and of the *Chronicles* *Chorma* is named, which they thinke to bee the same with that of which *Numb.* 14. 45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* pursued the *Israelites*. But that *Chorma* cannot bee in *Simcon*, nor within the Mountaines of *Edumaea*. For *Israel* fled not that way: but backe againe to the Camp, which lay to the South of *Edumaea*, in the *Desart*.

The same places also name *Beerseba* in this Tribe: so called of the Oath betwene *Abraham* and *Abimelec*: neare vnto which *Hagar* wandered with her Sonne *Ismael*. It was also called the Citie of *Isaac*, because hee dwelt long there. While the *Christians* held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the *Arabian Desart*, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simcon* which are named in the places of *Iofua*, and of the *Chronicles*, aboue noted, because they helpe vs nothing in storie, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekias* King of *Juda*, certaine of this Tribe being freighted in their owne Territories, passed to \* *Gedor*, as it is 1. *Chron.* 4. 39. (the same place which *Iof.* 15. 36. is called *Geder* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the issue of *Cham*: where they seated themselves: as also five hundred others of this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountaines of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

The Mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampson* the chieft: vnto which he carried the Gate-post of *Gaza*. The Riueres are *Befor*, and the Torrent of *Egypt* called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Assef*.

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## §. III.

## THE TRIBE OF JUDA.



F *Juda* the fourth Sonne of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600. all which (*Caleb* excepted) perished in the *Desarts*. And of their sonnes there entered the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing armes: Agreeable to the greatesse of this number was the greatest Territorie giuen, called afterward *Judea*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simcon* included. And many Cities named in these Tribes, did first, as they say, belong vnto the children of *Juda*: who had a kind of Soueraignty ouer them: as *Socoth*, *Cariatharim*, *Lachis*, *Beerseba*, *Tsiglag*, *Beerseba*, and others. The multitude of people within this small Prouince (if it bee meant by that ground giuen to this Tribe only) were vncredible if the witness of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *Dauid* numbred the people they were found five hundred thousand fighting men.

The Cities of *Juda* were many. But I will remember the chieft of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Forma*, which standeth in the entrance of *Judea* from *Idumaea*: whose King first surprized the *Israelites* as they passed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Maab*: and tooke from them some spoiles, and many prisoners: who being afterward ouerthrowne by the *Israelites*, the sonnes of *Keni*, the Kinmen of *Moses*, obtained a possession in that Territorie: who before the coming of the *Israelites*, dwelt betwene *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumaea* and the South, *Ascensus Scorpionis*, or *Acraabim* is placed, the next to *Arad*: so called because of Scorpions, which are said to be in that place: from which name of *Acraabim*, *Hierome* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie* called *Acraabithena* was denominated: of which wee haue spoken in *Mansses*. On the South side also of *Judea* they place the Cities of *Iagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Ceder*, *Alfina*, *Iethnam*, and *Afor* or *Chasfor*, most of them Frontier Townes.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the *Desart* and *Forreit* adioyning tooke name: where *Dauid* hid himselfe from *Saul*. After these are the Cities of *Efron*, *Adar*, *Karkah*, and *Alemon*, or *Haismon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumaea* towards the North, we finde the Cities of *Dunna*, *Shemah*, *Anam*, the other *Afor*, or *Chasfor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Socotes*: of all which see *Iof.* 15. also *Cariath* by *Iofua* c. 15. v. 25. called *Kerioth*: whence *Judas* the Traidor was called *Is-carith*, as it were a man of *Cariath*. Then *Ietham* the abode of *Sampson* which *Rehobam* redified. Beyond these towards the North border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the Citie of *Iethar*, or *Iathir*, belonging to the *Leuites*. In *Saint Hieromes* time it was called *tethira*: and inhabited altogether with *Christians*: neare vnto this Citie was that remarkable battaile fought betwene *Asa* King of *Juda*, and *Zera* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Asa* following the victorie as farre as *Gerar*, which at the same time he recovered.

Not farre from *Iethar*, standeth *Sarmuth*, whose King was slaine by *Iofua*, and the Citie ouerturned. Next vnto it is *Marefa* the native Citie of the Prophet *Michas*: Betwene it and *Odolla*, *Judas* *Muchabau* ouerthrew *Gorgias*: and sent thence ten thousand *Dragmas* of silver to be offered for Sacrifice.

*Odolla* or *Hadullam* it selfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by *Iofua*, and the King thereof slaine. *Ionathas* *Muchabau* beautified it greatly. Then *Cela* or *Kella* afterward *Echela*, where *Dauid* sometime hid himselfe: and which afterward

afterward he delivered from the assaults of the *Philistims*: neare which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whose monument remained and was scene by *S. Hierome*.

Neare it is *Hebron* sometime called the *Citie of Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariat Harbe*: the reason of this name they give as if it signified the *Citie of foure*: because the foure *Patriarchs*, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but supposed: and it is plain by the places *Iofua* 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 20. 11. that *Arbah* here doth not signifie foure, but that it was the name of the Father of the *Giants* called *Anakim*, whose sonne as it seemes *Anak* was: and *Achim*, *Shephai*, and *Talmai* (whom *Caleb* expelled *Ief* 15.) were the sonnes of this *Anak*, *Nam*. 13. 23. The name of *Anak* signifieth *Torquem*, a chaine worne for ornament: and it seemes that this *Anak* enriched by the spoiles which him selfe and his Father got, wore a chaine of gold, and so got this name: and leaving the custome to his posteritie left also the name: so that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amisse be expounded by *Torquati*.

The *Citie Hebron* was one of the ancientest *Cities of Canaan*: built seven years before *Tison* or *Tanis* in *Aegypt*: and it was the head and chiefe *Citie* of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given: to wit, the Villages adioyning, and the self to the *Lewites*. It had a Bishop in the *Christian* times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine*.

Not farre hence they finde *Eleutheropolis* or the free *Citie*, remembred often by *S. Hierome*. Tl en *Eglon* whose King *Dabir* associated with the other foure Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hierusalem*, *Hebron*, *Iarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the *Gibeanites*, were by *Iofua* vterly ouerthrowne. From hence the next *Citie* of fame was *Emais*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the *Cities of Government* or *Presidencies of Iudea*. In sight of this *Citie* *Iudas Macchabeus* (after he had formerly bene both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gaue a third ouerthrow to *Gorgias* Lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

In the year 1301. it was ouerturned by an earth-quake, faith *Eusebius*. In the *Christian* times it had a Bishops seate of the *Diocesse of Casaria of Palestine*.

From *Emais* toward the West Sea there are the *Cities of Nabama*, *Bethadagon*, and *Gader* or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which and of *Gederuth* \* *Iof* 15. v. 36 & 41. 30 Then *Azecha* to which *Iofua* followed the slaughter of the five Kings before named, a *Citie* of great strength in the Valley of \* *Terebith* or *Turpentine*: as the *Vulgar* readeth 1. *Sam*. 17. 2. whence (as it seemes) they feat it neare vnto *Soco*, and vnto *Lebus* of the *Lewites*. It reuolted from the subiection of the *Iewes* while *Ioram* the sonne of *Iofaphat* ruled in *Hierusalem*: And next vnto this standeth *Maceda* which *Iofua* vterly dispeopled.

On the other side of *Emais* towards the East standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Lehem*, and *Bethfor*: one of the strongest and most sought for places in all *Iuda*: It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (the house of the Rocks, or of strength.) It was fortified by *Roboam*: and afterward by *Iudas Macchabeus*. *Lysias* for it, and 40 *Antiochus Eupator* by famine: *Ionathas* regained it: and it was by *Syrian* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* Kings.

*Bethleem* is the next vnto it within fixe miles of *Hierusalem*, otherwise *Lehem*: sometime *Ephrata*: which name, they say, it had of *Caleb* wife, when as it is so called by *Moses*: before *Caleb* was famous in those parts *Gen*. 38. 16. Of this *Citie* was *Abessan* or *Ibozan*, *Iudge* of *Israel*, after *Iephthab*, famous for the thirtie Sonnes and thirtie Daughters, begotten by him. *Eliemelech* was also a *Bethleemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moad* during the famine of *Iuda* in the time of the *Judges*, with whom *Ruth* the daughter in law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and married *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Ishai*, of whom *Dauid*. It had also the honour to be the native *Citie* of our Saviour *Iesus Christ*: and therefore shall the memorie thereof neuer end.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a *Citie* of the same name: and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethleem Iuda*.

From *Bethleem* some foure or five mile standeth *Thecua*: the *Citie* of *Amos* the Prophet:

Prophet: and to this place adioyning is the *Citie* of *Bethzacaria*, in the way between *Bethlura* and *Hierusalem*: on whose Hills adioyning the glorious gilt shields of *Antiochus* thined like lamps of fire in the cies of the *Iewes*. The *Citie* of \* *Bezek* was also neare vnto *Bethleem*, which *Adoni-bezek* commanded; who had during his raigne tortured 70. Kings, by cutting off the ioynts of their Fingers and Toes: and made them gather bread vnder his Table: but at length the fame end befell himselfe by the sonnes of *Iuda*, after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the *Cities* in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may passe by vntill we come to the magnificent Cattle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble steps, exceeding beautifull and strong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adioyning to the Desert of *Ieruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *clitus floridus*, where in the time of *Iehosaphat*, the *Iewes* stood and lookt on the *Moabites*, *Ammosites*, and *Edomites*, mauling one another, when they had purposed to ioyne against *Iuda*: neare which place is the Valley of blessing, where the *Iewes* the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange deliuerance.

Now the *Cities* of *Iuda* which border the Dead Sea, are these: *Aduran* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tsohar* which the *Vulgar* calleth \* *Segor*: so called because *Lor* in his prair for it vrge that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tsohar*, which signifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen*. 14. 2. In the *Romans* times it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) *Pannier*: in *Hieromes* time *Balezina*. Then *Engaddi* or *Hen-gaddi*, first *Ajalonshamar*: neare vnto which are the Gardens of *Balsamum*, the belt that the world had called *Opobalsamum*: the most part of all which *Trees Cleopatra* Queene of *Aegypt* sent for out of *Iudea*, and *Herod* who either feared or loued *Anthony* her husband, caused them to be rooted vp and presented vnto her: which shee replanted neare *Heliopolis* in *Aegypt*. This *Citie* was first taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable *Cities* of *Iudea*: and one of the *Presidencies* thereof.

The rest of the *Cities* are many in the In-land; and among them *Iserael*; not that 30 which was the *Citie* of *Naboth*, of which already: but an other of the same name, the *Citie* of *Abinoan*, the wife of *Dauid*, the mother of that *Amnon*, whom *Abisalom* slew: also as some thinke the *Citie* of *Amasai*, *Abisaloms* Lieutenant, and the commander of his Armie. But this seemeth to be an error grounded upon the nearnesse of the wordes, *Israel* and *Iserael*: and because the 2. *Sam*. 17. 25. *Amasies* father is called a *Israelite*, who first of the *Chron*. 2. 17. is called an *Israelite*: indeede the *Hebrew* Orthographie sheweth that *Amasies* Father is not said to be of the *Citie Iserael*, but an *Israelite* in Religion, though otherwise an *Israelite*.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills or Mountaines, as those of *Engaddi* vpon the Dead Sea: and the Mountaines of *Iuda*, which beginne to rise by *Emais*, and end neare *Taphna*, and these part *Iuda* from *Dan* and *Simcon*. Of others which stand single there is that of *Hebron*: at the foote whereof was that *Oake of Mambré* where the three *Angells* appeared to *Abraham*, which *S. Hierome* calleth a Fir tree; and faith that it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountaine called *Collis Achille*, on the South side of *Ziph*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, inclosing the old Cattle, erected by *Ionathas Macchabeus*; and called *Masfada*; garnished it with seven and twentie high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundred thousand men: being as it seemeth a place vnaffectable, and of incomparable strength.

In the Valley afterward called the Dead Sea, or the Lake *Alphalitis*, this Countie 50 had foure *Cities*, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorra*, destroyed with fire from Heaven for their vnnatural finnes.

1. *Macc*. 6. 32.  
Iofeph. Ant. 12.  
c. 14.  
1. *Macc*. 6. v. 36.  
\* Seein Maness  
c. 7. d. 7. f. 1.  
Iudg. 1. v. 6. d. 7

Iofep. 14. ant. 22.  
2. *Chr*. 20. v. 16.  
& 26.

2. *Chron*. 11.  
\* Some call it  
Balsafsa and  
Pinnia confus-  
sion See in  
Ged. c. 10. §. 5.  
post principium  
in Hierob.  
Gen. 19. 30.  
Hieron. in G. E.  
Hier. Chagig.  
Ios. bamer.  
2. *Chron*. 30. 2.  
Gen. 14. 7.

1. *Reg*. 21.  
2. *Sam*. 17. 25.

Hieron. in loc.  
Hier. & quest.  
Hier.  
Iofep. 14. Ant.  
c. 20.

## S. III.

THE TRIBE OF REUBEN  
and his Borderers.

## †. I.

The seats and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon,  
part whereof the Reubenites wanne from SEHON King  
of HEBSON.



N the other side of the Dead Sea, Reuben the eldest of Jacobs sonnes inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount Sinai 46000. who dying with the rest in the Deserts, there remained to possesse the Land promised 43700. bearing armes. But before wee speake of these or the rest that inhabited the east side of Jordan, something of their borderers: to wit, Midian, Moab, and Ammon, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first wee are to remember that out of Abrahams kindred came many mightie Families: as by Isaac and Jacob the Nation called Israel, and afterward Jewes: by Esau or Edom the Idumians: by Ismael the eldest sonne of Abraham, the Ismaelites: and by Keturah his last wife the Midianites. And againe by Lot, Abrahams brothers sonne, those two valiant Nations of the Moabites, and Ammonites: all which being but strangers in the Land of Canaan (formerly posselt by the Canaanites, and by the Families of them defended) these issues and alliances of Abraham, all but Jacob, whose children were bred in Egypt, inhabited the frontier places adioyning.

Esau and his sonnes held Idumias: which bounded Canaan on the South. Ismael 30 rooke from the South-east part of the Dead Sea: stretching his possession ouer all Arabia Petrea, and a part of Arabias the Desert, as farre as the Riuer of Tigris, from Sur to Haulah.

Moab tooke the rest of the coast of the Dead Sea, leauing a part to Midian: and passing ouer Arnon, inhabited the plaines betwene Jordan and the Hills of Abarim or Arnon, as farre North as Eschen, or Cheshon.

Ammon late downe on the North-east side of Arnon, and posselt the Tract from Rabba afterward Philadelphia, both within the Mountaines of Gilead, and without them as farre forth as Arroer, though in Moses time hee had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the Amorites had thrust him ouer the Riuer of Iaboc, as they had done Moab ouer Arnon. As these Nations compassed sundrie parts of Canaan, so the border betwene the Riuer of Iaboc and Damascus was held by the Amorites themselves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territorie on the East side of Jordan, and on the East side of the Dead Sea, was granted by Moses to the Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasse: whereof that part which Moab had, was first posselt by the Emims a Nation of Giants weakned and broken by Chedorlahomer, after expelled by the Moabites, as before remembered. That which the Ammonites held was the Territorie and ancient possession of the Zamzammims: or Zuris, who were also beaten at the same time by Chedorlahomer, Amraphel, and the rest: and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the Ammonites.

Now where it is written that Arnon was the border of Moab, the same is to be understood according to the time when Moses wrote. For then had Sehon or his Ancestor beaten the Moabites out of the plaine Countries, betwene Abarim and Jordan, and driven them thence from Hebron ouer Arnon, and this happened not long before

before Moses arrival vpon that border, when Labeb gouerned the Moabites. For he that ruled Moab when Moses past Arnon, was not the sonne of Labeb, but his name was Balac the sonne of Zippor. And it may be that those Kings were electiue, as the Edumians anciently were.

Now all that part of Moab betwene Arnon and Jordan, as farre North as Eschen was inhabited by Reuben. And when Israel arriued there out of Egypt, it was in the possession of Sehon, of the race of Canaan by Amorites: and therefore did Iephthah the Iudge of Israel iustly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claime of the Ammonites: because (as he alleged) Moses found them in the possession of the Amorites, and not in the hands of Moab or Ammon: who (saith Iephthah) had three hundred yeares time to recover them, and did not: whence hee inferreth that they ought not to claime them now.

And least any should maruaile why the Ammonites in Iephthah his time should make claime to these Countries: whereas Moses in the place Num. 21. vers. 26. rather accounts them to haue beene the ancient possession of the Moabites: then of the Ammonites: it is to be noted that Deut. 3. 11. when it is said that the yron bed of Og was to be seene at Rabbath, the chiefe Citie of the Ammonites, it is also signified, that much of the Land of Og, which the Israelites possessed, was by him or his Ancestors got from the Ammonites, as much of Sehon was from the Moabites.

And as the Canaanite Nations were seated so confusedly together that it was hard to distinguish them: so also were the sonnes of Moab and Ammon, Midian, Amalek, and Ismael. Yet the reason seemeth plaine enough why Ammon commanded in chiefe, in Iephthahs time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired the Soueraigntie: and againe that one part of the Land which Gad held, namely within the Mountaines of Galaad, or Gilead, and as farre South as Arroer belonged to the Ammonites. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then sought to recover it againe. Yet at such time as Moses ouerthrew Sehon at Iabac, the Ammonites had lost to the Amorites, all that part of their possession which lay about Arroer, and betwene it and Iaboc: Sehon and Og two Kings of the Ammonites hauing dispianted both Moab and Ammon of all within the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of Num. v. 24. that Israel conquered the Land of Sehon from Arnon vnto Iaboc, euen vnto the children of Ammon, so as at this time the Riuer of Iaboc was the South bound of Ammon; within the Mountaines, when as anciently they had also possessions ouer Iaboc which at length the Gadites posselt, as in the thirteenth chapter of Joshua vers. 25. it appeares.

10/13. vers. 15  
Iunius notes  
that the one  
halfe of the  
Land of Hom-  
mon which in  
this place of  
Iunia is said to  
haue beene gi-  
uen to the Ga-  
dites, was taken  
first from the  
Ammonites by  
Sehon: but the  
place Deut. 3. 11  
proueth that  
aswell Og, as  
Sehon, had got-  
ten Lands out  
of the hands of  
the Ammonites.

## †. II.

Of the memorabile places of the Reubenites.

The chiefe Cities belonging to Reuben were these, Kedemoth, for which the Vulgar, without any shew of variant, readeth Ieshon. The Vulgar or Hierome fol- lowed the Septuagint those two verses 36. and 37. of 21. 10/ being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the Septuagint red Kedsion for Kedemoth, which Kedsion by writing slip into Ieshon.

This Citie which they gaue to the Leuites, imparteth name to the Desert ad- ioyning: from whence Moses sent his Embassage to Sehon. In the same place of Joshua where this Kedemoth is mentioned, the Vulgar for Beser & ville eius, reads Adri- 50 Beser in solitudine Misor, without any ground from the Hebrew: whence Adri- chomius makes a Towne called Misor, in the border betwene Reuben and Gad. Farther from Kedemoth neare the Dead Sea (for the Countrie betwene being Mountainous hath fewe Cities) they place two Townes of note, Lasa or Leshab of which Genes. 10. vers. 19. the Greekes call it Callirhoe: neare which

10/21. 37.

Deut. 3. 26.  
It was a mar-  
ginal note of  
the 3. Dna.  
where the 70.  
kept the word  
Misor, signi-  
fying a plaine  
which after  
cept into the  
Text.

Isa. 17. 1. 2. 3.  
Hieron. in  
quest. lib. 11.  
c. 10.

Ar. 11. 1. 2.

Isa. 13. 1. 2. 3.  
24. 1. 2. 3. 4.  
10. 1. 2. 3. 4.  
Isa. 11. 1. 2. 3.  
7. 1. 2. 3.

Deut. 4. 3.

Isa. 30. 8.

Euseb. in Chron.

Hier. in loc. 1. 2.

Num. 25. 1.

Isa. 3. 1.

Deut. 34. 1.

\* The same as  
it seems which  
Num. 11. 35. is  
called *Strutha*  
whence we  
read of the  
plains of *Med-*  
*aba*, *Isa. 13. 1. 2. 3.*  
16. of which al-  
so we read in  
the warres of  
*David* against  
*Haron* the *Am-*  
*monite*, *1 Chron.*  
*19. 7.* Also *Isa.*  
*40. 3. 6.*  
*Esa. 16. 2.*  
See before, c. 5.  
§. 7.

Isa. 1. 2. 3.

Isa. 7. 1. 2. 3.

Isa. 1. 2. 3.

Isa. 1. 2. 3.

Isa. 1. 2. 3.

Isa. 1. 2. 3.

Isa. 1. 2. 3.

Isa. 1. 2. 3.

which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweete water, all which foone after their riling, beeing ioyned in one streame, doe make a very wholesome bath, especially for all contractions of sinewes: to which *Herod* the elder, when hee was desperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others say that these Springs arise out of the hills of *Macherus* in this Tribe. The like fountains are found in the *Pyrenies*: and in *Peru*, called the Baths of the *Inga's* or *Kings*. The other town is *Macherus* the next between *Lafa* and *Jordan*: of all that part of the world the strongest In-land Citie and Cattle, standing upon a mountaine every way vnaccessible: It was first fortified by *Alexander Innnapus*, who made it a frontier against the *Arabians*: but it was demolished by *Gabinus*, in the warre with *Aristobulus*, saith *Iosephus*. It was thither (saith *Iosephus*) that *Herod* sent *John Baptist*, and wherein hee was slaine: his armie foone after being vtterly ouerthrowne by *Aretas* king of *Arabia*, and himselfe after this murder neuer prospering. Not farre from *Macherus* was *Bozor* or *Bozra*, a towne of refuge, and belonging to the *Leuites*, and neere it *Limis* vpon *Jordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Limia* the mother of *Tiberius Cesar*.

To the north of *Limis* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*: where the children of *Israel* embraced the daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*: and where *Phineas* pierced the bodie of *Zimri* and *Cesbi* with his speare bringing due vengeance vpon them, when they were in the midst of their sinne: and from hence *Iosua* sent the Discouersers to view *Ierico* 20 staying here vntill hee went ouer *Jordan*. As for the *Torrent Setim*, which in this place *Atrichomius* dreames of, reading *Ios. 3. 18. irrigabit torrentem Setim*: The vulgar hath *torrentem spinarum*: and *Iunius valem cedrorum*: expounding it not for anie particular place in *Canaan*: but for the Church, in which the iust being placed, grow as the *Cedars*, as it is *Psal. 92. 13.*

The plaine Country hereabout by *Moses* called *The Plains of Moab*, where he expounded the Booke of *Deuteronomy* to the people, a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same booke precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the South it had the great Desert of *Paran*: where they had long wandered. On the East it had *Chaffersoth*, and *Dizahab* (of which two the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolemy* in *Palestina*, the later was a Tract belonging to the *Nabathai* in *Arabia Petrea*, where was \* *Mexahab*, of which *Gen. 36. 39.*) by the Geographers called *Medana* and *Medaba*. On the West it had *Jordan*: and on the North it had *Laban* (in *Iunius* Edition, by the fault of the Print, *Lamban* *Deuteron. 1. 1.*) the same which the Geographers call *Libias*: and some confound it with *Limis*, of which euen now we spake.

Also on the same North side towards the confines of *Calestrea*, it had *Thophel*: whereabout sometime *Pella* of *Calestria* stood: which was in the region of *Decapolis*, and as *Stephanus* saith, was sometime called *Butis*. It is also noted in *Moses* to be ouer against or neere vnto *Suph*, for which the *Pulgar* hath there *Sea*, as also *Num. 2. 14.* 40 it tranflateth the word *Suph* in like manner: whereas in this place of *Deuteronomy* there is no addition of any word in the *Hebrew* to signifie the *Sea*: and yet the Scripture, when this word is so to be taken, vseth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the region of *Suph* or *suphah*: which doubtlesse was about these Plains of *Moab* towards the dead Sea: where the Country being full of freedes, was therefore thus called: as also the red Sea was called *Mare Suph*, for like reason.

The place in these large plains of *Moab*, where *Moses* made those diuine exhortations, some say was *Bethabara* where *Iohn* baptized, which in the *Storie of Gedeon* is called *Beth-bara*. *Iosephus* saies it was where after the Citie *Abila* stood, neere *Jordan*, in a place set with palme trees: which sure was the same as *Abel-sittim* in the Plains of *Moab*, *Numb. 33. 49.* (that some call *Abel-sathaim* and *Bel-sathaim*) which is reckoned by *Moses* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42. and last place of the *Israelites* incamping in the time of *Moses*: This place is also called *Sittim*: which word if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from *Cedars*, than from *Thornes*, with

*Atrichomius*

*Atrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the Arke of the Tabernacle was made.

\* Toward the East of these plaines of *Moab*, they place the Citie *Nebro*, *Bad-Meon*, *Sibma*, and *Hebron* the chiefe Citie of *Schon*, and *Elhabel*, and *Kiriathaim* the feat of the *Giantes Enim*. Of the two first of these *Moses* seemes to give a note that the names were to be changed: because they talked of the *Moabites* \* *Idolatrie*. For *Nebro* (in stead of which *Iunius* *Es. 46. 1.* reads *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their *Idoll-Oracle*, and *Bad-meon* is the habitation of *Bad*. Of the same *Idoll* was the Hill *Nebro* in these parts denominated: from whose top, which the common Translators call *Phasgab*, *Moses* before his death saw all the Land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which *Iunius* doth not take *Phasgab* or *Pisgab*, for any proper name: but for an appellatiue, signifying a Hill: and so also *Vatibala* in some places; as *Num. 2. 1. 2.* where he noteth that some call *Pisgab* that top which looketh to *Iericho*, and *Hair* as it looketh to *Moab*, which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of a Citie of *Reuben* mentioned *Isa. 13. 20.* called *Ashtoth-Pisga*, which is as much as *decursus Pisga*: to wit, where the waters did runne downe from *Pisga*. In the same place of *Iosua* there is also named *Beth-peor*, as belonging to *Reuben*: so called from the Hill *Peor*: from whence also *Bad* the *Idoll* was called *Bad-Peor*, which they say was the same as *Priapus*: the chiefe place of whose worship seemes to haue beene 20 *Zamoth-Babal*, of which also *Isa. 13.* in the Citie of *Reuben*: for which *Num. 22. 41.* they read the high places of *Bad* (for so the word signifieth) to which place *Balaak* first brought *Balaam* to curse the *Israelites*.

### †. III.

Of diuers places bordering *Reuben* belonging to *Midian*, *Moab* or *Edom*.

30 There were besides these diuers places of note ouer *Arnon*, which adioyned to *Reuben*: amongst which they place *Gallim*, the Citie of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* 1. *Sam. 25. v. 21.* gaue his Daughter *Michol* from *David*: but *Iunius* thinks this Towne to be in *Beniamin*: gathering so much out of *Esa. 10. vers. 29.* where it is named among the Citie of *Beniamin*. With better reason perhaps out of *Num. 21. v. 19.* we may say that *Mathana* and *Nabathel* were in these confines of *Reuben*: through which places the *Israelites* past after they had left the Well called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim* which the Prophet *Hieremie* threatneth with the rest of the Citie of *Moab*. Hieron. 48

*Madian* also is found in these parts, the chiefe Citie of the *Madianites* in *Moab*: 40 but not that *Midian* or *Madian* by the Red Sea; wherein *Isai* inhabited. For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations, of which these of *Moab* became *Idolaters*, and received an exceeding ouerthrow by a Regiment of twelue thousand *Israelites*, sent by *Moses* out of the plaines of *Moab*: at such time as *Israel* beganne to accompanie their Daughters: their five Kings with *Balaam* the South-faier were to be flaine: and their Regall Citie with the rest destroyed. The other *Madianites* ouer whom *Isai* was Prince, or Priest, forgate not the God of *Abraham* their Ancestor, but reliued and assisted the *Israelites* in their painefull traualles, through the Deserts: and were in all that passage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adioyning to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the chiefe Citie of *Edom*, there is 50 that *Petra* which in the Scriptures is called *Sela*, which is as much as *rupes* or *petra*. 1. *Reg. 14. 7.* It was also called *Isaheel*, as appears by the place 2. *Reg. 14.* It was built (saith *Iosephus*) by *Reem*, one of those five Kings of the *Madianites* slaine as before is said: after whom it was called *Reem*: Now they say it is called *Crae* and *Mozera*.





*Iunius* refers the name of the Citie *Ieraphan* 1. *Maech* 37. of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching *Iulias* (according to *Iosephus* sometimes *Bataramphus*) the same *Iosephus* placeth it in the Region of *Peras*, beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio Peras*, as the Greeke word signifieth, is no more than: *Regio ulterior*, the Countrey beyond the River; and therefore they which labour to set downe the bounds of this *Peras* take more paines than needs. Fourteen Villages this *Iulias* had belonging unto it according to *Iosephus*. He makes it to have bene built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Iulias* in the honour of the adoption of *Livia Augustus* his wife, into the *Julian* Familie: by which adoption shee was called *Iulia*. An other *Iulias*, he saith, was built by *Philip*, the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which hee saith is the same as 10 *Bethsaida*.

Vpon the Sea of *Galilee* neare to *Iulias* in *Peras* (that is, in the Region over *Jordan*) they finde *Yezezobra*, as it is called in *Iosephus*, for *Beth-zabab*, which is as much as *domus hispani*. Of a noble Woman of this Citie, which for safeguard in the time of War with the *Romanes*, came with many others into *Iherusalem*, and was there besieged, *Iosephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable Historie, how for hunger shee ate her own child, with other Tragical accidents hereupon ensuing.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Iof. 13.* is placed with *Beth-baran*), in the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon* it is plaine by the storie of *Gedeon* that it is neare unto *Jordan*: where it is said, that as hee was past *Jordan* with his three hundred, wearie in the pursuit of *Zebab* and *Salmunab*, he requested reliefe of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gedeon*'s returne were by him tortured, as seemes vnder a threlshing Carre or *Tribulum*, betwene which and their flesh he put Thornes to teare their flesh as they were preft and trod vnder the *Tribulum*, and after which sort also *Dauid* vied some of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thornes, but with yron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which signifieth such Tabernacles as were made in hast, either for Men or Cattle, *Moses Gen. 33. 17.* witnesseth that the original of the name was from such harbours, which *Iacob* in his returne from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: As also the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of *Israel*, as they came from *Ramesis* in *Aegypt*, had their first Station, was vpon like reason called *Succoth*: because there they set vp their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they vied after for tie yeares in the Wildernesse. In remembrance whereof, the Feast of *Succoth* or Tabernacles was instituted.

Other foure Cities of *Gad* are named. *Iof. 21. 38.* *Ramath* in *Gilehad*, *Machanajim*, *Chebron*, and *Iabzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* giuen to the *Leuites*; of which *Iabzer*, as *Chebron* or *Hebron* was a chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, whence *Nim. 21. 1.* his Countrey is called the Land of *Iabzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, having first sent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilehad*. In later times (as it may be gathered by the prophetic of *Esay*, touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*, to which place of *Esay*, also, *Hieremias* in alike prophetic alludes: It was at length regained (but as it seemes from the *Ammonites*) by *Iudas Machabaeus*: as it is *1. Macc. 5. 8.* where *Iunius* out of *Iosephus* reads *Iabzer*, though the Greeke hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gazer* (as he gathereth out of *Iosua 16. 3.* & *2. Sam. 10. 10.*) was farre from these Countreys of *Sehon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, vntill *Salomons* time, for whom the King of *Aegypt* won it from the *Canaanites*, and gaue it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter.

Of *Chebron* it may be meruailed that in the place of *Iosua*, and *1. Chron. 6. 81.* it should be said to have bene giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Gadites*, seeing *Iosua 13. 17.* it is reckoned for a principall Citie of the *Reubenites*: *Adrichomius* and such as little trouble themselves with such Cruples, finding *Cabon 1. Macc. 5. 36.* among the Cities of *Gilehad*, taken by *Iudas Machabaeus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Cabon* had bene the *Chebron* of *Gad*: and that of *Reuben* distinct from it; but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering Citie, betwene *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gaue their part to the *Leuites*: for so also it seemeth that

that in like reason *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another giuen to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanajim*, which word signifieth a double Arnie, we read *Genesis 32. 2.* that it was therefore so called, because the *Angels* of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of an other Host or companie, to ioyne with his for his defence: as also *Luke 2. 13.* we read of a multitude of the Host of heauen, which appeared to the sheep-sheards, at the time of our Saviours birth: and so vnto the Godly King *Oswald of Northumberland*, when he was soone after to ioyne battaile with the *Pagan Penda* of middle-England, *Beda* reports that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the battaile was fought in the North parts of England, is called *Heauen-field*. In this Citie of *Machanajim* *Dauid* abode during the rebellion of *Abalom*: and the same for the strength thereof *Amer* chose for the fate of *Ishobab*, during the warre betwene *Dauid* and the house of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Towne which was *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*, we read often in the Scripture, for the recouering of which King *Achab* lost his life. *Iunius* thinks that *La-math-Mispha*, of which *Iosua 13. 26.* was this *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* sware one to the other, as it was called *Gilehad*, which is as much as a witnessing heape, because of the heape of bones which *Laban* and his sonnes left for a monument: so also that it was called *Misphab*, which signifieth ouer-looking (because there they called God to ouer-see and be witness to their covenant) it is plaine by the place *Gen. 31. 49.* that in these parts there was not only a Towne, but likewise a Region called *Mispha*, it appears *Iof. 11. 3.* where we read of the *Chunites* vnder *Herman*, in the Countrey of *Mispha*: the Towne of *Mispha*, as it seemes both by this place and in the eight verse following, being not in the Hill Countrey, but in the valley. But seeing that *Iephia* the Iudge of *Israel*, who after he came home from *Tob* (whither his bretheren had driuen him) dwelt in this Towne of *Mispha*, who doubtlesse was of the Tribe of *Manasse*, and thence at first expelled by his bretheren, it may seeme that they do not well which place this Towne of *Mispha* rather in *Gad*, then in *Manasse*. By *Iudas Machabaeus* this Towne of *Mispha* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasse*) was vtterly spoiled and burnt, and all the males of it 30 slaine: for it was then posselt of the *Ammonites*.

Betwene *Succoth* (of which we haue spoken) and the River *Iaboe* was that *Peniel* or *Penuel*, which name signifieth *Locum faciei Dei*: A place where the face of God was seene: so called for memorie of the *Angels* appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churlishnesse of which Citie, in refusing to relieue *Gedeon*, was the cause that in his returne he ouer-threw their Tower, and slew the chiefe Aldermen thereof. To the place of the *Gadites*, they adde *Regelim*, the Citie of that great and faithful subiect *Bozzilai*, as it seemes, not farre from *Mahanaim*, where he sustained King *Dauid*, during *Abaloms* rebellion. To these they adde the Townes of *Gadid*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gadid* being in Hebrew no more then *Gadidita*, is 30 ignorantly made a name of a place. *Arnon* also no where appears to be the name of a Towne, but still of a River. *Alimis* *Adrichomius* frames of *is Aquis*, 1. *Macc. 5. 26.* so that the name should rather be *Alima*, but *Iunius* out of *Iosephus* reads *Malle*, for this in *Alimis*: and understanding *Malle* to be put for *Malle*, and to be as much as *Alimio* (as we haue shewed touching the *Malle* of the *Sichemites*) hee takes this *Malle* to be *Mispha* *Moabitum*, of which *1. Sam. 22. 3.* As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* findes in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Machath*, which *Moses* noteth to be as farre as the furthest of *Manasses*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which *1. Macc. 5. 10.* (which *Iunius* takes to be *Rhema*, of which *Nim. 33. 18.* a place of strength in the Territorie of the *Ammonites*) and in like manner *Minnith* and 30 *Abelvinearum*, though by some they be attributed to the *Gadites* or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we read in *Iephia*'s pursuit of the *Ammonites*: seated as it seemes by that place of the booke of *Iudges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other in the East border, both farre removed from the *Gadites*. But the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites* was nearer, and not farre from

Of other  
scenes of this  
name, see in  
the Tribe of  
Beniamin.  
Ind. 11. 36,  
1. Macc. 5. 35.

Gen. 32. 30.  
Iud. 8. 17.

2. Sam. 19. 33a

Deut. 3. 14,  
Iof. 13. 5.

The Letters D  
& K in the He-  
brew are very  
like so that one  
is oft mistaken  
for another, &  
sometime with-  
out mistaking  
one is put for  
another, as for  
Rodanims, Chr.  
7. we haue De-  
danims, Genes.  
10. 4.

from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometime *Rabbath* as *Dent. 3. 11.* but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that \* *Philadelphia* which *Ptolemy* findes in *Celestria*. *Thierome* and *Calistus* in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but as it seemes neuer posselt by the *Israelites*, after the ouerthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*: whereupon at length it became the Regall seate of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzammims*: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickednesse infamous. The same were also called *Rapham*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his ancestors: who hauing bene first beaten by the *Affyrians*, and their affliants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had bene) were afterward the easer conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* by the *Idumaeans*. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom these *Gyants* were defended, contend with the Conquerors for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hesbon* had disposselt *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Basan* the *Ammonites*, and betweene them recovered the best part of all the Valley, betweene the Mountaines and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: And in the possession of the one or the other of these two, *Moses* and *Israel* found all those Cities and Countries, which were giuen to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 450. yeares since that these *Zamzammims* or *Raphams* were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but hauing these two Kings of one kindred, and both valiant and vndertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Ammonites*, they recovered againe much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sonnes of *Lot* ouer the mountaines, and into the *Deserts*. And as the Kings or Captaines of *Perusia* and *Affria* (remembered in the 14. of *Genesis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*, so by that great conquest which *Moses* had ouer those two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, take opportunity to looke back againe into those plains: and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manassites* forsooke the worship of the liuing God, and became flourish and licentious: and were sometime their masters, sometime their tributaries, as they pleased, or displeased God: and according to the wisdome and vertue of their Commanders.

In this Citie of *Rabba*, was the yron bed of *Og* found, nine cubites of length, and foure of breadth. The Citie was taken in *Dauid's* time, and the inhabitants slaine with great fureitie, and by diuers torments. At the first assault thereof *Pris* was shot to death, hauing bene by direction from *Dauid* appointed to bee employed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Armie perished: and wherein *Dauid* so displeased God, as his affaires had ill successe afterward, cuen to his dying day. From hence had *Dauid* the waigheite and rich crowne of gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* ware: or which as some expound it, was vsed to be set on the head of their Idoll, waighing a talent, which is 60. pound waight after the common talent. In the time of *Christians* it had a Metropolitan Bishop, and vnder him twelue others.

The Mountaines which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those which *Ptolemy* calleth the hills of *Heppus*, a Citie of *Celestria*: and *Strabo* \* *Trachones*: the same which continue from near *Damascus* vnto the *Deserts* of *Moab*: and receiue diuers names as commonly mountaines do, which neighbour and bound diuers Countries: For from the South part, as farre Northward as *Aferoth* the chiefe Citie of *Og*, they are called *Galaad* or *Gilead*, from thence Northward they are knowne by the name of *Herman*, for so *Moses* calleth them: The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion*, but the *Amorites* *Shenir*, others *Seir*: of which name all those Hills also were called which part *Iudea* and *Idumaea*: and lastly they are called *Libanus*, for so the Prophet *Thieremie* makes them all one, calling the high mountaines of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*. These mountaines are very fruitfull, and full

full of good pastures, and haue many trees which yeeld *Balsamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The Riuer of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the Riuer *Iaboc*: Others doe also fancie an other Riuer, which rising out of the Rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

## §. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadites wanne from  
Og the King of Basan.

His Tribe of *Gad*, posselt halfe the Countrey of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petraea* called *Nabathaea*, as well within as without the mountaines of *Gilead*: though at this time when the *Gadites* wan it, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og Ammonites*: and therefore *Moses* did not expell the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thrust the issues of *Lot* ouer the mountaines *Trachones* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Orhemiel* the first Iudge of *Israel*, the *Ammonites* ioynd with the *Moabites* against the *Hebreues*, and so continued long. *Iephth* Iudge of *Israel* had a great conquest ouer one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them againe.

Afterward we finde that cruell King of the *Ammonites*, called *Nabab*: who besieging *Iabes Gilead*, gaue them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eies. The reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame vpon *Israel*) because those *Gileadites* vsing to carrie a Target on their left armes, which could not but shadow their left eies, should by loosing their right, be verily disabled to defend themselves: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and deliuered them from that danger. This *Nabab*, as it may seeme, became the confederate of *Dauid*, hauing friended him in *Sauls* time, though *Iosaphus* thinks that this *Nabab* was slaine in the battaile, when *Saul* raised the siege of *Iabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

*Hanan* succeeded *Nabab*: to whom when *Dauid* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirme the former friendship which he had with his Father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadors garments to the knees, and shaued the halfe of their beards. But afterward notwithstanding the aides receiued from the *Ammonites* subiect to *Adadazer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maachab*, and from *Israh*, yet all those *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were ouerturned: their chiefe Citie of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken, the Crowne which waighd a talent of gold was set on *Dauid's* head, all such as were prisoners *Dauid* executed with strange fureitie, for with sawes and harrowes, he tare them in peeces, and cast the rest into lime-kills.

*Iosaphat* gouerning *Juda*, they assisted the *Moabites* their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Ostias* made them Tributaries, and they were againe by *Joatham* inforced to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundredth talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two yeares.

The fifth King of the *Ammonites* of whose name we read was *Baalis*, the confederate of *Zedechia*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* sent *Ismael* of the blood of the Kings of *Juda*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who serued *Nabuchodonosor*.

## §. VII.

## §. VII.

of the other halfe of MANASSE.



The rest of the Land of Gilead, and of the Kingdom of Og in *Basán*, with the Land of *Hus*, and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein also were part of the small Territories of *\*Batanea*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* over *Jordan*, of which those three later Provinces defended themselves against them, for many ages. But *Batanea* *Ptoleme* setteth farther off, and to the North-east, as a skirt of *Arabia* the *Desart*: and all these other Provinces before named with *Peraz*, and *Ituraea*, he nameth but as part of *Celestria*; as farre South as *Rabba*, or *Philadelpia*: likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, fauing the Land neare the Dead Sea, he makes a part of *Arabia Petraea*: for many of these small Kingdomes take not much more ground then the Countie of *Kent*.

*Basán*, or after the *Septuagint* *Basamitis*, stretcheth it selfe from the Riuer of *Iaboc* to the *\* Machati* and *Gessuri*: and from the Mountains to *Jordan*, a Region exceeding fertile, by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattle. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world: especially of Oakes, which beare mast (of which the Prophet *Zacharias*, *Howe* O yee Oakes of *Basán*) and by reason hereof<sup>20</sup> they bred fo many Swine, as *b. 2000*. in one Heard were carried head-long into the Sea, by the violence spirits which *Christ* had cast out of one of the *Gadarenes*. It had in it three score Cities walled and defended: all which after *Og* and his sonnes were slaine, *Iair* descended of *Manasse* conquered, and called the Countie after his owne name, *Anoth Iair*, or the Cities of *Iair*.

The principall Cities of this halfe Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these; *Pella* sometimes *\* Butis*, otherwise *Berehiet*; by *Selenus* King of *Syria* it is said to have bene called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Sonne *Alexander* the Great were borne. It was taken and in part demolished by *Alexander Iannus* King of the *Jewes*: because it refused to obey the *Jewes* lawes: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, saith *Dixer*. *Carnaim* by the Riuer of *Iaboc*, taken by *Judas Macchabeus*: where he set on fire the Temple of their Idolls: together with all those that fled thierinto for Sanctuary; and neare it they place the Castle of *Carnaim*, of which *2. Macc. 12. 22*. Then the strong Citie of *Ephron* neare *Jordan*: which refusing to yeeld passage to *Judas Macchabeus*, was forced by him by assault, and taken, and burnt with great slaughter.

*Iaboc* Gilead, or *Iabesur*, was an other of the Cities of this halfe Tribe, which being besieged by *Nabab* King of the *Ammonites*, was delivered by *Saul*, as is elsewhere mentioned. In memorie whereof these Citizens recovered, imbalanced, and<sup>40</sup> buried the bodies of *Saul* and his Sonnes: which hung defigntfully over the walls of *Bethsan* or *Scythopolis*. *Gadara* or *Gadara* is next to be named, seated by *Plinie* on a Hill neare the Riuer *Hieromace*, which Riuer *Ortelius* seemes to thinke to be *Iaboc*. At the foote of the Hill there spring forth also hot bathes, as at *Macherus*. *Alexander Iannus* after ten Moneths siege wane it, and subuerbed it. *Pompey* restored it: and *Gabinus* made it one of the five Courts of Iustice in *Palestine*. *Hierusalem* being the first, *Gadara* the second, *Emath* or *Amathus* the third, *Hierico*, and *Sephora* in *Galilee* the fourth and fift. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyrannie of *Herode* surnamed *Agrippa*, accused him to *Julius Caesar* of many crimes: but perceiving that they could not preuaile, and that *Herode* was highly fauoured of *Caesar*, fearing the terrible reuenge of *Herod*, they slew themselves: some by strangling, others by leaping over high Towers, others by drowning themselves.

To the East of *Gadara* they place *Sebei*: in which *Iosephus* ant. 5. 13. saith, *Ieziba* n. 19. p. 15. ant. 13. Of *Misja* in *Gilead* the Citie of *Ieziba*, see in the Tribe of *Gad*.

was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Iud. 12. 7. Sepulchrum est in Cinitate* (i.e. *in una Cinitatum Gilead*) imagine *Gilead* to be the name of a Citie, and to be the same with *Sebei*. In like manner following the *Vulgar*, *1. Macc. 5. 26*. where it readeth *Caphor* for *Cheshon*; the same *Arichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla & firma Gileaditarum Cinitas*, so of one Citie *Heshon* or *Cheshon*, which they call *Essebon*, the chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, hee imagineth two more: this *Caphor* in *Manasses*, and a Citie in *Gad* which he calleth *Cashon*, of which we haue admonished the Reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (so called, because the Hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the back of a Cammell) which *Iosephus* placeth not farre from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis* ouer against *Tarichea*, which is on the West side of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*, see this *Iosephus* in his fourth booke of the *Jewish* warre: where he describes the place by nature to be almost inuincible: and in the storie of the siege, shewes how *Vespasian* with much danger of his owne person, entering it, was at first repulsed, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length after the coming of *Titus*, when it was taken, many leaping downe the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of fise thousand, thus perished: besides foure thousand slaine by the *Romanes*: so that none escaped, saue only two women that hid themselves.

About foure miles West from *Gadara*, and as much East from *Tiberias* (which is on the other side of the Lake) *Iosephus* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence *Plinie* gives the name to the hills that compasse the plains in which it standeth: so that it may seeme to haue bene of no small note. It is seated farre from the hill Countie: on the East of the Lake, as also *Plinie* noteth *lib. 5. cap. 15*. It was restored by *Pompey*: after by *Augustus* added to *Herods* *Tetrarchie*: It was waied by the *Jewes* in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many massacres of their Nation, they were innaged against their borderers.

The next Citie of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Edrebi* or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* King of *Basán* chiefly abode, when *Moses* and *Israhel* invaded him: and neare vnto this his Regall Citie, it was that he lost the bataille and his life. It stood in *S. Hieromes* time: and had the name of *Adar* or *Adara*. Not farre from these Townes neare *Jordan*, in this valley stood *Gerasa* or *Gergessa*, inhabited by the *Gergesites*, descended of the fift Sonne of *Canaan*. Of these *Gergesites* we read *Mat. 8. 28*. that *Christ* coming from the other side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coasts: where casting the Diuels out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the heard of Hogs: in which storie for *Gergesites* or *Gergesins*, *S. Luke* and *S. Marke* haue *Gadarenes*: not as if these were all one (for *Gergessa* or *Gerasa* is a distinct Towne in these parts from *Gadara*) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this storie. This Citie receiued many changes and calamities: of which *Iosephus* hath often mention. For besides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annius* Lieutenant to *Vespasian* and 1000. of the ablest yong men put to the sword, and the Citie burnt. In the year 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damascus*: and in the same year recovered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Hierusalem*: and by him vtterly razed. Neare vnto *Gerasa* is the Village of *Magedan*, or after the *Syriack* *Mageda*, or after the *Græcke* *Magdala*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* desired of our Sauour a signe from heaven: the same place or some adioyning to it, which *S. Marke* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumstances of which storie it appears that this coast lay betweene the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Countie of *Decapolis*. *Brocard* makes both these places to be one: and findes it to be *Phale*, the fountain of *Jordan* according to *Iosephus*: but this *Phale* is too farre from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Iezibaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appears by the storie, not farre hence towards the North was the *Desart* of *Iezibaida*, where *Christ* filled 5000. people with the five Barley loaves and two Fishes.

On the North of this *Bethsaida* they place *Ilasis*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the

Isop. 18. aut. 3.  
& alibi.

Gen. 14.5.

See chap. 7  
p. 3. t. 2.

Because  
Horne when it  
is polished shin-  
eth: hence it  
is that the verb  
of this Novus  
is sometime  
Lucere: as it  
were cornum  
esse: whereupon  
the Vulgar  
is said, 34. 29.  
reading corn-  
um, carnosum,  
or lucidum. Je-  
sai. 60. 1. 2.  
reading, quae oc-  
catione to the  
fabulous paint-  
ers to paint  
Moyses with  
Hornes.  
Judith. 1. 8.  
1. Cant. 5.

Rup. Ezech. Ole-  
ali. in Gen. Belli-  
in Com. lib. 1. d. 1.  
de Ver. S. Amb.  
sup. Ep. ad Rom.  
Ang. de civ. Dei.  
l. 18. c. 4. (Chry-  
sostomus). De asi-  
anica Job. Greg.  
com. in Job.  
For as and as  
are often call-  
ed one into the  
other:  
whence they  
vix. Angli for  
Ostia, &c.  
Hence also by  
Junius and o-  
thers it is cal-  
led Asutinis, &c.  
so as it seems  
they read in  
the Septuagint.  
Jun. in Gen. 10.  
23.

South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of Christ it was compassed with a wall by Philip the Tetrarch of Ituraea and Trachonitis: and after the name of Julia, the wife of Tiberius, called Julia, as hath beene farther spoken in the Tribe of Gad: where it was noted that Josephus makes this Julia, to be the same as Bethsaida. Vpon the East side of the same Lake of Tiberias stands Corozaim, or Corazin, of which Christ in Matthew 3. We be come into thee Corazin.

But the principall Citie of all these in ancient time was Aseroth: sometime peopled with the Giants Raphai: and therefore the Countrey adjoining called the Land of Giants, of whose race was Og, King of Basan. In Genesis this Citie is called Aseroth of Carnaim, whence 1. Mac. 5. 26. it is called simply Carnaim, as Isop. 13. 21. it is called Aseroth without the addition of Carnaim. The word Carnaim signifieth a paire of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idoll Aseroth, which was the image of a sheepe, as it is elsewhere noted, that Aseroth in Deut. signifieth sheepe. Others from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take Carnaim, to have beene the name of the people which inhabited this Citie: and expound it heroes \* radiant. For of old the Raphai which inhabited this Citie (Gen. 14. 5.) were Giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words Deut. 3. 11. Og ex residuo gigantum, with the words Isop. 13. 12. Og ex reliquis Raphaiorum: but if the Carnaim (or Karnajim) were these Raphai, the word would not have beene in the duall number: neither would Moses in the place of Genesis have said the Raphai in Aseroth of the Carnaim, but either the Raphai in Aseroth of the Raphai, or some other way fittest for periphrasis: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other.

Not farre from Aseroth Adrichomius out of Brocard and Breidenbachius placeth Cedar, in the way out of Syria into Galilee, foure miles from Corazin. This Citie (saith he) is remembered in the Canticles, and in the booke of Judith, and there that of this Citie vnderstand David in his 120. Psalm: and here the Sepulcher of Job is yet to be seene, saith Breidenbach.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is so that the Greeke hath Galaad instead of the word Cedar, which the Vulgar doth vse in that place of Judith, and ioyneth Carmel and Galilee. The Canticles and the 120. Psalm doe rather proue that Cedar was not here about, than any way helpe Adrichomius. For that they speake of Scemita Cedareni, it is apparent, and as euident by the place in the Canticles that they were decolores, much more than any vnder the Climate of the land of Canaan: whence Junius out of Lampridius and Plinie placeth them in Arabia Petraea, farre from these parts. Touching the Sepulcher of Job it is certaine that the Arabians and Saracens (holding those places) faine many things to abuse the Christians, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed that many (if not all) the historically circumstances of Job are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Countrey seek to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded vpon him, inferre what his Countrey was, and build vnto him a Citie by conjecture.

Of Job himselfe whether he were the same Jobab remembered in the 36. of Genesis, descended from Esau, and King also of Idumaea, though Rupertus, Iyranus, Olesler, and Bellarmine are of another opinion, yet S. Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostome, and Gregorie, with Albanus, Hippolytus, Irenaeus, Eusebius Emislenus, Apollinaris, Eusebius & other, cited by S. Hieron in his 126. Epist. take him for the same.

The Land of Huts or Hus wherein Job dwelt is from the Greeke Oûs, which the Septuagint vse for the word Huts, translated by the Vulgar sometime Hus, as Job. 1. 1. sometime Asutis, as Hierome 2. 5. 20. This Land is plac'd by Junius between Palestina and Caesaryia, besides Chamatha (or Hamath) vnder Palmiyyene in the Countrey called by Ptolomie Trachonitis or Batthana: the bounds which Countries are confounded by Basan in this halfe Tribe of Manasse. And that this Land of Hus was thus seated it may in part be gathered out of the place of Ieremie the 25. 20. where he reckons the Husites among the promiscuous borderers of the Israelites, whom he therefore calleth promiscuous or miscellaneam turbam, because their bounds were

not only ioyned but confounded, and their Seignories mingled one with the other, but of this place the wordes of Ieremie, Lamentations 4. 21. speaking of the same prophetic, of which he speaketh in the nine and twentieth Chapter, must needs be expounded: as Iunius reads them distinguishing the Land of Hus from Edom: O filia Edom, & quae habitas in terra Hutz, O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the Land of Hus. Now because the Vulgar doth not so distinguish, but readeth Filia Edom quae habitas in terra Hus: Daughter of Edom which dwelleth in the Land of Hus: Hence, as it seems, some of the learned haue thought that Job was an Edomite, as we haue said, and King of Edom, which if they vnderstand by it Idumaea or Edom, so called in Moses time, they are greatly mistaken, making this Land of Hus to be in Edumaea. For it is very probable that Esau when he first parted from Jacob did not cate himselfe in Edom, or Seir, which lieth on the South border of Iudea, but inhabited Seir farre to the East of Iordan, and held a part of those Mountaines otherwise called Galaad, and Hermon, which by corruption the Siderians call Shiron, and the Amorites Shenir for Seir, and from this his habitation did Esau encounter Jacob when he returned out of Mesopotamia, who passed by the very border of Esau his abiding. It is true that at such time as Moses wandered in the Deserts, that the posteritie of Esau inhabited Seir to the South of Iudea: for it is like that the Ammorites who had beaten both Ammon and Moab, did also driue the Edomites out of those parts, who thence-forward feared themselves to the South of Iudea, bordering the Desert Paran, and stretched their habitations ouer the Deserts as farre as Iler where Aram died.

Now for this Hus which gaue the name to a part of the Land of Trachonitis, whether it were Hus the sonne of Aram, as Iunius thinkes in his note vpon Gen. 10. 23. or rather Hus the sonne of Nachor, Abrahams brother, the question is doubtfull. For my part I rather incline to thinke, that it was Hus the sonne of Nachor: partly because these Families of Aram seeme long before to haue beene lost: and partly because in Job 6. 32. 2. Elibu the fourth of Jobs friends, which seems to be of Jobs owne Countrey, is called a Buzite, of Buz, the brother of Hus, the sonne of Nachor: as also Hieremie 2. 5. in the same continuation (though some other Nations named between) where Hus is spoken of, there Buz is also named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture that in the place of Job 32. Elibu the Buzite is said to be of the Familie of Ram: (which Iunius expounds to be as much as of the Familie of Aram) for that by this Aram we are not to vnderstand Aram the sonne of Sem, Iunius himselfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation vpon the beginning of his booke, where he saith that one of Jobs friends (which must needs be this Elibu) was of the posteritie of Nachor (as also in this place he confesseth so much expressly) and in as much as he readeth not de familia Aram, or Ram, but de familia Syria: like as elsewhere Laban who sprung of Nachor is called a Syrian.

As for the other three of Jobs friends (of whom by this note of Elibu his being of the Syrian Familie) or of the familie of Nachor it is implied that they were of other kindreds; as also by the Septuaginta addition, that this Elibu was of the Land of Hus, or Asutis, it is implied that they thought only Elibu to haue beene of Jobs owne Countrey.

Franciscus Brocard the Monke, in his description of the holy Land in the journey from Acon Eastward, findeth Snetbis, and Therman on the East of the Sea of Galilee: both very neare to the Land of Hus: whereof the one may seeme to haue denominated Bildad the Shuchit; the other Eliphaz the Themanite: two of the three friends of Job, of the which Job 2. 11. But Iunius thinks that the Shuchits were inhabitants of Arabia the Desert, descended from Shuch the sonne of Abraham and Actura: of whom Gen. 52. 2. perhaps, saith he, the same whom Plinie calls Sacae. So also he thinketh the Themanites of whom Eliphaz was, to haue beene of Arabia the Desert: and Eliphaz himselfe to haue beene of the posteritie of Theman the sonne of Eliphaz, which was the sonne of Esau. And so also Nahamsh whence Joseph the third of Jobs friends (which in this place of Job 6. 2. 1. 1. are mentioned) is by the same learned expofitor

Vhence the  
Septuagint call  
him ex regno  
Ausside.

See Sixtus Se-  
nonia.

thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by transposition of letters (which *Thimnah* Gen. 36. 40. is named among the sonnes of *Eſau* that gave denomination to the places where they were ſeated) or elle to be the ſame *Nabamah*, which *Joſe.* 15. 41. is reckoned for a Citie of *Juda* in the border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I denie not but that neare to the Land of *Hus*, in *Baſan*, as it ſeemes, in the Tribe of *Manaſſes*, there is a Region which at leaſt in latter times was called *Suitis*, or of ſome like name. For this is euiden by the Hiſtorie of *Willielmus Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita* or *Suites* (as he calls it diuerſly) of exceeding great ſtrength and vſe for the retaining of the whole Countrey: which in the time of *Baldwin* the ſecond King of *Ieruſalem* was with great digging through rocks recovered by the *Chriſtians*: hauing not long before been loſt to the great diſadvantage of the Countrey, while it was in the handes of the *Saracens*. The ſituation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* deſcribed to be ſixteene miles from the Citie *Tiberias*, on the Eaſt of *Jordan*: by *Adrichomius* foure miles North-ward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

Other Cities of this part of *Manaſſes* named in the Scripture are theſe: *Golan*, *Bebeſthera*, *Miſpa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the *Iſraelites* was called *Robach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Miſpa* of *Gilead*, we haue ſpoken by occaſion among the Cities of *Gad*: The two other were giuen to the *Leuites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* we haue both *Gaulanitis ſuperior* & *inferior*, oft in *Joſephus*. *Bebeſthera* is accounted the chiefe Citie of *Baſan* by ſome, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Beſet* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a Citie placed by ſome about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Joſua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Joſephus* calls it. This Lake being as it were in the miſt betweene *Ceſaria Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the Weſt. When the ſnow of *Libanus* melteth it is very large, ſaith *Brochard*: otherwiſe more contract, leauing the mariſh ground on both ſides, for Lyons and other wild beaſts, which harbour in the ſhrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adioyning to this Lake in this Countrey of *Manaſſes*, *Joſephus* names two places of ſtrength fortified by himſelfe in the beginning of the *Iewes* rebellion: *Selencia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the North ſide of this halfe Tribe of *Manaſſes*, and in the North-eaſt, the Scripture nameth diuers bordering places toward *Damaſcus*, as *Tedad*, *Chauran*, and *Chufar-Henan*, lying in a line drawne from the Weſt, of which three Cities we reade *Ezek.* 47. 15. with which alſo agrees the place *Nunab.* 24. 8. where for *Chauran*, betweene *Tedad*, and *Chufar-Henan*, *Zipbron* is named. From this *Chauran* is the name of *Auranitis regio*, in *Joſephus* and *Tyrius*, whole bounds (as alſo the bounds of *Geſſur* and *Mahathath* or *Maani*, which were likewiſe borderers to *Manaſſes* toward the North-eaſt) are vnknewe: only that *Geſſur* was of might, it appears in that *David* married *Mahaca* the Daughter of *Thelmay* King of *Geſſur*: by whom he had the moſt beautiful, but wicked, and vnfortunate *Abſalon*.

(\*)

CAP. 50

## CHAP. XI.

### The Hiſtorie of the Syrians the chiefe borderers of the Iſraelites that dwell on the Eaſt of Iordan.

#### §. I.

Of the citie of *Damaſcus* and the diners fortunes thereof.



DAMAſCVS of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the moſt famous, excelling in beautie, antiquitie, and riches, and was therefore called the Citie of ioy or gladnes, and the Houſe of pleaſure; and is not onely remembered in many places of Scripture, but by the beſt Hiſtorians and *Cosmographers*. The *Hebrewes* ſaith *Joſephus* thinke it to haue bene built by *Hus* the ſonne of *Aram*: of which opinion *S. Hierome* vpon *Eſai* ſeemeth to be: though in his *Hebrew* queſtions hee affirmeth that it was founded by *Damaſcus*, the ſonne of *Eliezer* *Abrahams* Steward, a thing very vnliklie, ſeeing the citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appears by *Abrahams* calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damaſco*. *Dauid* was the firſt that ſubiected it to the Kingdome of *Juda*, after the ouerthrow of *Adad* their King, but in *Salomons* time, *Rezon* recovered it againe, though he had no title at all or right to that principallitie: but *Dauid* hauing ouerthrowne *Hadad* their King of *Sophena*, (otherwiſe *Syria Soba* or *Zobah*) *Rezon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken armie, invaded *Damaſcena*, and poſſeſt *Damaſcus* it ſelfe, and became an enemy to *Salomon* all his life.

The next King of *Damaſcus* was *Adad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Aegypt* from *Dauid*, and *Ioab*, when they ſlew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Aegypt*s wiues ſiſter: of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was ſo called. This *Adad* returning againe became an enemy to *Salomon*, all his life, and (as ſome writers affirme) invaded *Damaſcus*, and thruſt *Rezon* thence-out. In the line of *Adad* that Kingdome continued nine deſcends (as hereafter may be ſhewed in the catalogue of thoſe Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Aſſyrians* & then the *Græcians* ſucceeded. This citie was exceeding ſtrong, compaſſed with waters from the riuers

of *Abanah*, and *Parphar*: whereof one of them prophane writers call *Chryſorrhois* the golden riuier. *Iunius* takes it for *Adonis*. The countrey adioyning is very fruitful of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very ſtrong Caſtle built as it ſeemes by the *Florentines*, after it became *Chriſtian*: the lillies being found cut in many marbles in that Citie adell. Againſt this Citie the Prophets *Amos*, *Eſai*, *Jeremy*, and *Zacharias*, prophecied that it ſhould be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heape of ſtones: In the time of the laſt *Rezon* and tenth King of the *Damaſcens*, *Teglatphalſiſir* invited by *Achiz* king of *Juda* carried away the naturals of *Damaſcus* into the Eaſt: leauing of his owne nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, ſaith *Hierome* vpon *Eſai*: which thing was performed by *Sabmaſar* according to *Iunius*, in his note vpon that place, ſue yeeres after the prophecie. In time it was reſtored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolomies*, but long after when *Syria* fell into the hands of the *Romans*, it was taken by *Aretius* and *Lolius*. In the time of the *Chriſtians* it had an Archbiſhoppe: *S. Hierome* liuing, as he affirmeth vpon the *Aſtes*, it was the Metropolis of the *Saracens*:

M m 3

being

Omniphorus in  
Chron.Patri. c. 46. 1171.  
Ty. ab. R. 52. c. 1.  
176. 153. v. 174.Herold. Brill.  
Sac. 4. c. 14.

Herold. J. 6. c. 4.

being taken by *Huomar* their King from the *Romanes*, in the yere of our redemption 636. And in the yere 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Leues* King of *France*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Hiersalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Anstria*, brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick* *Barbarossa* after ward Emperour, *Theodorick* Earle of *Flandres*, and other Princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the sea coast, determined to recouer *Damascus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians* they failed of the enterprize.

In the yere 1262. *Halon* the *Tartar* incompt it, and hauing formerly taken the King, brought him vnder the wals, and threatend extreme torture vnto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torne asunder before them, and in fine the Citie taken, *Agab* the sonne of *Halon* was by his father made King thereof.

In the yere 1400. *Tamberlaine* Emperour of the *Parthians*, invaded that region, and besieged the citie with an armie of 1200000. (if the number be not mistaken) He entred it and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners, thoseth retired into the Cattle which seemed a place impregnable, hee ouertopped with another Cattle adioyning: he forbore the demolishing of the citie in respect of the beaute of the Church, garnished with 40. gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000. lanternes of gold & silver: but while he invaded *Egypt* they againe surprized *Damascus*. Lastly in his returne after three monethes siege he forst it: the *Mahometans* prostrating themselves with their priests, desired mercie: But *Tamberlaine* commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwarde to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a *Trophey* of his victory he raised three towers with great Arte, builded with the heads of those whom hee had slaughtered. After this it was reforted and repofest by the *Soldane* of *Egypt*, with a garrison of *Mammalukes*: And in the yere 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Turkes* wrefited it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*: in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with *Mahometans*, and *Christians*, of all neighbouring nations.

## §. II.

Of the first Kings of *Damascus*, and of the growing vp of their power:

**N**OW bee it that *Damascus* were founded by *Itu* the sonne of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the sonne of *Elixezer* *Abrahams* Steward, we finde no relation of their Kings, or Commonwealth till *Dauids* time. For it stood without the boundes of *Canaan*: and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Iosua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that Storie: But were it so that it had some regull, or pettie Kings ouer it, as all the Cities of those partes had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *Dauid* ouerthrew *Adadexer* prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*: the same Nation which *Plinie* calleth *Nubai*, inhabiting betwene *Batanes* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to vnderstand the storie of those *Syrian* Princes, whom soone after the Kings of *Damascus* made their vassals, the reader may informe himselfe, That on the Northeast parts of the holy land there were three chiefe principalities whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Commonwealth of *Israhel*, namely *Damascus* or *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath-Zoba*, of which these were the Princes in *Dauids* and *Salemons* times: *Razon* or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adadexer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Tobu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth that *Damascus* was one of the cities subiect to *Adadexer* when *Dauid* invaded him, though when *Saul* made warre against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Iosephus* affirmeth the leader of those succours, which were leuiued and sent to *Hadad-Itzez* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battaile slaine with 22000. *Aramites* of *Damascus*: whereof, as of the ouerthrow of *Adadexer*, *Rezon*, the Commander of his

Plin. l. 6. c. 28.

1. Sam. 14. 47.

3082.

2. Sam. 8.

his armie, taking aduantage, made himselfe King of *Damascus*: *Adadexer* and *Adad* of *Damascus* being both slaine. About the same time *Tobu* King of *Chamath* or *Ituraea*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadexer* was utterly ouerthrowne, sendeth for peace to *Dauid*, and presenteth him with rich gifts, but in *Abu* saith *S. Hierome*, it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the holy Land, and to the West of *Damascus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: But they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Indians* and *Israhelites*. But to returne to the kings of *Syria*, I meane of *Syria* as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascus*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath* or *Ituraea*, to which I may adde *Gishur*, because it is so accounted in the 12. of *San. 15*. as ioyning in the territorie to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is farre greater, of which *Palestina* it selfe is but a Province, as I haue noted in the beginning of this Tract) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our latter writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*.

Some account *Rezon*, other *Adad* of *Idumaea*: of whom it is written in the first of Kings, that *Dauid* hauing invaded that region, and left *Isaiah* therein to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the kings seed, fled into *Egypt*: and was there married to *Taphnes* the *Queenes* sister as before, who hearing of *Dauids* death; and of the death of his Captaine *Isaiah* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he returned againe, and as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expell *Rezon* out of *Damascus*: and was the first of the *Syrian* Kings. To mee it seemeth otherwise. For as I take it, *Adadexer* the sonne of *Reboab*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the founder of that principallitie: and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his fathers name, as hee grew powerfull, tooke vpon him the style of *Adad*, the great God of the *Affrians*, saith *Macrobius*, which signified onenesse or *Unitie*. I also finde a citie called *Adada* in the same part of *Syria*: of which whether these Princes tooke the name or gaue it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-exer*, *Ben-adad*, *Eli-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adioyned. And that *Adadexer* was of greatest power, it appeareth first because it is against him, that *Dauid* undertooke the warre: secondly because he leuiued 22000. *Aramites* out of the territorie of *Damascus*: as out of his

proper Dominions: for had the *Damascens* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would haue giuen vs his name, thirdly because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadexer* was king, was an exceeding large territorie, and contained of *Arabia* the Desert as farre as to *Euphrates*, according to *Plinie*: and the greater part of *Arabia Petraea* according to *Niger*. Whosoever was the first, whether *Adadexer*, or *Adad* of *Idumaea*, *Rezon* was the second: Who was an enemy to *Israhel* all the dayes of *Salomon*. Besides the euil that *Adad* did, the euil that *Hadad* did, seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumaea*, lately returned out of *Egypt*: to wit, 23. yeres after he was carried thither.

The third king of *Damascus*, and of *Zoba* both, was *Hezion*, to *Hezion* succeeded *Tabrimmon*, or *Tabrimmon*, to him *Benhadad*, as is proued in the first of Kings. 40 For *Ashak* king of *Iuda* the sonne of *Abiam*, the sonne of *Rabaam*, the sonne of *Salemon*, being vexed and invaded by *Basfa*, the succellour of *Nadab*, the sonne of *Ieroboam*, sent to *Benhadad*, the sonne of *Tabrimmon* the sonne of *Hezion*, king of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade *Israhel* (while *Basfa* fought to fortifie *Rama* against *Ashak*) thereby to blocke him vp, that he should not enter into any of the territories of *Israhel*: who according to the desire of *Ashak*, hauing receiued his presents; willingly invaded the countrey of *Nephthalim*, and tooke diuers cities, and spoiles thence: *Ashak* in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which *Basfa* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withall, and conuerted them to his owne vse.

This *Benhadads* father *Tabrimmon* was in league with *Ashak*: and so was his father 50 *Hezion*; for *Ashak* requireth the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his sonne: though it seemeth that the gold and silver sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabrimmon* invaded *Israhel*, before the enterprize of his sonne *Benhadad*, it is coniectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Ashak*, spake as followeth. The Cities which my father tooke from thy father, I will restore

1. Reg. 20. v. 34.  
restore

restore: and thou shalt make streetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in *Damascus*: as my father did in *Samaria*. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it selfe were of much importance) because *Tabremmon* was father indeed to *Benhadad* which invaded *Bascha*, at the request of *Afa*; But this *Benhadad* that twice entred vpon *Achab*: and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the sonne of *Benhadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Afa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the sonne of *Tabremmon*. For betweene the inuasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Baschas* time, and the seige of *Samaria*, and the ouerthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there past 49. yeeres, as may be gathered out of the reignes of the Kings of *Israel*. So that if we allow 30. yeeres of age to *Benhadad*, when he inuaded *Bascha*, and after that 49. yeeres, ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eightrie lacking one, it is vnlkely that *Benhadad* at such an age would make warre. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pompe, but the second *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I resolve that *Benhadad* the sonne of *Tabremmon* inuaded *Bascha* and *Omrî*, and *Benhadad* the second inuaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benhadad* receiued two notorious ouerthrowes: the first at *Samaria*, by assaile of 700. *Israelites*: the second at *Aphec*, where with the like number in effect, the *Israelites* slaughtered 100000. of the *Aramites*: besides 27000. which were crusb by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* againe stretch at libertie: to whom he rendreth those townes, that his father had taken from the predecessour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refuseth to render *Ramoth Gilead*, a frontier towne, and of great importance. Now three yeeres after (for so long the league lasted) *Ramoth* not being deliuered, *Achab* inuaded *Gilead*, and assieged the cite, being assisted by *Iosaphat*. The *Aramites* came to succour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded and dieth that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the commander of his forces called *Naaman*, to *Ioram* the sonne of *Achab* to be healed of the leprosie; and though *Elizeus* had healed him: yet he picketh quarrell against *Ioram*: and when *Ioram* by *Elizeus* his intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforesaid. After *Benhadad* besiegeth *Samaria* againe, and being terrified thence from heauen, he departeth home, and sickneth, and sendeth *Azael* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his estate, if he might liue. *Azael* returning, smothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad* *Adar*, and the sonne of *Adar*: *A-mos* and *Isieremie* mention the towers of *Benhadad*. *Iosephus* writeth that *Benhadad* and his successeur *Azael* were worshipped for Gods by the *Syrians* to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in *Damascus*. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their antiquitie, ignorant saith he, that scarce yet 1100. yeeres are compleate since their warres with the *Israelites*.

*Hazael* or *Azael* the first king of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus* was anointed by *Elisba*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad* should recouer his present sicknesse: He waged warre with *Ioram*; who receiued diuers wounds at the incounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*: from whence returning to be cured at *Israel*, he and the King of *Juda*, *Ahasiah*, or *Ochozias*, are slaine by *Iehu*, as before is said. After the death of *Ioram*, *Azael* continued the warre against *Iehu*, and wasted *Gilead*, and all those portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasse*, ouer *Jordan*. Hee then inuaded *Juda*, and tooke *Geth*, but by gifts from *Iosias* hee was auerted from attempting *Hierusalem*: for he presented him all the *hallowed things* which *IEHOSAPHAT*, *IEHORAM*, and *AHAZIAH* his fathers, Kings of *Juda* had dedicated; and which he himselfe had dedicated: and all the gold which was found in the tresuries of the Lord: and in the Kings house. This was the second time that the Temple was spoyled to please the *Adads* of *Damascus*. For *Afa* did present *Benhadad* with those treasures, when he inuited him to warre vpon *Bascha* King of *Israel*. And notwithstanding this composition betwene *Iosias* and *Azael*, yet a part of his armie spoyled the other prouinces of *Judea*, and slaughtered many principall persons. Lastly, *Azael* vexed *Ioasias* the sonne of *Iehu*, and brought him to that extremitie,

extremitie, as he left him but littie horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand footemen of all his people.

## §. III.

Of the latter Kings, and decay and ouerthrow of their power.



After *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the sonne of *Hazael*, reigned in *Damascus*: who fought against *Israel*, with ill successe: for *Iosias* King of *Israel*, the sonne of the vnhappy *Iosachaz*, as he was foretold by *Elisba* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three feuerall battels: and he lost all those cities to *Israel*, which his father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Ioaschaz*.

After this *Benhadad* the sonne of *Hazael*, there succeeded three others of the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, only *Nicholaus Damascus*, cited by *Iosephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that *Ieroboam* the second, the sonne of *Iosias* recouered *Damascus* it selfe, to *Judab* saith the *Geneues*, but better in *Iunius*, *utque recuperabat Damascus*, & *Chamathum Iehuda pro Israel*; that is, And how he recouered for *Israel*, *Damascus* and *Chamatha* of *Judea*; for these cities sometimes conquered by *Dauid*, did of right belong to the tribe of *Juda*.

And it is likely that this conquest vpon the *Adads* was performed: the first of these three *Adads* then liuing, of whom there is no Storie. For when as *Iehon* the king of the tenne Tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad* the sonne of *Hazael*, and had recouered the cities which *Hazael* had wonne from *Israel*; and so left his Kingdome to his sonne *Ieroboam* the second, it seemeth that this *Ieroboam* without delay, and hauing nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and inuaded *Damascus*.

*Razin*, or *Rezin*, after *Iosephus* *Raser*, after *Zonaras* *Rasdon*, the 10. *Adad*, maketh league with *Pekah*, or *Phacaz* King of *Israel*, against *Achaz* King of *Juda*; both carie away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in *Hierusalem*: but in vaine. Then *Adad* alone inuadeth *Elath*, and beating out the *Iewes*, maketh it a Colonie of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achaz* brought *Tetraglyphassar* against *Razin*, who tooke him and beheaded him, and wonne *Damascus*: with whom ended the line of the *Adads* and the Kingdome of *Damascus*: the *Affrians* becoming masters both of that and *Israel*. These *Adads* as they reigned in order are thus reckoned:

- 1 *Adadazer*, the sonne of *Rehob*.
- 2 *Rezin* the sonne of *Eliahad*, or *Razin*.
- 3 *Hecion*.
- 4 *Tabremmon*.

- 5 *Benhadad* who inuaded *Bascha*.
- 6 *Benhadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achab*.

*Hazael*, whom *Elisba* foretold, with teares, of his aduancement; the same who ouerthrew *Ioram* King of *Israel*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *Hazael* which preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not probable, because that *Hazael* which tooke *Geth*, and compounded the warre with *Iosias*, made the expedition 30. yeeres, and perchance more, after the first *Hazael* which stifled his master *Benhadad*, and had slaine *Ioram* the sonne of *Achab* King of *Israel*. For *Iosias* began to reigne in the 7. yeere of *Iehu* King of *Israel*; and after he had reigned 23. yeeres, the Temple was not yet repaired; after which (and how long we know not) it is said that *Hazael* tooke *Geth*, and turned his face towards *Ierusalem*. It is also some proofe that *Hazael* which tooke *Geth*, was not the same with *Hazael* that murdered *Benhadad*, because hee could not at that time but be of good yeeres, being as it seemeth the second person in the Kingdome, and Commander of *Benhadads* men of warre. To this *Hazael*, be he the first or second, succeeded.

8 Benhadad the third, whom *Iosab* King of *Israel* thrice ouertrew.  
9 *Rezin*, or *Rezin* the last, who ioynd with *Pekab* King of *Israel*, against *Inda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Juda* waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now betwene *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicholaus Damascenus* findes three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelue in all.

For the rest of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but *reguli*, as those of *Emath*, and *Gesur*, we finde that *Tobin* was King of *Emath* or *Chamath* in *Dauids* time, to whom he sent his sonne *Ioran* with presents, after *Dauids* victorie against *Adadazer*. Also *Senacherib* speaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not.

2 Sam. 8. 9.

E. i. 37.

## §. II. III.

Of other lesser Kingdomes of the *Syrians*, which being brought vnder the *Affyrans*, neuer recovered themselves againe.

**O**F *Gesur* wee finde two Kings named; to wit, *Talmai*, and his father *Ammibur*. To *Talmai*, whose daughter *David* married, it was that *Ab-salon* fled, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of *Saphena* or *Syria*, *Soba* or *Calefryia*, there are two named, *Rehob* or *Rehob* the father of *Adadazer*, and *Adadazer* himselfe, and it is plaine that after his death the seat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damascus*, a Citie better siting their greatnesse. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And therace of these Kings of *Syria* (which became so potent, and ioynd *Soba*, *Damascus*, *Emath*, and the desert of *Arabia* with other Prouinces into one, vnder *Rezin* the second of the *Adads*) as it began with *David*, so it ended at once with the Kingdome of *Israel*. For *Achaz* king of *Juda* waged the *Affyrans* *Teglatphalassar* against *Pekab* King of *Israel*, and against *Rezin* the last King of *Damascus*: which *Teglat* first invaded *Damascena*, and the region of *Soba*, and tooke *Damascus* it selfe, and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the inhabitants captiue. This was the second time that the *Affyrans* attempted *Israel*. For first, *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menabem* governing *Israel*) who stopt the enterprize of *Phul* with a thousand talents of siluer: for this *Phul Belochus*, whose pedigree wee will examine hereafter, being scarce warme as yet in his seat at *Babylon*, which hee, with the helpe of his companion *Arhace*, had wrested from *Sardanapalus*: hauing besides this King of *Syria* in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of *Israel* for that present time. But his sonne *Teglat* following the purpose of his father *Belochus*, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the warre begun betwene *Israel* and *Juda*, *Pekab* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in that warre, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Juda*, his imprest and entertainment. So, first attempting *Damascus*, which lay in his path towards *Israel*, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease posselt himselfe of the Citie of *Nephtholim*: leading with him a great part of the people captiue. And his sonne *Salmanassar*, whom *Prothmy* calleth *Nabonassar*, after the reuolt of *Hofea*, forced *Samaris*: and rent that Kingdome a sunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted; the race and Monarchie of the *Syrian* *Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglat* slauhtered; the Kingdome of *Israel* in *Hofea*, whom *Salmanassar* ouerturned, happened neere about a time: that of *Ninus* in the daies of *Belochus*, and the other two in the daies of *Teglatphalassar*, and *Salmanassar* his sonne. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Osaruling* *Juda*; and the other two Kingdomes were dissolued, *Achaz* yet liuing.

Lastly, the Kingdome of *Juda* it selfe, being attempted by *Senacherib*, the sonne of *Salmanassar* in vaine, and preferred for the time by God miraculously, was length

length vterly ouerturned. *Hierusalem* and the Temple burnt 132. yeeres after the captiuitie of *Israel*, and *Samaris*: the destruction of *Israel* beng in the ninth yeere of *Hofea*: that of *Juda* in the eleauenth of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Affyria* and *Babylon* held also the Kingdome of *Syria* from the eighty yeere of *Salmanassar*, to the last of *Baltassar*, whom *Hierodotus* calleth *Labyntus*: in all about 200. yeeres. After these the *Persians* from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about 200. yeeres.

3602.  
3811.

Then *Alexander Macedon* tooke this among other Prouinces of the *Persian* Empire, and his successours the *Seleucida* reigned therein, till it became subiect vnto the power of the *Romanes*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in possession of the *Turke*, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering vpon the *Israelites*, with whom they had to doe both in warre and peace, being the only people, whose Historie in those ancient times carried an assured face of truth.

## CHAP. XII.

## Of the Tribe of BENIAMIN, and of Hierusalem.

## §. I.

Of diuers memorable places in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, whereof *Hiericho*, *Gilgal*, *Mitpa*, *Bethel*, *Rama*, *Gobah* and *Gibba*.



11. 35. and *E. d. 2. 3. 5.* where *Abichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes besides *Hadid* in *Chemia*, a Citie called *Lodhadid*: T his *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon* *Macc* 12. 38. *Maccabaeus*.

*Samarim* or *Tsemarim*, named of *Tsemari*, one of the sonnes of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities; and further into the Land standeth *iericho*, one of the *Toparchie*, and the last of *Juda*; seated in a most fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees: and therefore elsewhere called the Citie of *Palmes*. From the time of *Iofus*, who vterly destroyed it, it lay waste vntill the time of *Asab*: in whose daies *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the losse of *Abiram* his eldest sonne, and built the gates of it in the losse of his youngest sonne *Segub*: according to the curse of *Iofus*: in which and other respectes *Hof*. 12. 14. calleth *Iofua* a Prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by *Vespasian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

To the Southeast of *iericho* stood \* *Hulmon* of the *Leuites*, of which *Iof*. 21. 18. To the South *Betharaba*, of which *Iof*. 6. 15. and 6. 18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is

1. Reg. 17. 36.  
Iof. 6. 19.  
\* Chron. 6. 60.  
This *Hulmon* is called *Hale-meth*, whence they make a new Citie *Al-meth*, as this Tribe had given five Cities to the *Leuites*,  
19

so much mention in the Scripture, where *Iofua* first eate of the fruites of the lande, circumcised all those borne in the *Deserts*, and celebrated the *Passeouer*.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the *Etymologie* of this name (for it seemes by the place, *Dent. 11. 30.* that the name was knowne before the coming of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *10. 5. 9. Ob de uoluntatem probi Aegyptiaci*, because their foreskinnes (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called *Colles preputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Geloth*, as appears by comparing the places, *1. 5. 7. and 18. 17.* for it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Iof. 22. 13.* and *Geloth* signifieth borders. \* It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, ouer against the two hills *Garizim* and *Hebal*: vpon the one of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitpa* of *Beniamin* (of which also we reade oft in the Scripture) were seated about the midd of the length of the land of *Canaan*: for which reason \* *Samuel* chose these two places, to either of which he came yeerly to giue iudgement to the *Israelites*; of which two, *Gilgal* (as is said) was neere *Jordan* on the East side of this Tribe; and *Mitpa* neere the West sea, towards the land of the *Philistines*.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* vsed yeerly to come, is \* *Bethel*: which also was seated in this Tribe of *Beniamin*. But to returne to *Gilgal* which was the first place, where the *Arke* resided, after they past ouer *Jordan* from whence it was carried to *Silo*, & thence to *Riuiath-Iherusim*, and at length to *Hierusalem* here in *Gilgal* it was that *Iofus* pitched vp the twelve stones, which were taken out of the channell of *Jordan* when it was drie, that the *Israelites* might passe ouer it, by which Stone, as it is set downe *Iof. 4.* it appeares, that the same day that they passed ouer *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* bewell Agag the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitpa*, whither also *Samuel* came yeerly to giue iudgement, there also were often the greatest meetings held; as that for the reuenge of the *Leuites* wife against *Gibba*, and the *Beniamites*, *Iud. 20. 1.* and another against the *Philistines* *1. Sam. 7. 12.* Thither also *Iudas Machabaeus* gathered the *Jewes* (when *Hierusalem* was possessed by the *Heathens*) as it is *1. Macc. 3. 47.* in which place this reason of their meeting is added; *Quia locus Orationis fuerat Mitpa ante Israel.* Touching this *Mitpa*, to auoid confusion, it is to be remembered, that the Scriptures mention foure places of this name: *Mitpa* of *Inda*, of which *Iof. 15. 38.* \* *Mitpa* of *Gilead*, of which we haue spoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*; *Mitpa* of the *Manites*, where *Daniel* for a while held himselfe, commending his parents to the King of *Mosh* *1. Sam. 22. 3.* and lastly, this chiefe *Mitpa* of the *Beniamites*. And as in this place the chiefe meetings were held both before *Hierusalem* was recovered from the *Iebusites*, and also in the time of the *Machabees* (as we haue said) when *Hierusalem* was held by the wicked vnder *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Hieremie*, after the destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldees*, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Iewry* as Gouernour ouer those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: vntill (to the great hurt of the *Jewes*) he was slaine by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the royall blood of *Inda*, as it is *Hierem. 41.*

Neere vnto this *Mitpa*, the \* Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aben-Het-zeor*, that is, the Stone of helpe: where *Samuel* pitched vp the pillar or Stone, for a Trophy against the *Philistines*.

Touching *Bethel* which (as it seemes) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chiefe meetings for the ministring of Iustice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and so how it was taken by the illiue of *Iofeph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Beniamin*, as it is *Nehem. 11. 31.* and *Iof. 18. 22.*) and how another Citie called *Luz* neere adioyning to it, was built by the man of the Citie which shewed the entrance to the spices, as it is *Iudg. 1.* and of the occasion of the name from *Jacobs* vision: and how

*Ieroboam*

*Ieroboam*, by erecting one of his calues here, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it \* *Beth-uen*, that is, the house of Vanitie *Iof. 4. 15.* & *10. 5.* as also other memorable things of this place, they are so wel knowne, out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may well passe them ouer.

The territorie of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdom of the tenn Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of *Abia* against *Ieroboam* (of which *2. Chr. 13.*) was taken from them, and adioyned to the Kingdom of *Inda*: and so it continued, as appears by the Storie of *Iofia*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, *2. Reg. 23.* whence those coastes \* *1. Macc. 1. 34.* are called *Aphrenath*, which Greeke word signifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the tenn Tribes. It was one of the three *Seignories* or *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the *Jewes*, ouer of the *Samaritan Country*. A part of it, as appears *2. Chron. 13. 19.* was *Elephraim*, which *Iof. 18. 23.* is called *Hophran*, belonging to this Tribe of *Beniamin*.

Not farre from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we finde three other Cities often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gibba*, and *Gebah*. Of the name *Rama*, \* it is noted already, in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many townes so called, because of their high situation. But whereas they finde ouer *Rama* in the Tribe of *Inda* (as it seemes because *Mat. 2.* it appeares that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and also ouer of *Brocard* and *Beidenbach* make *Silo* to haue bene called *Rama*, and finde yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; these three haue no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Affer*, as it seemes, we haue testimonie *Iof. 19. 29.* and of an other in *Nephthali* *Iof. 19. 36.* of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim* *1. S. 25. 1.* which more often is called \* *Ramatha*, and *1. Sam. 1. 1. Ramathaim Tophim*: for which the *Septuagint* haue *Aramathaim-Tophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke *Ioseph* of *Aramathaim* *Mat. 27. 57* was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama* we reade *2. Reg. 8. 29.* which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Beniamin*, seated as we said, neere *Bethel* the vtermost South-border of the Kingdom of the tenn Tribes: for which cause *Basia* in the time of *Isa* King of *Inda*, fortified it, to hinder those that did fly from him to *Asa*. Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha* I should rather thinke *Ioseph* was, that buried *Christ*: because it was neerer to *Hierusalem*, and after the captiuitie belonged to *Babylonia*, as it appears *Esa. 2. 26.* where in that it is ioyned with *Gebah*, it is plain that he speaketh of that *Rama* with whose stones (after *Basia* had ceased to build it) *Asa* (as it is *1. Reg. 2. 52.*) built *Gebah* adioyning to it: both being in *Beniamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the tenn Tribes, so was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdom of *Inda*: whence *2. Reg. 23.* we reade that *Iofiah* through all his Kingdom, cuen from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-sheba* which was the South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third Citie *Gibba* which was the Citie of *Saul* (the wickednesse of which Citie in the time of the *Judges* had almost vtterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomus* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguished *Esa. 10. 27.* of which word \* *Gibba*, in another forme *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gabaath* another Citie in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this citie also to *Rama* of *Beniamin*, appears *Iud. 19. 13.* where the *Leuit* with his wife not able to reach to *Rama*, tooke vp his lodging at *Gibba*. By that place of *1. Sa. 22. 6.* it seemes that there was in this *Gibba* some tower or Citadell called *Rama*: where *Iunius* reade in *exce. 8.* for in *Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings place in this citie, was *Rama*: as it seemes that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chiefe place where *Samuel* with the College of Prophets abode, was *Naioth*. The great Citie of *Hai* ouerthrowne by *Iof.* which *Iof. 7. 2.* is placed neere *Beth-uen* vpon the East of *Bethel*, was in this Tribe as is proued *Nehem. 7. 10. 30.* though it be not named by *Iofia* *c. 18.* for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is *Iof. 8. 28.* *In solitudinem in tumulum perpetuam*; Another

N n

Citie

\* Borrowing the name of a neighbour towne in the confines of the Kingdomes of *Inda* and *Issrahel* betweene *Hai* and *Bethel* *Iof. 7. 2.* and *18. 17.* \* See *c. 8. 11* \* Of this *Ramatha* I write the place *1. Macc. 1. 34.* where it is named for one of the three

1. *1. Macc. 1. 34.* where it is named for one of the three  
2. *1. Macc. 1. 34.* where it is named for one of the three  
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\*The word *Nethunim* or *Nethinai*, is as much as *dati* (as it were a *Deo dati*) or as *lunus* explains it *dediti*; it is vfed, *1 Chron 9.2.* and in *Esdars* and *Nethunim* of-

Citie of cheife note reckoned *Ief.* 18.25. in this Tribe was *Gibbon*, the cheife Citie of the *Leuites* : whose cunning to bind the *Israelites* by oath to faue their liues, is fet downe *Ief.* 9. whence they were reckoned among the \* *Nethinim* or *Proflitits* : and were bound to certaine publique seruices in the houle of God : which oath of fauing these *Gibeanites* broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine 2. *Sam.* 21.1. This *Gibben* or *Gibbon* with *Aimen* and *Iebah* (of both which we haue spoken) and with *Ulanotheth* the metall place of *Hieremie* the Prophet, were faid *Ief.* 21.28. to be giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Beniamites*. Neere to this *Ulanotheth* was *Neb*, as appears 1. *Reg.* 2.26. where *Ebiathar* the Priest, which was of *Nob* before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Ulanotheth* : It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, *Nehem.* 9.31. and though in the time of *Saul* the residing place of the *Arke* was at *Kiriath-earim* : yet by the lamentable tragedie of bloodthed, which *Saul* raifed in this place (as it is fet downe 1. *Sam.* 21. and 2.) in the iudgement of *Iehus*, it is proued that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

*Michas* is proved to have been a place of the Tribe of *Manasse*. *Michas* also in this Tribe *Nehem. 9. 31.* was a place of fame, of which *Ezai 10. 28.* where also he nameth *Gallim*, and *Adigum* in this Tribe. In *Michas Saul* had his Campe *1 Sam. 13. 2.* (when he left *Gibea to Jonathan*) and there also was *Jonathan Maccabees* his aboad. *1 Macc. 9. 73.* Of *Gilgala* in *Galilee Iosephus* makes often mention, but of any here in *Manasse*, which they make the natall place of *S. Paul*, whence (they say) when it was taken by the *Romans*, hee faileth with his parents to *Tharsis*, of this I finde no good warrant. Other places of lesse importance *Lom*, and come to the Citie of *Hierusalem*, and the Princes and Governours of this Citie: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, whence *Iof. 18. 28.* it is named among the Cities of *Beniamin*.

§. II.

Of diuers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

**A**T what time *Iherusalem* was built (which afterward became the Prince-  
 cess of all Cities) it doth not appeare. Some there are who imagine  
 that *Melchisedec* was the founder thereof in *Abrahams* time. But \*ac-  
 cording to others, that *Citic* out of which *Melchisedec* encountered  
*Abraham* (in his returne from the overthrow of the *Assyrian* and *Per-  
 sian* Kings or Captaines, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the river of *Jor-  
 dan*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*,  
 and by the *Greekes Solima*.

*Hiernſalem* (when fouer or by whom fouer built) was a principall Citie in *Iofus* his time: yet not ſo renowned as *Hazor* the *Metropolis* (in thoſe daies and before) of all the *Cannites*. *Adonizedek* (whom *Iofus* ſlew) was then King of *Hiernſalem*. That it was belonging to the *Iebufites* it is manifeſt: for how long fouer they held it before *Moſes* time, they were *Maſters* and *Lords* thereof almoſt 400. yeeres after him: euen till *Dauid* wanne it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Iebufis* (the children of *Iebufus* the ſonne of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Iebus*. And ſo much did that Nation rely on the ſtrength of the place, as when *Dauid* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people ſhould defend it.

David after he had by Gods assistance possesed it, and turned out the *Iebusites*, gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit: strengthened it with a *Citadell* or *Castle*: and beautified it with many *Palaces*, and other buildings: changing the name from *Iebusalem*, the Citie of the *Iebusites*, to *Hierusalem*, which the *Greekes* call *Hierosolima*. After *Dauids* time *Salomon* amplified, beautified and strengthened it exceedingly. For besides the worke of the *Temple*, which was no lesse admirable than renowned among all Nations, the *Palaces*, *gates*, and *wals*, could not any where in the world

bee exampled : and besides that it had 150000. inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foote of depth : cut out of the very rocke : and 250. foote of breadth : whereof the like hath seldome beene heard of, either since or before.

After the death of *Agyptus*, and that the Kingdome of the *Sewes* was cut afunder, *Sylphar* King of *Egypt*, and his predecessor, having bred pur for that purpose, *Adad* the *Idumæan*, and *Ierobabam*, *Salmons* feruant; and both married to *AEgyptians*: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: *Sylphar* first invaded the Territorie of *Iuda*: entred *Hiersusalem*, and fack it, and became Maſter not onely of the riches of *Salomon*, but of all thoſe ſpoiles which *Dauid* had gotten from *Adadezer*, *Telus*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. 'Tis againe fackt and a part of the wall throwne downe by *Ioaſ* King of *Iſrael*, while *Amafia* the twelfth King thereof governed *Iuda*.

Nor long after *Ahas* the fifteenth King of *Iuda* impouerished the Temple, and presented *Teglatphalassar* with the treasures thereof. And *Manassé* the sonne of *Ezekiah*, the sonne of *Ahas*, by the vaults made by *Ezekiah*, to the Embassadors of *Merozech*, lost the remaine, and the very bottome of their treasures. It was againe spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Ioaquin* then reigning. But this vngateful, Idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but perfiting in all kinde of impie, filling the Citie euen to the mouth with innocent blood, God raiſed vp that great *Babylonian* King *Nebuchodeneſor*, as his ſcourage and reuenger, who making this glorious Citie and Temple with all the Palaces therein, and the wals and towers which embraced them, euen and leuell with the duſt: carried away the ſpoiles with the Princes and people, and cruſht them with the heauie yoke of bondage and ſeruitude full 70. yeeres, inſomuch as *Sion* was not onely become as a torne and plowed vp field, *Hieruſalem* a heape of ſtone, and rubble, the mountaine of the Temple as a groue, or wood of thornes and briars, but (as *Hieremie* ſpeaketh) Euen the birds of the ayre ſcorned to ſieue it, or the beaſts to tread on that deſtiled ſoile.

30 Then 70 yeeres being expired, according to the Prophetic of *Daniel*, and the *Jewes* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was againe built, though with interruption and difficultie enough: and the Citie meane while inhabited, and without waies or other defences, for some 60. and odde yeeres, till *Nebemia* by the fauour of *Artaxerxes* rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie spoiled by *Bisgates*, or *Vagages*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by \* *Ptolemeus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and againe by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Crassus* in his *Partian* expedition tooke as much as he could of that which *Pompey* spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were  
commonly recompensed by the industrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntary  
contribution of the people, and the liberality of strangers. Before the captivitie, the  
people of the land through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large  
offerings to repair the Temple of *Salomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolemaeus Lagi* to  
the second Temple, was requited by the bountie of his sonne *Ptolemaeus Philadel-*  
*phus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amere-  
d partly by the great Offerings which were sent to *Hierusalem* out of other Na-  
tions. Finally all the losses, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well  
seeme forgotten in the reigne of *Herod* that vsurping and wicked, yet magnificent  
King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous  
workes did so adorne them, that he left them farre more stately and glorious than  
they had beene in the daies of *Salomon*.

\* See in the higher half of *Manasse*.

2 Sam. 4. v. 6.

*Ios.cont.App.1.1.*  
*Strabo.geog.1.16*

2.Chron.122

2. *Kin. 14.*

1. Chron. 5. 26;  
2. Ki 9. 25.

Mich. 3. Hist.  
25, 26, 29.

Нлс.тò 3. тiдд.  
Нсб.

Nechem. 12.  
34 &c.  
\* The first of  
the *Aegyptian*  
King, after *Alexander Macedon*, who dis-  
sembling his  
Religion, came  
vp to *Hierusa-*  
*lem* to offer Sa-  
crifice. *Ios. 12.*  
ant. 1.

Al. T. C. pr  
Cyll.

*Of the destruction of Ierusalem by the Romanes.*

**I**N this flourishing estate, it was at the coming of our *Saviour Christ* (as : and after his death and ascension, it co continued about 40. yeres. But then did *Titus the Romaine*, being stirred vp, by God, to be the reuenger of *Christ* his death; and to punish the *Iewes* insinill ingratitude, incompaill it with the *Romaine* armie, and became Lord thereof. Hee began the siege at such time as the *Iewes*, from all parts, were come vp to the celebration of the *Passouer*: so as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts; and no manner of prouision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, and with the ciuile dissension, opprest them within the walles; a forcible enemie assailed them without. The *Idumaeans* also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the *Iewes* Kingdome, thrust themselves into the Citie, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* tooke it. And to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besiging to the consummation of the victorie, eleven hundred thousand soules: and the Citie was so beaten downe, and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly beleue that there had beene any such place of habitation. Onely the three *Hierodian* towers (workes most magnificent, and ouertopping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Romaine* garrisons, as that thereby their victorie might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after ages might iudge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more thing that thereouer became victorious.

After this, such *Iewes* as were scattered here and there in *Iudaea*, and other Provinces, beganne againe to inhabit some part of the Citie; and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the *Romane State*; but after 65. yeeres, when they againe offered to revolt, and rebell, *Alius Adrianus the Emperour* laughtered many thousands of them, and ouerturned those three *Herodian Towers*, with all the reft, making it good which *Chrift* himfelfe had foretold; *That there fhould not fland one flone vpon another*, of that vngratefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeased, and the Prophecie accomplished, he rooke one part without the wall, wherein flode *Mount Caluarie*, and the *Sepulchre of Chrift*, and excluding of the reft the greateft portion, hee againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Alia Capitolina*. In the gate toward *Bethle*, he caufed a Sowe to be cut in marble, and fet in the front thereof, which hee did in despite of the *Iewes* Nation: making an *Edift*, that they fhould not from thenceforth enter into the Citie, neither fhould they dare fo much as to behold it from any other high place ouertopping it.

But the *Christian* Religion flourishing in *Palæstina*, it was inhabited at length, by all 40 Nations, and especially by *Christians*; and so it continued 500. yeeres.


It was afterward in the 636. yeere after *Christ*; taken by the *Egyptian Saracens*, who held it 400. and odde yeeres.

In the yeere 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey of Baillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the *Saracens*, which *Godfrey*, when hee was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because *Chrissf*, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recovery, it remained vnder the succellours of *Godfrey* 88. yeeres: till in the yeere 1197. it was regained by *Saladine of Aegypt*: and lastly, in the yeere 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the *Turkes* call out the *Aegyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzamobaree*, or the Holy City. Neither was it *Ierusalem* alone that hath so oftentimes bene beaten downe and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the world haue with their inhabitants, in severall times and ages, suffered the same shipwrecke. And it hath bene Gods iust will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not only to punish the impietie

impetic of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slaucric; but hee hath re-  
uenged himselfe of the very places they posselt; of the wals and buildings, yea of  
the foyle and the beasts that fedde thereon.

For, even that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect, lost all her fertilitye, and fruitfullnesse; witnesseth the many hundreds of thousands which it fedde in the dayes of the Kings of *India* and *Israell*; it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding stony and barren. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from heauen, the Cities of the Sodomites; but the very soile it selfe hath felt, and doth feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beast that belonged to *Amelek*, no not any small number of them to be sacrificed to himselfe, neither was it enough that *Abraham* himselfe was sowned, but that his mouebles were also consumed and brought to ashes.

*Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the  
ancient Jewes.*

20  F the original of the *Jewes*, prophane writers have conceived diversely and injuriously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of their leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Ægyptians*. Others affirme that while *Isis* governed *Ægypt*, the people were so increased, as *Ieroglasmus*, and *Indus* ledde thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions; which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidental, because hee was taken up and saued out of the waters. But *Isifine*, of all other most malicious, doth deriue the *Jewes* from the *Syrian* Kings; of whom, *Damascus*, saith hee was the first: and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that *Israh* had tenne sonnes, among whom hee diuided the land of *Inda*; so called of *Indas* his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sonnes of *Israhel* he calleth *Isoph*: who being brought up in *Ægypt*, became learned in magical Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and signes prodigious, and this *Isoph* (saith hee) was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foule diseases, and left they should infect others, were banished *Ægypt*. Further, hee telleth how these men thus banished, when in the *Deserts* they suffered extreme thirst and famine, and therein found reliefe the seventh day, for this cause euer after observed the seventh day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselves, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. Hee addeth also that they might not marrie out of their owne Tribes, least discouering their viceciannesse, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Ægyptians*. These and like fables hath *Isifine*.

*Cornelius Tacitus* doth as grossly belie them in affirming That in the inmost O-  
ratory of their Temple, they had the golden head of an *Affe*, which they adored.  
But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himselfe, hauing in the fift booke of his owne *Histo-*  
rie truly confessed of the *Jewes*, that they worshipped one only God: and thought  
it most prophane to represent the *Deitie* by any materiall figure, by the shape of a  
man, or any other creature; and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or  
representation, no not so much as in any Citie by them inhabited. Somewhat like  
to this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*; who also makes *Iudas* with *Idumea*,  
the first parents of the *Jewes*.

*Claudius Tola* draws them from *Indians*, whose parents were *Spartan* and *Thebis*; whence it came that the *Spartans* or *Lacedæmonians* challenged kindred of the *Hebrews*: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Iosephus*. Some of these

Cited by *Stephanus* in *Indica*.

ports seeme to haue been gathered out of diuine letters; though wrested and peruer-  
 ted, according to the custome of the Heathen. For so haue they obscured and altered  
 the storie of the Creation, of *Paradise*, of the Floud; and giuen new names to  
 the children of *Adam* in the first age: to *Noah* and his sonnes; in the second: and so  
 to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moses*, and the rest of the fathers; and leaders of the *He-*  
*brewes*: all which faunings, as touching the *Jewes* and their originals, *Iosephus* against  
*Apion*, and *Tertullian* haue sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrewes* were the  
 Children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and so *Chaldeans* originally,  
 taking name either of *Heber*, the sonne of *Sale*, or else (saith *Montanus*) of wandring,  
 as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greeke *Grammarian*,  
 deriue the *Hebrewes* or *Jewes*, from *Araban*; hauing mistaken the name of *Abra-*  
*ham*, who was the sonne of *Heber*, in the sixth descent. Their ancient names were  
 first changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Jacob*, otherwise *Isra-*  
*el*, the chiefe part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at  
 length the remnant of *Jacob*, being most of the Tribe of *Inda*, honoured the name  
 of *Judas*, the sonne of *Jacob*, and became *Judeans* or *Jewes*: as also for a time in the  
 name of *Ephraim* the sonne of *Ioseph*, the chiefe of the *Patriarches* of the ten Tribes;  
 the rest of the tenne Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when  
 the Kingdome of *Israel* fell. The *Judeans* continued their names, though they suf-  
 fered the same seruitude not long after, vnder *Nabuchodonosor*.

The government which this Nation vnderwent, was first paternall: which  
 continued till they serued the *Egyptians*. They were secondly ruled by their  
 Captaines and leaders, *Moses* and *Iosua*, by a pollicie Diuine. Thirdly, they  
 subiected themselves to Iudges. Fourthly, they desired a King; and  
 had *Saul* for the first: Of whom and his successours, before  
 wee intreat, wee are first to speake of their Govern-  
 ment vnder Iudges, after the death of *Iosua*:  
 with somewhat of the things of  
 Fame in other Nations about  
 these times.

Saccæa

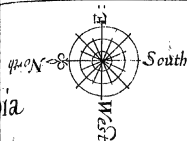
## The desert Arabia

Agræi

Saut<sup>et</sup> of Saba from whence the Sabæans spoyled Job

Agubeni

## Arabia the stonie



## CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the world, from  
the death of Iosua to the Warre of Troy :  
which was about the time of

I E P H T H A.

p. I.

of the inter-regnum after Iosua's death: and of  
OTHONIEL.



When Iosua was now dead, who with the ad-  
uise of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held  
authoritie ouer the people, and ordered that  
Common-weale: It pleased God to direct the  
Tribe of Iuda (in whom the Kingdome was  
afterward established) to vndertake the Warre  
against the Canaanites, ouer whom (with Gods  
fauour, and the assistance of Simeon) they be-  
came victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they  
not only slew ten thousand, but made Adoni-  
bezek prisoner: the greatest and cruellst Com-  
mander, both of the Canaanites and Perizites.

This tyrants crueltie as else where hath bene signified, they returned in the same  
30 kinde vpon his owne head: and so by the torments which he now felt in his owne  
person (before no otherwise knowne vnto him but by his malicious imagination)  
made him confesse and acknowledge Gods iust iudgement against himselfe.

The Tribes of Iuda and Simeon did also master and possesse during this inter-  
regnum (or as some thinke, before the death of Iosua) the Cities of Azotus, Askelon,  
Ekron, and Hierusalem, which they burnt, and the Jebusites afterward redified.  
They tooke also the Cities of Hebron, Debir, or Kiriathsepher, and Zephath, after-  
wards Horma. And although it be not set downe in expresse wordes that any one  
person commanded in chiefe ouer the people, as Moses and Iosua did: yet it seemeth  
that Caleb was of greatest authoritie among them: and that hee with the aduise of

40 Phinees directed and ordered their warres. For if any thinke that they proceeded  
without a chiefe, the good successe which followed their vndertakings witnesseth  
the contrarie. And it was Caleb euen while Iosua gouerned, as appeares Ios. 10: 39:  
that propounded the attempt of Debir, to the rest of the Captaines: for the per-  
formance of which enterprize, he promised his Daughter Achisab: which he performed  
to Othoniel his younger brother after the conquest: whose behauiour in that seruice  
was such, as (iuxta vnto the ordinance of God) it gaue him the greatest reputation  
among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election  
for their first Iudge soone after. But while those of Iuda made warre with their bor-  
derers, from whom they only recovered the mountainous Countreies (for they

50 could not driue out the inhabitants of the Valleys, because they had Chariots of Iron.) Iud. 1: 19:  
The rest of the Tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their owne Territories:  
in which warre they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of Ioseph re-  
covered Bethel, or Luz, from the Hittites, so did the Amorites recouer from Dan all  
the plaine Countreies: and fort them to saue themselves in the Mountaines. And  
Iud. 1: 34:

now

now the *Israelites* vnmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously a-fore-time defended them, made them victorious ouer their enemies (the *Ed-Iders* being also consumed, who better aduised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not only ioyne themselues in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more detestable) they serued the *Idolls* of *Baal*, and *Asteroth*, with other the dead Gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amerites*. And therefore did the Lord God whom they had prouoked with their *Idolatry*, deliuer them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*: whom *Chusban Nisibathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeares, it pleased him to haue compassion on his people, and to raise vp *Othaniel* to bee their Iudge and 10 Leader: who by Gods assisted, deliuered his bretheren from oppression: and infort the *Aramites* to returne into their owne *Desarts*, and into *Mesopotamia* adioyning, after which the *Israelites* had peace fortie yeares, during all the time of *Othaniel*s gouernment. This *Othaniel* is thought by *Tostatus* to haue bene the yonger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the booke of *Judges* he is twice called *Othaniel* the sonne of *Caleb*s yonger brother. Others doe rather interpret those wordes (*Caleb*s yonger brother) as if they signified the meaneft of his kindred. Indeed it is not like-ly, that *Caleb*s Daughter should marrie with her owne Vncle; yet it followes not therefore that *Othaniel* should haue bene the meaneft of the kindred. Wherefore we may better thinke that he was the Nephew of *Caleb* (as some learned men ex-20 pound it) and as the very wordes of Scripture seeme to enforce. For *Caleb* was the sonne of *Iephunneh*, and *Othaniel* the sonne of *Cenaz*, *Caleb*s yonger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his yonger brothers sonne; to whom it was not only lawfull, but commendable to marrie with his Cosen German *Caleb*s daughter.

How long it was from the death of *Iosuah* to the gouernment of *Othaniel*, it cannot be found: but it seemes to haue bene no short time. For many Warres were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Disb* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best writers are of opinion that between the times of *Iosuah* and *Othaniel* that ciuill warre brake out betweene the *Beniamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Leuites* wife. For it is written that in 30 those daies there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his owne eyes. And as *Iuda* led the people against the *Canaanites* during the *Inter-regnum*, so was hee commanded to doe against *Beniamin*, euen by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a Iudge to appoint what should be done, which sheweth it to haue bene when *Iosuah* was dead, and before the gouernment of *Othaniel*, especially considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Gouer-nours, were spent vnder such oppression of strangers, as would haue giuen them no leaue to haue attended such a ciuill Warre, if their power had bene as great, as it was in the menaging of this action, wherein they so weakened the body of their estate, by effusion of bloud, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such 40 numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

## §. II.

Of the memorable things of this Age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation of times.

**T**Here liued in this age of *Othaniel*, *Pandion* or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the first King of *Athens*: who beganne to rule in the twentieth yeare of *Othaniel*, and gouerned fortie yeares. Hee was father to *E-50* *richus*: his Daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly men-tioned in fables.

*Cadmus* also about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whose Daughter *Semele* was borne *Dionysius* or *Liber pater*: vnder whome *Linus* the *Musitian* liued. In his time

time also the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharfus*, were built.

*Iuda* and *Daclylus* flourished in this age, who are said to haue found out the vse of iron: but *Genesius* hath taught vs the contrarie, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in iron and braille. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* gouerned *Thebes*: whom diuers *Chronologers* finde in *Elands* time. But *S. Augu-Gen. 4. 22.* *line* making a repetition of those fables, which were deuised among the *Grecians* and other Nations, during the gouernment of the Iudges, begins with *Triptolemus* of whose parentage there is a little agreement. *Kines* vpon the thirteenth Chapter of *S. Augu-line de Ciuitate Dei*, and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opi-nions of this mans progenie, where hee that desires his pedigree may finde it. *La-10* *lartius* and *Eusebius* make him natue of *Attica*: and the sonne of *Elenfus* King of *Elenfus*: which *Elenfus* by carefull industrie had fed the people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine, T his when vpon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boate, which carried in her Proue a grauen or carued Serpent: who became he made exceeding great speede to returne and to relieue his people with Corne, from some neighbour Nation: he was slain by the *Poets*, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the aire.

Whether the times of these Kings which liued together with *Othaniel*, and after him with the rest of the Iudges and Kings of *Israel* and *Iuda*, be precisely set downe, I cannot auow: for the *Chronologers*; both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars, to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I desire to be excused if in these comparisons I erre with others of bet-ter iudgement. For whether *Eusebius* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselues to conuerse with these ancient Kings, and with the very year when they beganne to rule) haue hit the marke of time, of all other the farthest off: and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors them-selves, from whom the ancientest *Chronologers* haue borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne works, but coniecture: Secondly, because their owne 30 disagreement and contention in those elder daies, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans vnderstanding, since his owne, but that he is greatly distracted, after what patterne to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not only in the reignes of Heathen Kings and Prin-ces; but euen in computation of those times which the indisputable authoritie of holy Scripture hath summed vp, as in that of *Abrahams* birth: and after in the times of the Iudges and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the egression to the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the *Persian* Empire, the seauente Weekes, and in what not? Wherefore the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments 40 are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men haue sought by so many waies to vngouer the Sunne, that the daies thereby are made more darke, and the clouides more condent than before. I can therefore giue no other warrant, than other men haue done in these computations; and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in this or that yeare, I auow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a priuate opinion: which I submit to better iudgments. Nam in praeis rebus veritas non ad vnguem quaerenda; In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth, saies *Diodore*.

## §. III.

Of EHVDs time, and of PROSERPINA, ORITHYA, TEREVS,  
TANTALVS, TITYVS, ADMETVS, and others that  
liued about these times.



After the death of *Othoniel* when *Israel* fell back to their former Idolatrie, God encouraged *Moad* to invade and suppress them: to performe which he ioynd the forces of *Ammon* and *Amalee* vnto his owne, and so (as all kinde of miserie readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from) thereby to make them feele the difference betwene his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations, had an easie conquest ouer *Israel*: whom God himselfe exposed to those perils: within which they were so speedily folded vp. In this miserable estate they continued full eighteen yeares vnder *Eglon* King of the *Moadites*, and his confederates. Yet as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his eares from their crying repentance: but raised vp *Ehud* the sonne of *Gera* to deliuer them: by which weak man though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the iustice of his quarrell, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, he resolved to attempt vpon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguishe, he assured himselfe of the following victorie: especially giuing his Nation no time to reestablish their gouernment, or to chooseth a King to command, and direct them in the Warres. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embassador to *Eglon*, laden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining private access vpon the pretence of some secret to be revealed: he pierst his bodie with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge: and shutting the doores of his closet vpon him, escaped.

It may seeme that being confident of his good successe, hee had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readinesse. For sodainly after his returne, he did repasse *Jordan*, and invading the Territorie of *Moad*: ouerthrew their Armie consisting of 10000. able and strong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victorie, and that *Sansar* his Successor had miraculously slaine 600. *Philistines* with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of *Israel* liued in peace vnto the end of fourescore yeares from the death of *Othoniel*, which terme expired in the Worlds year 2691.

In the daies of *Ehud Naomi* with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two sonnes, traualled into *Moad*, and so the storie of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourescore yeares which are giuen to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Molossians*: otherwise *Pluto*, Rale *Proserpina*, as shee walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pausanias*) by the Riuer *Cephissus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if he mean not two distinct Riuers. This stealth being made knowne to *Pyrrius* with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* ioynd themselves, they agreed together to recover her: but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on *Pyrrius*, and care him in peeces, and had also wearied *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily refused him: and by strength tooke and mastered the Dogge *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his deliuering of *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zeux*, as I take it, hath writtten this storie somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrrius* such he, attempted to Reale *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Molossians* who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina*. *Proserpina* being a generall name also for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knowne to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrrius* were both taken, and because *Pyrrius* being was the principall in this conspiracie, and *Theseus* drawne on by a kinde of affection or inforcement, the one was giuen for food to *Aidonius* his great Dogge *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner til *Hercules* by the instigation of *Eurythem* deliuered him by strong hand. The *Molossians* which

which *Stephanus* writes with a single (S) were a people of *Epirus* inhabiting neare the Mountaines of *Pindus*: of which Mountaine *Oeta* is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himselfe. The Riuer of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) riseth out the same Hills. There is an other Nation of the *Molossians* in *Thessalie*: but these are neighbours to the *Cassiopei*, such *Plutarch* in his Greeke quations.

The rape of *Orithya* the Daughter of *Erethreus*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the North winde, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In his time also *Tereus* 10 rauished *Philomela*, of which the fable was deuised of her conuersion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* hauing married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her sister, forth her in the passage, and withall cut out her tongue that shee might not complaine; perswading *Progne* his Wife that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother in law's mercilesse behauiour towards her, *Philomela* expressed by her needle vpon cloth, and sent it *Progne*. In reuenge whereof *Progne* caused her only Sonne *Irys* to be cut in peeces, and set before *Tereus* her husband, so dreft as it appeared to be some other ordinarie foode: of which when he had eaten his fill: shee caused his head, handes, and feete, to be presented vnto him: and then fled away with such speede towards *Athens* where her Father *Pandion* yet liued, as the Poets haied, that shee was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis* in *Phocis*: and the Tombe of *Tereus*, *Pausanias* 10. hath built neare the Rocks *Mergi*, in the Territorie of *Athens*. By which as also by *Pausanias* the name *Daulis*, where these thinges are supposed to haue beene done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digression in his *Peloponnesian* Warre, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryssa*, (as the Poets call him *Odrysius*) but that *Phocis* a Countie in *Greece* not farre from *Attica*, a Citie whereof is called *Daulis*, was in *Pandion*'s time inhabited by *Thracians*: of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion* to haue amitie with his neighbours, made him his sonne in law: as it is good 30 to beleue, saith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens*, made that alliance with a neighbour King from whom he might haue succour, rather then with any *Tereus*, that should haue held the Kingdome of *Odryssa*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seeme to haue beene partly because, as *Pausanias* saies: *Daulide nec midsicant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Lirandines*: As if a Swallow remembering the wrong that was there done to her, and to her sister, did for euer hate that place.

Neare this time *Melampus* (who is said to haue vnderstood the voices of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. Hee restored to their former health the Daughters of *Praxus* King of the *Argines*, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by *Inno*: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countiees; where the ground was light, they did vse often to plough with Kine.

In the 47. yeare of *Ehud*, *Troas* beganne to raigne in *Dardanis*, and gaue it his owne name, about which time *Phemone* the chiefe Priest of *Apollo* in *Dolphos*, deuised the *Heracleid* Verse.

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Eusebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and also of that part of which the people were anciently *Maeones*. Of *Tantalus* was deuised the fable that some Poets haue applied to the passion of loue: and some to the couetous that dare not inioy his riches. *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the sonne of *Iupiter*, by the *Nymph* *Pleta*: *Dionysius* and *Didymus* in *Zeux*, giue him an other Mother. He was said to be the sonne of *Iupiter*, as some will haue it, because he had that Planet in his ascendent, betokening wisdom and riches. It is said that when he made a feast to the Gods, hauing nothing more pretious: he caused his owne Sonne to be slaine and dreft for the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the shoulders:

Shoulders: whereby was signified that those men which seeke after diuine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was deuised, that he had alwaies Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwise and to higher desires transported, he enioyed no pleasure at all by thereof. Of whom *Ouid*:

*Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat*  
TANTALVS, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Here TANTALVS in water seekes for water, and doth misse,  
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted vpon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the Gods: that is, because he taught wisdom and vertue to mortall men: which storie *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise and say, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirstie of more abundance, was neuer satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against couetousnesse.

TANTALVS à labijs sitiens fugientia captat  
Flumina quidrides? mutato nomine de te  
Fabula narratur.

The thirsting TANTALVS doth catch at streames that from him flee.  
Why laugh'st thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceiue where it is fained of *Tantalus*, that he gaue the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the Gods to vaine and vnworthie men, that hee was therefore by them in 30 that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*.

*Immortalitatem quod furatus,*  
*Cœtans conuiuiis*  
*Nectar Ambrosiamq. dedit.*

Because that stealing immortalitie,  
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* giue  
To guests of his owneage to make them liue.

Whereby it was meant that the secrets of Diuinitie, ought not to be imparted to the vnpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneest meates in a soule stomach, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reuerend mysteries are often peruerred by an vnclane and defiled minde.

Mark. 4. 11. To you it is given (saith *Christ* in *MARKE*) to know the myserie of the Kingdome of God, but vnto them that are without all things be done in parables. So is it said of him, that he expounded all things to his Disciples a-part. And therefore doth *Gregoric Nazianzen* enscricke vpon a place of *S. PAVL*. Quod si *PAVL* licuisset esset, e, quorum ipsi cognitionem celum tertium & usque ad illud progressio suppeditaui, fortasse de Deo nobis aliquid amplius conseraret. If *PAVL* might haue vittered the things, the knowledge 50 whereof the third heauens, and his going thither did bring vnto him, peraduenture we might know somewhat more of God.

*Pythagoras*, saith *Reclin*, thought it not the part of a wise man, *Aino* lyram expone-  
re, aut mysteria, quæ ita reciperet, ut *Sui tubam*, & *sciam* graculus, & *vingenta* Scari-  
bens:

*bus: quare silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo diuinorum arcana pateficerent, que recitando facilius, quam loquendo apprehenderantur; To set an Asse to a harpe, or to leaue mysteries: which he would handle as a swine doth a trumpet, or a lay a viall, or Scariabus and vnclane flies soueraigne ointment. Wherefore he commanded silence to his disciples: that they should not disclose diuine mysteries to the common sort, which are easier learnt by meditation than by babling. And therefore did the Egyptians communicate their mysteries among their Priests in certaine Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their secrets might be hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their couered meanings.*

10 But to proceede with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is also said, that *Tityus* liued whom *Apollo* slew, because he sought to force his Mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the Sonne of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloued of *Iupiter*, to auoid *Iuno*'s reuenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where shee was deliuered of *Tityus*: whose Mother dying, and himselte therein nourished, he was therefore called the sonne of the earth. *Pausanias* speaking of the graue of this *Cyant*, affirms that his bodie occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his stature out of *Homers*.

*Porrectusq. nouem TITYVS per ingera terra*  
*Afidius atro viscere passus aues:*

Nine furlongs stretcht lies TITYVS, who for his wicked deedes  
The hungrie birds with his renewing liuer daily feedes.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a Citie in *Phocia*, it was fained by the Poets to the terror of others, that he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still liued, and had his flesh renewed.

*Admetus* King of *Thessalie* liued also in this Age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first serued as a Heard-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him aduanced; but hauing slaine *Hyacinthus* he crost the *Hellefont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where together with *Nepitune*, hee was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricke leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in *Ouid* which saith:

*Iliou aspicies, firmatasq. turribus altis*  
*Maenia, APOLLINEAE structa canore byra.*

Strong Iliou thou shalt see with walls and towers high  
Built with the harpe of wise *APOLLO*'s Harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that hee laboured with his handes, as hired in this worke. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *quisq. diti*, *Aegariens* witnesse, saith *Pausanias*.

In these daies also of *Ehud*, or (as some finde it) in the daies of *Deborah*, liued *Perseus* the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Danae*, by whose Souldiers (as they failed out of *Peloponnesus* to seeke their aduenture on *Affrica* side) *Medusa* the Daughter and Successor of *Phorcus*, being weakely accompanied as shee hunted, neare the Lake 50 *Triton*, was surpris'd and slaine: whose beaurie when *Perseus* beheld, he caused her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beaurie whereof was such and so much admired, and the beholders so astonish'd which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Medusa*'s head, were turned into stones.

*Triton* a Lake of  
*Affrica* which  
the called  
*Pollutius*.  
*Didym* in peregr.  
Hist.

*Cecrops* the second of that name and 7. King bf *Athens*, and *Arifus* the 13. or after *Eusebius*, the 14. King of the *Argives*, began also their reignes, as is said, in the time of this Iudge: of which the first ruled 40. yeares, and the second 31. yeares. Also *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the sonne of *Glancus*, the sonne of *Sisyphus*: who inticed by *Antea* or *Sthenobia* the wife of *Pratus* of the *Argives*, to accompanie her, but refusing it, shee accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: wherupon *Pratus* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affaires of weight, between him and his Sonne in law *Jobates*: giuing secret order to *Jobates* to dispatch him: but *Jobates* thinking it dishonorable to lay violent handes on him: imployed him against *Chimera*, a Monster, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the Gods (as the report is) pitying his innocencie, sent him the winged Horfe *Pegasus*, sprung vp of the blood of *Medusa*, formerly slaine by the Souldiers of *Perseus* in *Affrica*, to transport him, a horse that none other could master or bridle but *Minerva*: vpon which beast *Bellerophon* ouer-came *Chimera*: and performed the other seruices giuen him in charge: which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to haue slaine him: but being victorious also ouer all those, he arriued to *Jobates* in safetie: whom *Jobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdom: after which he grew so insolent, as he attempted to fly vp to heauen vpon his *Pegasus*: whose pride *Iupiter* disdainig, caused one of his flaming fires so to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, wher he fell blinde: of which burthen *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heauen: and being fed in *Iupiters* owne stable, *Aurora* begd him of *Iupiter* to ride on before the *Sunne*. This tale is diuersly expounded, as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieue men in their innocent and vnderferved aduersitie, and to cast downe those which are too high minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon*: that when he was exposed to extreame hazard, or rather certaine death, he found both deliuerance and honor: but waxing ouer-proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of sorrow, and euer-during miserie. Secondly by others, That vnder the name of *Chimera*, was meant a cruell *Pyrate* of the *Lycians*, whose ship had in her prow a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the stearne, of which three beasts this Monster *Chimera* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kinde of Galley of such swiftnesse that it was called the flying Horse: to whom the inuention of sailes (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other explications are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not vnikely, that *Chimera* was the name of a ship, for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships of *Eneides*.

Ion also from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquite of their parent *Iauan*) deriue their name of *Iones*, is said to haue bene about *Eubus* time: *Homer* calls them *Iaones*, which hath a neare resemblance to the word *Iauan*. Perhaps also it might be so that *Ion* himselfe tooke name from *Iauan*: it being a custome obseruable in the Histories of all times, to reuiue the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his issue.

The inuasion of *India* by *Liber Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: but *S. Augustine* makes him farre more ancient: placing him between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Iofua*.

About the end of the 80. yeares, ascribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flourished: who gaue name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

¶ IIII.

¶ IIII.

Of DEBORA and her Contemporaries.



After *Israel* had liued in peace and plentie to the end of these 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giuer of all goodnesse, and many of those being worne out, who were witnesses of the former miserie, and of Gods deliuerance by *Ehud*, and after him by *Samgar*, the rest began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandements. For as Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle securitie; so securitie as fruitfull in being getting and bringing forth both danger and subuersion: of which all estates in the world haue tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their sinnes were againe ripe for punishment, *Tabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the Territorie of *Israel*, and hauing in his seruice 900. yron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subiection twentie yeares, till it pleased God to raise vp *Deborah*, the Prophetesse, who encouraged *Barac* to leaue a force out of *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon*, to encounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nephtalim* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seem to haue proceeded partly from the authoritie that *Barac* had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more sensible, than in others, because *Hazor* and *Harnoth* the chiefe holds of *Tabin*, were in *Nephtalim*. So in the daies of *Iephtha* the *Gileadites* tooke the greatest care, because the *Ammonites* with whom the Warre was, pressed most vpon them; as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the selfe hand of *Ehud* to deliuer *Israel* from the *Mozabite*: and by the counsaile and courage of a woman; to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*; and to kill the valiant *Sihon* by *Jephtha*, *Benier* was so was it his will at other times; to worke the like great things by the weakest means. For the mightie *Assyrian Nabuchadonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resolute, he ouerthrew by his owne imaginations, the causes of his brutish melancholy: and changed his matchlesse pride into the same humilie of a Beast. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punisheth by inuisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Armie of *Senacherib* by his Angell; or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Moses* time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharao* by the waies of the Sea: and the *Canaanites* by haile-stones in the time of *Iofua*: Sometimes by the ministerie of men, as when he ouerthrew the foure Kings of the East, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the household seruants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Mozabites* and *Ammonites* to set vpon their owne confederate the Armie of the *Idumites*; and hauing slaine them to kill one another in the fight of *Iehosaphat*: and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Prophetesse speake vnto *Barac* in these wordes: But this journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for the Lord shall sell *Sisera* into the hands of a Woman. In which victorie all the strength of the *Canaanite Tabin* fell to the ground, euen to the last man: in the end of which Warre it seemeth that *Tabin* himselfe also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the fourth of *Judges*.

After all which *Deborah* giueth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgment of all his powerfulnesse, and great mercies, shee sheweth the weak estate wherinto *Israel* was brought for their Idolatrie by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations in these wordes: Was there a shield or speare scene among sortie thousand of *Israel*? he also sheweth how the *Israhelites* were scattered and amaid, some of them confined ouer *Jordan*, and durst not ioyne themselves to the rest; as those of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: so that the *Asserites* kept the Sea-coast, and forooke their habitations towards the Land, and the children of *Dan* who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for safetie, shewing thereby that all were disperfed, and all in effect lost. Shee then curseth the inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling neare the place of the battaile (be-like fearing the successe) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blesteth *Iael*

O o 2

the

the wife of *Heber* the *Kente*, who nailed *Sisera* her Tent : shewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Israelites*. For though the Familie of *Heber* were enforced in that miserable time of subiection, to hold correspondencie with *Iabin* the *Canaanite*, yet when occasion offered them means, they witnessed their loue and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, hee decideth the Mother of *Sisera* who promised her sonne the victorie in her owne hopes : and fancied to her selfe, and described the spoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, hee directeth her praises and thanks to God only victorious.

From the beginning of *Iabins* oppression to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased vnto *Israel*, there passed 40. yeares. In which time the Kingdome of *Argos* which had continued 544. yeares was translated to *Myceana* : The translation of this Kingdome *Pausanias* writeth to this effect : After *Danaus*, *Lyncus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the children of *Abas* the sonne of *Lyncus* diuide the Kingdome : of which *Acrisius* being eldest held *Argos* it selfe : *Praxus* his brother possesse *Ephyræ* or *Corinth*, and *Thrynius*, and other Cities with all the Territorie towards the Sea, there being many monuments in *Thrynius*, which witnesseth *Praxus* possession, saith *Pausanias*.

Now *Acrisius* was foretold by an Oracle, that hee should be slaine by the sonne of his Daughter *Danae* : whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Ladie being exceeding faire, it is so fained that *Iupiter* turned him selfe into a golden shower : which falling into her lap, begat her with child : the meaning whereof was, that some Kings sonne, or other Worthie man, corrupted her keepers with gold : and enioyed her, of whom *Perseus* was borne : who when he grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith *Cresius*) or in shewing his grand-father the inuention of the *discus*, or leaden ball, slew him vnwillingly. After this *Perseus*, to auoide the infamie of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdomes with his Vncle *Praxus* : and built *Myceana*. This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise : and that shee was inclosed in a brazen vault, vnder the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Vpon this close custodie *Pharac* hath this wittie obseruation.

*Inclusam DANAEN, turris abenea,  
Robustæq; fores, & vigilum Canum  
Tristes exceubia, munierant satis*

*Non æturnis ab adulteris :  
Si non ACRISIUM Virginis abdite  
Custodem panidium, IVPITER & VENUS  
Rigissent, fore enim tutum iter & patens,  
Conuerso in pretium Deo.*

*Aurum per medios ire satellites,  
Et perumpere amat sacra, potentius  
Ictu fulmineo.*

The brazen Tower with doores close barred,  
And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard,  
Kept safe the Maidenhead

OF *DANAË* from secret loue :  
Till smiling *VENUS*, and wise *Ioue*  
Beguild her Fathers deard.  
For chang'd into a golden shower,  
The God into her lap did powre

Himselfe, and tooke his pleasure.  
Through gardes and stonie walls to breake,  
The thunder-bolt is farre more weake,  
Than is a golden treacle.

The

### The first Kings of the Argiues were these.

*Inachus* the first King, who beganne to raigne in the first yeare of *Iacob*, and the 61. of *Isaac* : from which time to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Castor* misreckoneth 400. yeares. T his Kingdome before the translation, *Eusebius* accounteth to haue stood 544. yeares, others but at 417. It was the Daughter of this *Inachus* : whom the *Egyptians* called *Ipsi*.

*Phoroneus,  
Apis,  
Argus,  
Piræus,  
Phorbas,  
Triopas,  
Crotopus,  
Sthenelus,  
Danaus,  
Lyncus,  
Abas,  
Acrisius,  
Pelops.*

After the translation to *Myceana*, *Mar. Scotus* finds these Kings.

*Perseus,  
Sthenelus,  
Eurysthenus,*

*Atræus* and *Thyestes* The sonnes of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia* : *Atræus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.

*Agamemnon,  
Ægysibius,  
Orestes,  
Tisamenus,  
Pentibulus and  
Cometes.*

Of these *Kings Mercator* and *Bunting* leaue out the two first, and the last : beginning with *Eurysthenus* : and ending with *Pentibulus*. In *Tisamenus* time the *Heracidae* returned into *Peloponnesus* : of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Deborah*, were *Midas* who reigned in *Phrygia* : and *Isis* who built *Ilium* : with others mentioned in our *Chronological* table, as contemporaries with *Deborah*.

p. V.

OF *GIDEON*, and of *DAEDALVS*, *SPHINX*, *MINOS*, and others  
that liued in this Age.

**D**E *DEBORAH* and *Barac* being dead, the *Midianites* assisted by the *Amalekites* infested *Israel*. For when vnder a *Judge* who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had inioyed any quiet or prosperitie : the *Judge* was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatrie. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did so master them in a short time (the hand of God being withheld from their defence) as to saue themselves, they crept into caues of the mountaines, and other the like places of hardest access : their enemies possessing all the plaines and fruitfull vallies : and in harvest time by themselves and the multitude of their cattle destroying all that grew vpon : covering the fields as thick as grasse-hoppers : which seruitude lasted seauen yeares.

Jud. 6.

Oo 3

Then

Then the Lord by his Angell stirred vp *Gideon* the sonne of *Josab*, afterward called *Jerubbab*: whose feare and unwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearken him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precisely set down in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of Hosts; Each of these 300. by *Gideons* appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terror than force, with which he gaue the great Armie of their enemies an alarm: who hearing so loude a noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteemed the Armie of *Israel* to be infinite, and stricken with a sodaine feare, they all fled without a stroke stricken: and were slaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slaine. In his returne the *Ephraimites* began to quarrell with *Gideon* because hee made warre without their assistance, being then greedie of glorie, the victorie being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprize) would no doubt haue beene their selues hap-  
 10 pie by being neglected. But *Gideon* appealing them with a mild answer followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tired with trauaile, and wearie euen with the slaughtering of his enemies, he desired reliefe from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end that (his men being refreshed) he might ouer-take the other two Kingdoms of the *Midianites*: which had sued themselves by flight. For they were foure Princes of the Nations which had invaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which  
 20 were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Salmunna* which fled.

*Gideon* being denied by them of *Succoth* fought the like reliefe from the inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatened therefore the reuenge, which in his returne from the prosecution of the other two Princes he performed: to wit, that hee would teare the flesh of those of *Succoth* with *Thornes* and *Briars*, and destroy the Inhabitants and Citie of *Penuel*: Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse reliefe to their bretheren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victorie: I may presume to make coniecture; it seems likely, first that those Cities set ouer *Jordan*, and in the way of all invasions to be made by the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, and *Midianites*, into *Israel*, had either  
 30 made their owne peace with those Nations, and were not spoiled by them: or else they knowing that *Zebah* and *Salmunna* were escaped with a great part of their armie, might feare their reuenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men: as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the warre, that both enie and maligne others, if they performe any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safetie of their owne Countrey, though themselves may be assured to beare a part of the smart of contrarie successe. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Countrey should suffer hazzard, and want, than that such men as they mislike should be the Authors or actors of any glorie or good  
 40 to either.

Now *Gideon*, how or wherefoever it were that hee refreshed himselfe and his wearie and hungrie Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunitie, and pursued his former victorie to the vttermost: and finding *Zebah* and *Salmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no farther attempt vpon them) he againe surprised them, & slaughtered those  
 50 15000. remaining; hauing put to the sword in the former attempt 120000. and withall hee tooke *Zebah* and *Salmunna* prisoners: whom because themselves had exequuted *Gideons* bretheren before at *Tabor*, he caused them both to be slaine: or (as it is written) at their owne request flew them with his owne hands: his Son whom he first commanded to doe it, refusing it, and in his returne from the consummation of this meruailous victorie, hee tooke reuenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiuing no offence committed against him: either by strangers or by his bretheren the *Israelites*. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own children found soon after his death, according to that which hath been said before. The  
 debts

A place in Ba-  
 san as it is  
 thought.  
 Ind. 8. 10.

debts of crueltie and mercie are neuer left vn-satisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of *Succoth* with great and vnusall torments, so were his owne 70. sonnes, al but one; murdered by his owne bastard *Abimelech*. The like Analogie is obscured by the *Rab-*  
 10 bines, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought vpon the *Aegyptians*, who hauing caused the male children of the *Hebrewes* to bee slaine, others of them to be cast into the riuer and drowned: God rewarded them euen with the like measure, destroying their owne first borne by his Angell, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his armie in the redde sea. And hercof a world of examples might bee giuen, both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

10 In the end so much did the people reuerence *Gideon* in the present for this victorie, and their owne deliuerance, as they offered him the Soueraigntie ouer them; and to establish him in the Government; which he refused, answering; *I will not reigne ouer you, neither shall my childe reigne ouer you, but the Lord shall &c.* But he desired the people that they would bestow on him the golden ea-rings, which euery man had gotten. For the *Israelites* neighbors, and mixt with the *Midianites* vsed to wear them: the weight of all which was a thousand and seven hundred Shekels of gold, which makes of ours. 2380. liif we follow the account of the Shekle vulgar:  
 20 And because he conuerted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew like, purple, scarlet, and fine linnen belonging to the High Priest onely, and set vp the same in his owne Citie of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatrie, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house.

There was another kinde of *Ephod* besides this of the High Priests which the *Le-*  
 30 uites vsed, and so did *David* when he daunced before the *Arke*: and *Samuel* while he was yet young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demaund how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300. men to de-  
 40 stroy 120000. of their enemies: and afterward 15000. which remained, wee may remember that although *Gideon* with 300. gaue the first alarme, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder; yet all the rest of the armie came into the slaughteer, and pursuite; for it is written; *That the men of Israel being gathered together out*  
 50 *of Nephtalie, and out of Asher, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites:* for this armie *Gideon* left in the tents behind him, when he went downe to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyse of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution.

There liued with *Gideon* *Aegreus* the sonne of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*: *Euristheus* King of *Mycene*: *Atreus* and *Thyestes* the sonnes of *Pelopon*, who bare domi-  
 60 nion ouer a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Euristheus*; the Kingdome of *Mycene* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus* who, holding his brother in ienialousie as an attempter both of his wife and crowne; slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be dreit did therewith feast their fa-  
 70 ther. But this crueltie was not vnteuenged: For both *Atreus* and his sonne *Agamemnon* were slaine by a base sonne of *Thyestes*, yea the grandchildren, and all the linage of *Atreus* died by the same sword.

In *Gideons* time also those things were supposed to haue beeie done which are written of *Dadalus* and *Icarus*: *Dadalus* they say, hauing slaine his Nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Minos* King of *Crete* for succour, where for his excellence workemanshippe he was greatly esteemed, hauing made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth* like vnto that of *Ae-*  
 80 *gypt*. Afterward he was said to haue framed an artificiall Cowe for *Poliphuz* the *Queen*; that she, being in loue with a faire Bull, might by putting her selfe into the Cowe satiate her lust, a thing no lesse vn-natural than incredible, had not that shame-  
 90 lesse *Emperour* *Demitian* exhibited the like beaustly spectacle openly before the people of *Rome* in his *Amphitheater*; of purpose as may seeme to verifie the olde fable. For so it appears by those verses of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew as a goodly Pageant in those viciou times.

Iun. 11. 11.

*Iunctam Paphiaen Disce credite Tauri  
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.  
Nec se miratur Caesar longeva vetustas  
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.*

But concerning that which is reported of *Paphiaen*, *Servius* makes a lesse vnhonest construction of it, thinking that *Daddus* was of her counsell, and her *Pandar* for the enticing of a *Secretary* of *Amos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with child, and that the being deliuered of two sonnes, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Amos*, it was fained that she was deliuered of the *Minotaur*, halfe a Man and halfe a Bull. But this practise being discovered, and *Daddus* appointed, to be slaine, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicily*: in which passage he made such expedition, as it was fained that he fashioned wings for himselfe and his sonne to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with boats which had oares onely, *Daddus* framed sailes both for his owne boate, and for his sonnes, by which he outwent those that had him in chase. Vpon which new inuention *Icarus* bearing himselfe ouerbold was ouerborne and drowned.

It is also written of *Daddus* that he made *Images* that could moue themselves, and goe, because he carued them with legs, armes and hands, whereas those that preceded him could onely present the bodie and head of those men whom they cared to counterfayt, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarke* who had seene some of those that were called the *Images* of *Daddus* found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the *Theban*, the sonne of *Apollo*, & *Terpsichore* who instructed *Thamiris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. Hee wrate of the Creation, of the Sunne and Moones course, and of the generation of flying Creatures, but in the end he was slaine by *Hercules*: his scholler with his owne harpe.

Againe, in this age those things spoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus* are thought to haue bene performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the *Carinthian* Armie ledde by *Oedipus* ouercome. But that which was written of her 39 propounding of riddles to those whom shee mastered, was meant by the rockie and vnaccessible mountaine neere *Thebes* which she defended, and by *Oedipus* dissoluing her probleme, his victorie ouer her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the bodie of a Lyon for her crueltie. But that which *Palephatus* reports of *Sphinx* were more probable did not the time disprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite* and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despitefull part, with her owne troope she held the mountaine by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharpe warre vpon the *Thebans* till by *Oedipus* ouerthrowen. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharpe warre 40 with the *Megarians*, and *Athenians*, because his sonne *Androgeus* was slaine by them. He posset himselfe of *Megara* by the treason of *Scylla*, daughter of *Nisus* the King. He was long Master of the sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of deliuering him euery yeere seuen of their sonnes: which tribute *Theseus* released as shall bene shewed when I come to the time of the next Iudge *Thala*. In the end hee was slaine at *Camirinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicily* by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Daddus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giuer to those Islands.

To this time are referred many dedes of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Anteus* the gyant, who was said to haue 60. and odd cubites of length, which though *Plutarke* doth confirme, reporting that there was such a bodie found by *Sertorius* the Roman 50 in *Exhis*, where *Hercules* slew *Anteus*: yet for my selfe I thinke it but a lowd lie. That *Anteus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, *Euſebius* affirmeth: and because he cast so many men to the ground, hee was fained to bee the sonne of the Earth. *Plinie* saith that he inhabited neere the gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. S.

*Augustine*

*Augustine* affirms that this *Hercules* was not of Greece, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* all which he ouercame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a subtile Sophist.

*Aug. de ciuit. di. 11. c. 12. Euſebius chron.*

§. VI.

Of the expedition of the Argonauts.



About the elcuenth yeere of *Gideon*, was that famous expedition of the Argonauts: of which many fabulous discourses haue bene written, the summe of which is this.

*Pelias* the sonne of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers side to *Eson*, who was *Iason* father, reigning in *Iolcus* a towne of *Thessalie*, was warned by the Oracle of *Apollo* to take heede of him that ware but one shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, inuited *Iason* to him, who coming hastily, lost one shoe in passing ouer a brooke: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an Oracle should aduise him to take heede: to which question when *Iason* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Colchis*, to fetch the golden fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to vndertake that seruice. Therefore *Iason* prepared for the voyage, hauing a shippe built by *Argus*, the sonne of *Phryxus*, by the Counsell of *Pallas*: wherein hee procured all the brauest men of Greece to saile with him: as *Typhus* the Master of the shippe, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Caſtor* and *Pollux* the sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Pelias*, sonnes of *Æacus*, and fathers of *Aiax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged sonnes of *Boreas*, *Amphiarus* the great Southſayer, *Melæger* of *Calidon* that slew the great wilde boare: *Alcalaphus* and *Ialmenius* of *Almenus* the sonnes of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last warre of *Troy*, *Læertes* the father of *Ulyſſes*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgine, *Idas* and *Lyncæus* the sonnes of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Caſtor* and *Pollux* slew *Caſtor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slaine themselves: *Lyncæus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Iupiter* with lightning.

These and many other went with *Iason* in the ship *Argo*: in whose prow was a table of the beech of *Dodona*, which could speake. They arriued first at *Lemnos*; the women of which Island, hauing slaine all the males, purposing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were neuertheless contented to take their pleasure of the Argonauts. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: ouer whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*: who entertained them friendly: but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night they were driuen by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the same Haue, nor being knowne by the *Doliones*, to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which meanes they fell to blowes, inso much that the Argonauts slew the most part of the *Doliones* together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by daylight they perceived, with many teares they solemnized his funnell. Then departed they againe and arriued shortly in *Myſia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the sonne of *Elateus*, who went to seeke *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was rauished by the *Nymphes*.

*Polyphemus* built a towne in *Myſia*, called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Myſia* the Argonauts sailed into *Bythina*, which then was peopled by the *Bebryes*, the auncient inhabitants of the Country, ouer whom *Amicus* the sonne of *Neptune* was then King. He being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight with him, at whorle battes, in which kinde of fight hee had slaine many, and was now himselfe slaine by *Pollux*. The *Bebryes* in reuenge of his death flew all vpon *Pollux*, but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sailed from hence to *Salmydeſſus*, a towne in *Thrace* (perhaps of *Thracia Adriatica*) wherein *Phineus* a Southſayer dwelt, who was blinde and vexed with the

the

*Herind. Plat. Pauſ. lib. 9.*

*Strab. lib. 9.*

*Arif. poll. 1.*

*Euſeb. in chr.*

the *Harpyes*. The *Harpyes* were said to be a kinde of birds, which had the faces of women and foule long clawes, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for *Phineus*, came flying in, and deuouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Argonautes* craued his aduise, and direction for their voyage: you shall doe well (quoth he) first of all to deliuer me from the *Harpyes*, and then afterwards to aske my Counsaile. Whereupon they caused the table to be couered, and meat set on; which was no sooner set downe, then that presently in came the *Harpyes*, and played their accustomed pranks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men saw this, they drew their swords, and pursued them through the ayre; some say 10 that both the *Harpyes* and the young men died of wearinesse in the flight, and pursuit. But *Apollonius* saith that the *Harpyes* did covenant with the youthes, to doe no more harme to *Phineus*, and were thereupon dismissed: for this good turne *Phineus* gaue them informations of the way, and aduertised them withal of the dangerous rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of windes running together, did shut vp the passage: wherefore he willed them to put a pigeon before them into the passage: and if that passed safe, then to adventure after her: if not, then by no means to hazard themselves in vaine. They did so, and perceiving that the pigeon had only lost a piece of her taile, they obserued the next opening of the rocks and then rowing with all their might, passed through safe, onely the end of the poepe was 20 bruised.

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* haue stood still: for the Gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a shippe, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonautes* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the riuer *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteously. Here *Idmon* a Soothsayer of their company was slaine by a wild boare; also here *Typhis* died: and *Ancus* vnderooke to steare the shippe. So they passed by the riuer *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucasus*, and came to the riuer *Phasis*, which runnes through the land of *Colchis*: when they were entred the haven, *Iason* went to *Aetes* the King of *Colchis*, and told him the Commandement of *Pelias*, and cause of his coming, desiring him to deliuer the golden Fleece, which *Aetes*, as the Fable 30 goeth, promised to doe, if he alone would yoke together two brazen hooff bulles, and plowing the ground with them, sowe dragons teeth, which *Minerva* had giuen to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sowe at *Thebes*. These bulles were great and fierce, and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had giuen them to *Aetes*.

Whilest *Iason* was in a great perplexitie about this taske, *Medea* the daughter of *Aetes*, fell into a most vehement loue of him, so farre forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, she came priuily to him, promising her helpe, if he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Iason* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gaue she to him a medicine wherewith she bad him to annoint both his bodie and his armour, which would preserue him from their violence: further she told him, that armed men would arise out from the ground, from the teeth which hee should sowe, and set vpon him. To remedie which inconvenience, shee bad him throw stones amongst them as soone as they came vp thicke, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that he might easily slay them. *Iason* followed her counsaile; whereto when the euent had answered, hee againe demanded the Fleece. But *Aetes* was so farre from approving such his desire, that hee deuised how to destroy the *Argonautes*, and burne their shippe, which *Medea* perceiving, went to *Iason*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung vpon an oake in the groue of *Mars*, where they say it was kept by a Dragon, that neuer slept. This Dragon was by the *Magique* of *Medea* cast into a sleepe: so taking 40 away the golden Fleece, she went with *Iason* into the shippe *Argo*; hauing with her, her brother *Abfirtus*.

*Aetes* vnderstanding the practises of *Medea*, prouided to pursue the ship, whom when

when *Medea* perceived to be at hand, she slew her brother, & cutting him in pieces she scattered his limbes in diuerse places, of which *Aetes* finding some, was faine to seeke out the rest, and suffer his daughter to passe: the parts of his sonne hee buried in a place which thereupon he called *Tomis*; the Greeke word signifieth *Disuision*. Afterwards he sent many of his subiectes to seeke the shippe *Argo*, threatening that if they brought not backe *Medea* they should suffer in her stead. In the meane while the *Argonautes* were driuen about the Seas, and were come to the Riuer *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italie*.

*Iupiter* offended with the slaughter of *Abfirtus*, vexed them with a great tempest, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the Ilands *Abfirtides*, there the shippe *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them, and said that the anger of *Iupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Ausonia*, and were cleansed by *Circe*, from the murder of *Abfirtus*. Now they thereupon sayling betwene the coastes of *Lybia*, and *Gallia*, and passing through the sea of *Sardinia* and along the coast of *Hetruria*, came to the Ile of *Aea*, whereto *Circe* dwelt, who cleansed them. Thence they layed by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other side sang so well that he stayed them. Only *Butes* swamme out vnto them, whom *Pennis* rauished, and carried to *Lybiuum* in *Sicilie* to dwell.

10 Having past the *Syrens*, they came betwene *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the stragling rocks which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoke. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conueyed them safe through at the appointment of *Iuno*. So they coasted *Sicilie* where the beues of the Sunne were, and touched at *Coreyra* the Iland of the *Phaeaces*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Meane while the men of *Colchis* that had bene sent by *Aetes* in quest of the shippe *Argo*, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger if they fulfilled not his will, betooke themselves to new habitations: some of them dwelt in the mountaines of *Coreyra*, others in the Ilands *Abfirtides*, and some coming to the *Phaeaces*, there found the shippe *Argo*, and demanded *Medea* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made answer, that if hee were not *Iasons* 30 wife they should haue her, but if shee were already married he would not take her from her husband. *Arete* the wife of *Alcinous* hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchis* not daring to returne home, stayed with the *Phaeaces*; so the *Argonautes* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iland *Minos* reigned, who had a man of brasse giuen to him (as some of the Fable say) by *Vulcan*. This man had one veine in his bodie reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was closed vp with a brazen naile, his name was *Talus*: his custome wasto runne thrice a day about the Iland for the defence of it. When hee saw the shippe *Argo* passe by, he threw stones at it, but *Medea* with her *Magique* destroyed him. Some say that he slew him by potions, which made him madde; others that 40 promising to make him immortal, he drew out the naile that stopp his veine, by which means all his blood ranne out, and he died; others there are that say he was slaine by *Paan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the *Argonautes* sailed to *Aegina* where they were faine to fight for fresh water. And lastly from *Aegina* they sailed by *Eubaea* and *Loeris* home to *Iolcus*, where they arrived, hauing spent foure whole moneths in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of *Iason*, vnderstand the myserie of the Philosophers Stone, called the golden Fleece, to which also other superflue *Chymists*, draw the twelue labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks that by the golden Fleece, was ment a booke of Parcement, which is of sheepe skinne, and therefore called golden, 50 because it was taught therein how other mettals might be transmuted. Others would signifie by *Iason* wisdom, and moderation, which ouercommeth all perils: but that which is most probable is the opinion of *Deralius*, that the Storie of such a passage was true, and that *Iason* with the rest went indeed to robbe *Colchis*, to which they might arriue by boate. For not farre from *Caucasus* there are certaine steepes falling

falling torrents which with downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world, and the people there inhabiting vse to set many fleeces of wooll in those descents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water passeth through, which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many rocks, straits, sands, and Currents, in the passage betwene *Greece* and the bottome of *Pontus*, are Poetically conuerted into those herie bulles, the armed men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleepe, and the like. The man of brasse, the *Syrrens*, *Seyls* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediterranean* sea, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, vnder poeticall moralls: all which *Homer* afterward vsed (the man of brasse excepted) in the description of *Vlysses* his trauailes on the same Inland-seas.

## §. VII.

Of *Abimelech*, *Tholab*, and *Iair*, and of the *Lapytha*, and of *Theseus*, *Hippolytus* &c.



FTER the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his base sonne begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembreing what offers had bene made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his three perpetual Princes; and as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modestie) that some of his brethren might take on them the Soueraigntie, praefixed with the inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was naturie) to make election of himselfe, who being easily moued to the glorie, to haue a King of their owne, redily condescended: and the better to inable *Abimelech*, they borrowed 70. pieces of siluer of their Idoll *Baalberith*, with which treasure he hyred a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assit his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his 70. brethren the sonnes of *Gideon*, begotten on his wiues, of which he had many, of all which none escaped but *Iotham* the youngest, who hid himselfe from his present furie: all which hee executed on one stone, a crueltie exceeding all that hath bene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose reuenges are without date and for euertlasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which labourerth the preseruacion of euery being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beautie which neuer dieth, and with loue that hath no end. All other passions and affections by which the soules of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begeth euery vice, and is it selfe the childe and darling of *Satan*, looketh only towards the ends by it selfe set downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane soeuer) which may serue it: remembreing nothing, what soeuer iustice, pietie, right or religion can offer and alleadge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weaknesse of the vnder takers, and rather praisth the adventure than feareth the like successe. It was the first sinne that the world had, and beganne in *Angels*: for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The punishment also preceeded his creation, yet hath the Diuell which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one out of date, and to praefice the other, as besetting euery age, and mans condition.

*Iotham* the youngest of *Gideons* sonnes hauing escaped the present perill, fought by his best perswasions to alienate the *Sechemites*, from the assitting of this mercilesse tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happie estate of moderate subiection, had refused to receiue as vnlawfull, what others had not power to giue, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his owne peculiar people)

had appointed them by whome and how to be gouerned. This hee taught them by the Oliue, which contented it selfe with it's fatnesse, the Figge tree with sweetnesse, and the Vine with the good iuyce it had: the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut downe all the rest, and accepted the Soueraigntie. He also foretold them by a Propheticall spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and consume the Cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an easie matter to call those men backe whom rage without right ledde on) *Gad* the sonne of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem*, from the seruice of *Abimelech*: who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and massacred it; and in conclusion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll *Baalberith* was worshipped; and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the Castle or Tower of *Teber*, himselfe was wounded in the head with a stone throwne ouer the wall by a woman, and finding himselfe mortally brased, he commaunded his owne page to pierce his bodie thereby to auoid the dishonour of being slaine by so feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* vsurped the Gouernment, the *Lapytha* and *Centaur*es made warre against the *Thebanes*. These Nations were defended of *Apollon* and were the first in those parts that deuised to mannage horses, to bridle and to fit them: in so much as when they first came downe from the mountains of *Pindus*, into the plains, those which had neuer seene horsemens before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the *Mexicans*, when *Ferdinando Cortes* the Spanish first invaded that Empire.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Tholab* of *Issachar* gouerned *Israel* 23. yeeres, and after him *Iair* the *Gileadite* 22. yeeres, who seemeth to bee descended of *Iair* the sonne of *Manasse*, who in *Moses* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his owne name, *Haboth Iair*. For to this *Iair* there remained thirtie of those Cities, which his auncester had recovered from the *Amorites*. Of these Iudges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all their times, *Israel* liued without disturbance and in peace.

When *Iair* iudged *Israel*, *Priamus* beganne to reigne in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sacked *Alcum*, was carried away captiue with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ranfome, hee rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and adorned *Troy*; and so farre enlarged his Dominions, as hee became the supreme Lord in effect of all *Asia* the lesse. He married *Hecuba* the daughter of *Cisseus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (saith *Cicero*) fiftie sonnes, whereof *Laocete* by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recouer his aunt *Hesione*,ooke *Helen* the wife of *Menelaus* the cause of the warre which followed.

*Theseus* the tenth King of *Athens* began likewise to reigne in the beginning of *Iair*: some writers call him the sonne of *Neptunus* and *Aethra*: but *Plutark* in the storie of his life findes him begotten by *Aegeus*, of whom the *Graecian* sea betwene it and *Asia* the lesse tooke name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so farre as hee forst them to pay him leauen of their sonnes euery yeere for tribute, whom hee inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to bee deuoured by the monster *Minotaur*: because belike the sonnes of *Taurus*, which hee begat on *Pisiphae* the Queene, had the charge of them: Among these leauen *Theseus* thrust himselfe, not doubting by his valour to deliuer the rest, and to free his Countie of that stancie occasioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos* his sonne.

And hauing posselt himselfe of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, hee receiued from her a bottome of thred, by which hee conducted himselfe through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the Citie of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by meane whereof hauing slaine *Minotaur*, hee found a readie way to returne. But whereas his father *Aegeus* had giuen order, that if hee came backe with victorie and in safetie; hee should vse a white saile in signe thereof, and not that mournfull blacke saile, vnder

which they left the port of *Athens*. This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Aegus* despoiling the ships of *Theſeus* with a blacke faile caſt himſelfe over the rockes into the ſea, afterward called of his name *Aegum*.

One of the firſt famous actes of *Theſeus*, was the killing of *Seyron*, who kept a paſſage betweene *Megara* and the *Peloponneſian Iſlands*, and threw all whom hee maſtered into the ſea, from the high rockes. Afterward hee did the like to *Cercyon*, by wreſtling, who vſed by that Arte to kill others. Hee alſo ridde the Country of *Procrustes*, who vſed to bend downe the ſtrong limbes of two trees, and ſtrained by cordes ſuch as hee tooke, part of them to one and part to the other bough, and by their ſpringing backe tare them aſunder. So did hee roote out *Periphetes* and other miſchievous theeves and murderers. Hee ouerthrew the armie of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vaſſations, entred the Territorie of *Athens*. *Theſeus* hauing taken their Queene *Hippolyta* priſoner, begat on her *Hippolytus*; with whom afterward his mother in law *Phadra*, falling in loue, and hee reſolving to abuſe his fathers bed, *Phadra* perſwaded *Theſeus* that his ſonne offered to force her: after which it is ſaid that *Theſeus* beſought *Neptune* to reuenge this wrong of his ſonnes, by ſome violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of aduantage ſent out his Sea-Calues, as *Hippolytus* paſſed by the ſea ſhore, and ſo affrighted his horſes, as caſting the Coach ouer, hee was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which miſerable and vnderſerued deſtine, when *Phadra* had heard of, ſhee ſtrangled herſelfe. After which it is ſaid, that *Diana* entreated *Aſculapius* to ſet *Hippolytus* his pieces together, and to reſtore him to life: which done, becauſe hee was chaſte, ſhee ledde him with her into *Italie*, to accompanie her in her hunting, and field ſports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his father ſought his life, thinking to eſcape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and receiued many woundes in forcing his paſſage and eſcape; which woundes *Aſculapius*, to wit, ſome ſkillfull Philician, or Chirurgeon healed againe, after which hee paſt into *Italy*, where hee liued with *Diana*, that is the life of a hunter, in which hee moſt delighted. But of theſe ancient prophane Stories, *Plutarch* ſaith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their deſcriptions of the world, where they finde many vaſt places whereof they know nothing, fill the ſame with ſtrange beaſtes, birdes, and fiſhes, and with *Mathematicall* lines, ſo doe the *Græcians* Hiſtorians and Poets, imbroder and intermixe the tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous diſcourſes. True it is, that *Theſeus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom hee made his patterne, and was the firſt that gathered the *Athenians*, from being diſperſt in thinne and ragged villages: in recompence whereof, and for deuſing them lawes to liue vnder, and in order, hee was by the beggerly, mutable, and vngratefull multitude, in the end baniſhed. Some ſay *per Oſtreiſmum*, by the Lawe of Lottes, or names written on ſhelles, which was a deuice of his own.

Hee ſtole *Helen* (as they ſay) when ſhe was 50. yeeres olde, from *Aphidna*, which *Citie Caſtor* and *Pallus* ouerturned, when they followed after *Theſeus* to reouer their ſiſter. *Eraſſtratus* and *Pausanias* write that *Theſeus* begat her with child at Argos, where ſhee erected a Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that tale vnlikely to be true, and ſo doth *Ouid*, *Nō tamen ex facti fruſtum tulit ille petum* &c. The rape *Euebius* findes in the firſt of *Iair*, who gouerned *Iſrael* 22. yeeres, to whom ſucceeded *Iephth* or *Iephth* fixe yeeres, to whom *Iſaan* who ruled ſeaſen yeeres, and then *Habdon* eight yeere: in whole time was the fall of *Troy*. So as, if *Theſeus* had a childe by her in the firſt of *Iair*, (at which time wee muſt count her no leſſe than ſiſteene yeere olde, for the women did not commonly beginne ſo young as they doe now) ſhee was then at leaſt two and ſiſtie yeere olde at the deſtruction of *Troy*: and when ſhee was ſtoolen by *Paris* eight and thirte: but here in the *Chronologers* doe not agree. Yet *Euebius* and *Bunting* with *Halicarnasſeus* doe

Strab. li. 9.  
Paus. in Cor.

Id. iſt. Helen.

Jud. xi. 3.

doe in effect conſent, that the *Citie* was entred, and burnt in the firſt yeere of *Demophon* King of *Athens*, the ſuccellour of *Aſteſchus*, the ſuccellour of *Theſeus*, ſeaſeateene dayes before the *Summer Tropique*, and that about the eleuenth of *September* following, the *Troians* croſt the *Helleſpont* into *Thrace*, & wintred there, and in the next ſpring that they nauigated into *Sclia*, where wintred the ſecond yeere, the next ſummer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But *S. Anguſtine* hath it otherwiſe, that when *Polyphides* gouerned *Sicyon*, *Mneſtheus* *Athens*, *Tautanes* *Aſſyria*, *Habdon* *Iſrael*, then *Aeneas* arrived in *Italy*, transporting with him in twentie ſhippes the remainder of the *Troians*: but the difference is not great: and hercof more at large in the ſtorie of *Troy* at hand.

Pont. Chron. Fuſt. Cloues. H. d. 1.

Ang. de ci. dei. l. 10. c. 19.

In *Sicyonia* *Phellus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yeeres, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His ſuccellours, *Adraſtus* who reigned foure yeeres, and *Polyphides* who reigned thirteene, are accounted to the time of *Iair*, ſo is alſo *Mneſtheus* King of *Athens*, and *Atræus*, who held a great part of *Peloponneſus*. In *Aſſyria*, during the gouernment of theſe two peaceable Iudges, *Mitreus* and after him *Tautanes* reigned. In *Egypte* *Amenophis*, the ſonne of *Ramſes*, and afterwards *Annenenſis*.

### §. VII.

Of the warre of Thebes which was in this age.

**I**N this age was the warre of *Thebes*, the moſt ancient that euer *Greece* Poet or Hiſtorian wrote of. Wherefore the *Romane* Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly againſt the *Peripateticks*) that the world had a beginning, vrgeth them with this obiection.

—Si nulla fuit genitalis origo  
Rei unquam & mundi, ſemperque æterna ſuere,  
Cur ſuprà bellum Thebanum, & funera Troia,  
Nōn alius alij quoque res occurrere poeſe?

If all this world had no originall,  
But things haue euer beene as now they are:  
Before the liege of *Thebes* or *Troyes* laſt fall,  
Why did no Poet ſing ſome elder warre?

It is true that in theſe times *Greece* was very ſaluage, the inhabitants being often chased from place to place, by the captaines of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon hee dwelt his owne longer than hee could hold it by ſtrong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercoure they vſed little, neither did they plant many trees, or ſow more corne than was neceſſarie for their ſuſtenance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who meaſures the vawe of gold and braſſe by the worth in cattel; ſaying that the golden armour of *Glaucus*, was worth 100. beeces, and the copper armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Robberies by land and ſea were common and without ſhame, and to ſtale horſes or kine was the vſual exerciſe of their great men. Their townes were not many, whereof thoſe that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycena* the principal *Citie* in *Peloponneſus* was a very little thing, and it may wel be thought that the reſt were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and though in ſome ſmall townes of that halfe Ile of *Peloponneſus*, the inhabitants might haue enioyed quietneſſe within their narrow bounds; as likewiſe did the

*Athenians* because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in general was very rude it will easily appeare to such as consider, what *Thucydides* the greatest of their Historians hath written to this effect, in the præface to his Historie. Wherefore, as in these latter times, idle *Choniders* use when they want good matter, to fill whole bookes with reports of great frosts, or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to reade, so did they who spake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember onely the great floods which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*: or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monsters, of adulterie committed by their Gods, and the mightie men which they begat, without writing ought that fauoured of humanitie before the time of the warre of *Thebes*: the brieue whereof is this.

*Oedipus* the sonne of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, hauing bene cast forth when hee was an infant, because an Oracle foretold what cuill should come to passe by him, did afterwards in a narrow passage contending for the way, slay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who hee was. Afterward hee became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queene *Iocasta*, called by *Homer* *Epicaste*: on whom, not knowing her to bee his mother, hee begat two sonnes, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceesse of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, hee vnderstood the grieuous murder and incest hee had committed, he tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Citie. His wife and mother did hang her selfe. Some say, that *Oedipus* hauing his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his sonnes, because they suffered their father to bee cast out of the Towne, and ayded him not. Howsoever it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them should reigne one yeere, and the other another yeere; and so by course rule interchangeably: but this appointment was ill obserued. For when *Polynices* had after a yeeres Government reigned the Kingdome to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the first yeere, hee refused to giue over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled vnto *Argos*, where *Adrastus* the sonne of *Talam* then reigned, vnto whose palace comming by night, hee was driuen to seeke lodging in an out-houise, on the backside.

There hee met with *Tydeus* the sonne of *Oeneus*, who was fledde from *Calidon*: with whom struing about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. *Adrastus* hearing the noyse, came forth and tooke vp the quarrell. At what time perceiuing in the shield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lyon, hee remembered an old Oracle, by which hee was aduised to giue his two daughters in marriage, to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly hee did bestowe his daughter *Argia* vpon *Tydeus*, and *Dei- phile* vpon *Polynices*, promising to restore them both to their Countries. To this purpose leuying an armie, and assembling as many valiant Captaines as he could draw to follow him, hee was desirous among others to carrie *Amphiarus* the sonne of *Oideus* a great Soothsayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiarus*, who is said to haue foreseene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines should escape, saue onely *Adrastus*, did both vterly refuse to bee one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eryphile* the wife of *Amphiarus*, offering vnto her a very faire bracelet, vpon condition that shee should cause her husband to assist him. The Soothsayer knowing what should worke his destinie, forbade his wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eye so precious a iewel, that shee could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controuersie, betwene *Amphiarus* and *Adrastus*, was by way of compromise put vnto the decision of *Eryphile*, either of them being bound by solemne oath to stand to her appointment: shee ordered the matter so, as a woman should, that shee loued a bracelet better than her husband. Hee now finding that it was more easie to foresee than auoide destinie, sought such comfort

fort as reuenge might afford, giuing in charge to his sonnes, that when they came to full age, they should kill their mother and make strong warre vpon the *Thebans*.

Now had *Adrastus* assembled all his forces, of which the seauen chiefe leaders were, himselfe, *Amphiarus*, *Capanus*, and *Hippomedon* (in steade of whom some name *Meiſſeus*) all *Argines*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Aeolian*, and *Parthenopaus* the *Arcadian* sonne of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the armie came to the *Nemean* wood, they met a woman whom they desired to helpe them to some water, she hauing a child in her armes, laid it downe, and led the *Argines* to a spring: but ere shee returned, a Serpent had slaine the child. This woman was *Hippolyte* the daughter of *Thebas* the *Lemnian*, whom they would haue saued when the women of the Isle slew all the males by conspiracie, intending to lead an *Amaconian* life. For such her pietie, the *Lemnian* wiues did sell her to *Pyrrates*, and the *Pyrrates* to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Country about *Nemaa*, whose yonger sonne *Opheltus* or *Archemorus*, shee did nurse, and loſt as is shewed before. When vpon the child's death shee hid her selfe for feare of her maiſter, *Amphiarus* told her sonnes where they should finde her: and the *Argines* did both kill the Serpent which had slaine the child, and in memorie of the chauce, did institute solemne funeral games called *Nemean*, wherein *Adrastus* wanne the prize with his swift horse *Aion*, *Tydeus* with whorle bats, *Amphiarus* at running and quitoing, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Parthenopaus* at shooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the first institution of the *Nemean* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who thinke that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus*, a *Laedemonian*. Some say by *Hercules*, when hee had slaine the *Nemean* Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here set downe.

From *Nemaa* the *Argines* marching onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent Embassadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Couenants betwene him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was thoroughly resolute to holde what hee had, as long as hee could: which *Tydeus* perceiuing and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the *Thebans*, hee made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them, not without much cruie and malice of the people, who laide fictie men in ambush to intercept him at his returne to the armie, of which fictie hee slewe all but one, whome hee sent backe to the Citie as a reporter and witness of his valour. When the *Argines* vnderstood how resolute *Eteocles* was, they presented themselves before the Citie, and incamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to haue had at that time seauen gates, which belike Roode not farre asunder, seeing that the *Argines* (who afterward when they were very farre stronger, could scarce muster vp more thousandes then *Thebes* had gates) did compass the towne. *Adrastus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capanus* before the *Oxygian*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiarus* at *Proetis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopaus* at *Elettra*, and *Polynices* at *Hippſſa*. In the meane season, *Eteocles* hauing armed his men; and appointed Commanders vnto them, tooke aduise of *Tiresias* the Soothsayer, who promised victorie to the *Thebans*, if *Menecius* the sonne of *Creon* a principall man of the Citie, would vowe himselfe to bee slaine in honour of *Mars* the God of warre: So full of malice and pride is the Diuell, and so enuious at his Creators glorie, that hee not onely challengeth honours due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifice with all Diuine worshippe, but commandeth vs to offer our selues, and our children vnto him, when hee hath sufficiently clouded mens vnderstanding, and bewitched their wits with ignorance and blinde deuotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maidens, and children hath hee exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gelles*, *Germanes*, *Cyprians*, *Aegyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were most filled with superstition. But as they grewe more wise, so did hee waxe lesse impudent in cunning, though not

lesse malicious in desiring the continuance of such barbarous inhumanitie. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without aduise of any Oracle, made the Idoll of that Country rest contented with an Oxen instead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane sacrifices in *Affrick*: and crucified the *Prictes* in the groues where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drowne men of haye in stead of the liuing: yet among the saluages in the West *Indies* these cruell offerings haue been practised of late ages: which as it is a sufficient argument that *Satan*'s malice is onely couered and hidden by this subtiltie among ciuill people: so may it serue as a probable Coniecture of the barbarismes then reigning in *Greece*. For *Meneceus* as soone as hee vnderstood that his death might purchase victorie to his people, bestowed himselfe (as 10 hee thought) vpon *Mars*, killing himselfe before the gates of the Citie. Then was battell fought, wherein the *Argines* preuailed so farre at the first, that *Capaneus* aduancing ladders to the walles, got vp vpon the rampart: whence, when hee fell or was cast downe, or (as writers haue it) was stricken downe by *Iupiter* with a thunderbolt, the *Argines* fled. Many on each part were slaine in this battell, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might trie out the quarrell in single fight: whereto the two brethren according, slew each other.

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the sonnes of *Ashtus* behaved themselves very valiantly: *Ismarus* one of the sonnes slew *Hippomedon* 20 which was one of the seuen Princes: *Parthenopaus* being another of the seauen (who was said to haue bene so faire that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slaine by *Amphidicus*, or as some say, by *Periclymenus* the sonne of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus* by *Menalippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought vnto him by *Amphiarus*, which hee cruelly tore open and swallowed vp the braines. Vpon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas* who had brought from *Iupiter* such remedie for his wound, as should haue made him immortall, refused to bestow it vpon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might haue continued immortall did perish through the beastly rage, that hee shewed at his death.

The host of the *Argines* being wholly discomfited, *Adrastus* and *Amphiarus* fledde: of whom *Amphiarus* is said to haue been swallowed quicke into the earth, nere to the riuer *Issmenus*, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peraduenture overwhelmed with dead carcases or drowned in the riuer: and his bodie neuer found nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arien*, and came to *Athens*; where sitting at an Altar called the Altar of Mercie, hee made supplication for their aide to recouer their bodies. For *Creon* hauing obtained the Government of *Thebes*, after the death of *Eteocles*, would not suffer the bodies of the *Argines* to be buried: but caused *Antigone*, the only daughter then liuing of *Oedipus*, to be buried quicke, because shee had fought out and buried the bodie of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creon*'s Edict. The *Athenians* condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did send forth an armie vnder the Conduct of *Theseus*, which tooke *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the *Argines* to Sepulture: at which time *Enadme* the wife of *Capaneus*, threw herselfe into the funerall fier, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it little contented the sonnes of those Captaines which were slaine at *Thebes*, that any lesse reuenge should be taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie: wherefore tenne yeeres after hauing leuied forces *Aegialeus* the sonne of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopaus*, *Stenelmus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Menalippus*, marched thither vnder the conduct of *Alemaon* the sonne of *Amphiarus*: with whom also went his brother *Amphiloctus*. *Apollo* promised victorie if *Alemaon* were their Captaine, whom afterward by another Oracle hee commanded to kill his owne mother.

When they came to the citie, they were incountred by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles* then

then King of the *Thebans*, (for *Creon* was only Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battaile, and slew *Aegialeus*, yet was he put to the worst, and driuen to flee, or (according to *Apollodorus*) slaine by *Alemaon*. After this disaster the citizens began to desire composition; but in the meane time they conuained themselves with their wiues and children away from thence by night, and so began to wander vp and downe, till at length they built the Towne called *Effiaa*. The *Argives* when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Towne, entering into it, sacked it, threw downe the walls, and laid it walt; howbeit it is reported by some that the Towne was saued by *Thersander*, the sonne of *Polynices*, who causing the Citizens to returne, did there raigne ouer them. That hee saued the Citie from vtter destruction, it is very likely; for hee raigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the Warre of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

### ¶ VIII.

Of *Ierphtha*, and how the three hundred yeeres which hee speaketh of, *Ivd. ii.*

v.28. are to be reconciled with the places *Act. 13.20. 1.R. 6.6.6.1.*  
together with some other things touching Chronologi  
about these times.



After the death of *Jair* (nere about whose times these things happened in *Greece*, and during whose gouernment, and that of *Thola*, *Israel* liued in peace and in order) they resulted againe from the law, and service of God, and became more wicked and Idolatrous than euer. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal* and *Asteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adioyning, and embraced the dolls of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: with those of the *Philistims*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: so now hee scourged them by the *Ammonites*; and after 30 ward by the *Philistims*.

Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppressed, because they bordered vpon the *Ammonites*, they were inforced to seeke *Iephtha*, whom they formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base borne; but he (notwithstanding those former iniuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of deuillish hatred and reuenge, was content to leade the *Gileadites* to the Warre, vpon condition that they should establish him their Gouernour after victorie. And when he had disputed with *Ammon* for the Land, disproued *Ammon*'s right, and fortified the title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same preuailling nothing, he begante the warre; and being strengthened by God, ouer-threw them: and did not only beate them out of the plaines, but forth them ouer the mountaines of *Arabia*, euen to *Misraim*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities exprest heretofore in the description of the holy Land. After which victorie it is said, that he performed the vaine vow, which hee made, to sacrifice the first liuing creature hee incountred, coming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and only child, who with all patience submitted her selfe, and only desired two Moneths time to bewaile her Virginitie on the mountaines of *Gilead*; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion that shee was not offered, is more probable, which 40 *Bortheus* and others proue sufficiently.

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either enuious of *Iephtha*'s victorie, or otherwise making way to their future calamitie, and to the most grievous slauierie that euer *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Iephtha*, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had contested with *Gideon*. *Iephtha* hereupon inforced to defend himselfe against their furie, in the incounter slew of them two and fortie thousand, which so weakened the body of the Land, as the *Philistims* had

The persecution of the *Ammonites* lasted 18. yeeres and ended in the year of this World 2833. in which yeeres *Iephtha* began *Iud. ii.*

*Iud. ii. 33.*

*Iud. ii. 33.*

*Iud. ii. 33.*

2925.

2942.

had an easie conquest of them all not long after: *Iephtha* after he had iudged *Israel* fix years died: to whom succeeded *Isean*, who ruled seven years: after him *Eloa* was their Iudge, ten years: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* finds not *Eloa*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Iudge was omitted.

Now before I goe on with the rest, it shall bee necessarie vpon the occasion of *Iephtha's* account of the times *Jud. 11. 28.* (where he saies that *Israel* had then possit the East side of *Jordan* 300. years) to speake somewhat of the times of the *Judges*, and of the differing opinions among the Diuines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point seeming repugnant, or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute between *Iephtha* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of *S. Paul Ait. 13.* the third that which is in the first of *Kings*. *Iephtha* here challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300. years: *Saint Paul* giueth to the *Judges*, as it seemes, from the end of *Iosua*, to the last of *Heli*, 450. yeares. In the first of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Salomons* Temple, there were consumed 480. yeares. To the first *Beroaldus* findeth *Iephtha's* 300. yeares to be but 266. yeares, to wit, 18. of *Iosua*, 40. of *Othoniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Dehora*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Jair*: But *Iephtha* (saith *Beroaldus*) putteth or proposeth a certaine number, for an vncertaine: *Sic ut dicat annum agi prope trecentissimum, ex quo nullus litum ea dera mouerit Israel: So he speaketh* (saith he) *as meaning, that then it was about or wel-nigh the three hundred yere, since Israel possessed those Countries, no man making question of their right.* *Codoman* on the contrarye finds more yeares than *Iephtha* named by 65. to wit, 305. whereof 71. were spent in *Israel's* captiuitie, at severall times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Iephtha* forbore to repeat the whole summe or any great part, least the *Ammonites* should haue iustly objected, that 71. of those yeares, the *Israelites* were in captiuitie and vassalls to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name 300. yeares it was enough for prescription, hee omitted the rest.

To iustifie this account of 365. yeares, besides the 71. yeares of captiuitie or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus* his 266. he addeth also 28. yeares more, and so maketh vp the summe of 365. These 28. yeares hee findeth out thus: 20. yeares hee giues to the *Seniors* betweene *Iosua* and *Othoniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth but 18. yeares to *Iosua's* gouernment, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to *Iosephus*; whereas *S. Augustine* and *Eusebius* giue him 27. *Melanchton* 32. The truth is that this addition of 28. yeares is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeares of affliction (to wit, 34. yeares of the 71.) if wee addeth them to the 266. yeares of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we haue the iust number of 300. yeares. Neither is it strange that *Iephtha* should leaue out more than halfe of these yeares of affliction: seeing as it is already said the *Ammonites* might except against these 71. yeares, and say that during these yeares, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the Author of a third opinion making those 300. yeares remembered by *Iephtha*, to be 306. which odd yeares, saith he, *Iephtha* omitteeth. But because the yeares of euery Iudge as they reigned, cannot make vp this number of 306. but doe only compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* add to this number, the whole time which *Moses* spent in the *Deserts* of *Arabia Petraea*: which fortie yeares of *Moses* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266. make indeede 306.

But I see nothing in the text to warrant *Luthers* iudgement herein: for in the dispute betweene *Iephtha* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon* in these wordes. *Because Israel tooke my Land, when they came vp from Egypt from Arnon vnto Iaboc, &c. now therefore restore those Landes quietly or in peace.* So by this place it is plaine that the time is not to bee accounted from *Moses* departure out

out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the Land was possit. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam; Because Israel tooke my Land:* and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Iephtha* answereth also confirmeth in these wordes. *When Israel dwelt in Heshbon, and in her Townes, and in Arer and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 300. yeares: why did yee not then recouer them in that space? so as this place speaketh directly, that Israel had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of Gilead 300. yeares: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that Israel had to possit it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for wee doe not vie to reckon the time of our conquests in France, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.*

*Iunius* neuertheless like the opinion of *Luther*, and saies that this time of 300. yeares hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Iephtha's* narration: when he makes a briefe repetition of *Moses* whole journey: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges* in our translation in these wordes. *But when Israel came vp from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his 40. yeares (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeares: and not only the time in which *Israel* possit *Gilead*, according to the Text and *Iephtha's* owne wordes: of which I leaue the iudgement to others; to whom also I leaue to iudge, whether we may not beginne the 480. yeares, from the deliuerance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, euen from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of *S. Paul's* and *Iephtha's* account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet haue bene signified. For first, touching *Iephtha's* 300. yeares of possession of the East side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembered that for a good while before the *Israelites* possessed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession, which they had, passed to *Israel*, and so *Iephtha* might say that they had possessed those Countries 300. yeares, reckoning 266. yeares of their owne possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of *S. Paul Ait. 13.* that from the end of *Iosua* to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. yeares. And this place *Luther* vnderstandeth also besides the letter, (as I finde his opinion cited by *Functus Krentsemius*, and *Beza*, for I haue not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last yeare of *Heli*, but 357. yeares: and this hee doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple which in the first *King. 6.* is said to be 480. yeares.

Now for as much as *S. Paul* (as it seemes) finds 450. yeares from the death of *Iosua*, to the last of *Heli*, and leaues but 30. yeares for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who gouerned 40. for *Dauid* who ruled 40. and for *Salomon* who ware the Crowne three whole yeares ere the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was error in the Scribe, who wrote out this peece of Scripture of *S. Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward he gaue vnto them Iudges about 450. yeares, vnto the time of Samuel the Prophet:* the wordes then afterward, being clearly referred to the death or after the death of *Iosua*, as shall be hereafter proued. But where *S. Luke* rehearsing the wordes of *S. Paul* wrote 350. yeares (saith *Luther*) the Scribe in the transcription being decieued by the affinity of those two Greeke wordes, whereof the one signifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracosis* for *Triacosis* 400. yeares, for 300. yeares, and 450. for 350. This hee seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great Annotations adhereth. A contrary iudgement to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* beginne at *Moses* death, he takes his account from the death of *Iosua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. yeares: to wit, of the *Judges* (not reckoning *Samsons* yeares) 319. and of yeares of seruitude and affliction vnder strangers 111. Thereason why he doth not reckon

Read the 24. of *Iosua*, and the *1. Iud. 7.* *Funct. Chron. fol. 4.* *Beza* in his Annotations vpon the 13. of the *Ait. 13. 10.*

*Sampons*

Jud. 13.

Jud. 15. a. 1.

*Sampson* 20. years, is because he thinks that they were part of the 40. years, in which the *Philistines* are said to have oppressed *Israel*. For it is plain that during all *Sampson*'s time they were Lords over *Israel*. So then of the *Judges*, besides the 111. years of servitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have said) 319. years, which two summe put together make 430. years, and whereas *S. Paul* nameth 450. years, he finds 20. years to make up *S. Paul*'s number, to have beene spent after the death of *Iosua* by the *Seniors*, before the captiuitie of *Chusban*, or the election of *Othniel*: which 20. years added to 430. make 450. according to *S. Paul*. To approue this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Iosua*, and the second of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel* serued the Lord all the daies of 10 sva, and all the daies of the Elders that ouer-lived 10 sva, so as to these times of the Elders, *Codoman* giueth 20. years, which make as before 450. according to *S. Paul*. Neither would it breede any great difficultie in this opinion, if here also the 20. years of the *Seniors*, betweene *Iosua* and *Othniel*, should be denied. For they which denie these years and make *Othniel* 40. to beginne presently vpon the death of *Iosua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning they haue 20. years lesse than *Codoman*, so toward the end of it (when they reckon the yeares of affliction apart from the yeares of the *Judges*) in the number of *Sampson*'s yeares, and of the 40. yeares of the *Philistines* oppressing the *Israelites*, they haue 20. yeares more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40. yeares of oppression all of them a-part from *Sampson*'s 20. but *Codoman* as is said makes *Sampson*'s 20. to be the one halfe of the 40. of the *Philistines* oppressions; so that if the 20. yeares of the *Seniors*, be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seemes to enforce) that the *Philistines* in an *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampson* iudged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40. yeares besides the 20. while *Sampson* was their *Iudge*, and so the reckoning will come to 450. yeares betweene the end of *Iosua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of any *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors*, betweene *Iosua* and *Othniel*: For if the times of their affliction be summed, they make 111. yeares, to which if we adde the yeares of the *Judges*, which are 339. we haue the iust summe of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seeme to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceiue that this time of 350. yeares, is to beginne immediately, or soone after the death of *Moses*: certainly the place of *S. Paul* doth evidently teach the contrarie, though it be received for true that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be *S. Paul*'s wordes: And about the time of 40. yeares, God suffered their manners in the wilderness. And he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of *Canaan*, and diuided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gaue vnto them *Judges* about 450. yeares, vnto the time of *Samuel* the Prophet. So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of *Moses* and of his yeares spent in the wilderness, then in the nineteenth verse he cometh to the acts of *Iosua*, which 40. were that he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of *Canaan*, and diuided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth verse it followeth: Then afterward hee gaue them *Judges* about 450. yeares, &c. and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*, is wide of *S. Paul*'s meaning, so farre as my weak vnderstanding can pierce it. The only inconuenience of any waite in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place, in the *Acts* is that it seemes irreconcilable with the account 1. *Reg.* 6. 11. For if indeede there were spent 450. yeares betweene the end of *Iosua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there must needs be much more than 480. yeares betweene the beginning of the *Israelite* iourning from *Aegypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Salomon*. To this difficultie *Codoman* answereth, that these 480. yeares 1. *Reg.* 6. 1. must be giuen to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their iourning from *Aegypt*, which he makes to be 25. yeares after the beginning of *Othniel*'s government; from whence if we call the yeares of the *Judges*, with the yeares of servitude (which summes according to his account, of which we haue already spoken, make

1044. 1.

make 397. yeares) and so to these yeares adde the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *Dauid*, and the 3. of *Salomon*, wee shall haue the iust summe of 480. yeares. Neither is it hard (saith he) that the *annus egressionis* 1. *Reg.* 6. 1. should be vnderstood *egressionis non incipientis sed finitæ*, the year of their coming out of *Aegypt* (for so it is in the originall) or the year after they came out of *Aegypt*, may well be vnderstood for the year after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandering from thence. For so wee finde that things which were done 40. yeares after they had set foot out of *Aegypt*, are said to haue beene done in their going out of *Aegypt*, as *Iosua* 1. 14. When *Israel* came out of *Aegypt*, *Jordan* was druen back, and *Deut.* 4. 45. These are the testimonies which *Moses* spake when they came out of *Aegypt*. And thus farre it seemes we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the word *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exiissent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Iunius* *Deut.* 4. 45. doe well read *quum exiissent*, for *in exitu*, as it seemes that here in he doth well, why may not we also, to auoide contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *postquam exiissent*?

The next point to be cleared is how their iourning should bee said not to haue had end vntill the 25. year after the victorie of *Othniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth that then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not vntill this time: at which time the *Danites* at length feared themselves, as it is declared *Jud.* 18. For doublelesse to this time the expedition may most conueniently be referred. And thus without any great inconuenience to him appearing doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Iephia*, and *S. Paul*, with that in the first of *Kings* 6. 6. Now whereas it is said that the expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Israel*: to this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessarie that we should suppose that *Othniel* liued all those 40. yeares of rest, of which *Jud.* 3. 11. so that by the 25. year after his victorie, either he might haue been dead, or at least as *Gideon* did, he might haue refused all soueraigntie, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25. year after *Othniel*'s victorie) there was no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other *Chronologers* grounding their opinions on the plaine Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it selfe round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good: especially considering that the speeches of *S. Paul*, haue not other wise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they found, and are set downe. But seeing that he wanteth all helpe of authoritie, we may iustly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman* that the conquest of *Laish*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth year of *Othniel*? Or what other probabilite hath he than his owne coniecture, to shew that *Othniel* did so renounce the office of a Iudge after 40. yeares and twentie yeares, that it might then be truly said there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his owne eyes.

Now concerning the rehearfall of the law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might indeede be properly said to haue beene, when *Israel* came out of *Aegypt*, like as we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when he came out of the holy Land, for so all iournies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I thinke he can finde no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a iourney by an accident, or saith by conuersion the proposition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Aegypt*. Indeed most vnproper it were to giue date vnto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely to say that King *Edward* at his aliue out of *Palestina*, did winne *Scotland*, or died at *Carlew*. How may we then beleeue that enterprise performed so many yeares after the diuision of the Land (which followed the conquest at the iournies end) should be said to haue beene at the time of the departure out of *Aegypt*: Or who will not thinke it most strange that the most notable

account

account of time, serving as the only guide for certaine ages in sacred *Chronologie*, should not take name and beginning, from that illustrious delivrance out of *Aegypt*, rehearsed often by God himselfe among the principall of his benefits to *Israel*, where of the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the year and moneth wherein it expired) and the forme of the year upon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a Towne by 600. men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and stole from thence Idolls to be their guides, as not going to worke in Gods name? For this accident whereupon *Cadoman* buildeth hath either no time given to it, or a time farre different from that which he supposeth, and is indeede rather by him placed in such a year, because it best stood with his interpretation so to haue it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it selfe.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirme that the Apostle *S. Paul* did not herein labour to set downe the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but only to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his people, delivred them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges*, and *Prophets*, vnto the time of *Saul*: did raise vp our Lord *Iesus Christ* out of the seede of *Dauid* the King, in whose succession the Crowne was established, and promise made of a Kingdome that should haue no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to haue bene the true *Messias*) the Apostle was so farre from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the Historie being so well knowne and beleueed of the *Iewes* to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. yeares consumed in the wilderness, whereof no man doubted, saying that God suffered their manners in the wilderness about 40. yeares. In like manner he proceeded saying that from the diuision of the Land vnto the daies of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whose time they required to haue a King, there passed about 450. yeares. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and cleuen yeares of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. yeares of the *Judges*: for this had bene an impertinent digression from the argument which hee had in hand. Wherefore it is a worke not so needfull as laborious, to search out of this place that which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the summe of 480. yeares is so expressly and purposely set downe.

Now that the wordes of *S. Paul* (if there be no fault in the Copie through error of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of *Chronologie*, but must be taken as hauing reference to the memorie and apprehension of the vulgar, it is euident by his ascribing in the same place 40. yeares to the raigne of *Saul*: whereas it is manifest that those yeares were diuided bet weene *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea that farr the greater part of them were spent vnder the government of the Prophet, how fouer they are here included in the raigne of the King. As for those that with so much cunning forsake the generall opinion when it fauoureth not such expolition as they bring out of a good minde to helpe where the neede is not ouer-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The wordes of *S. Paul* were sufficiently iustified by *Berodius*, as hauing reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those daies, that the 111. yeares of seruitude were to be reckoned a part from the 339. yeares ascribed to the *Judges*, which accept the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict; but rather chose to speake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *quasi*, where he saith *quasi quadringenti & quinquaginta annis, as it were four hundred and fiftie yeares*. But *Cadoman* being not thus contented would needs haue it to be so indeede; and therefore disioynes the members to make the accompte euen. In so doing he dasheth himselfe against a notable Text, whereupon all Authors haue builded (as well they might and ought) that purposefully and precisely doth cast vp the yeares from the departure out of *Aegypt*, vnto the building of *Salomons* Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it selfe.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) hauing already giuen faith

faith to his owne interpretation of *S. Paul*, he thinketh it more needfull to find some new expolition for that which is of it selfe most plaine; than to examine his owne coniecture vpon a place that is full of controuersie. Thus by expounding, after a strange methode, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he looeth himselfe in those waies wherein before him neuer man walked. Surely if one should vrge him to giue reason of these new opinions, he must needs answere, That *Othaniel* could not gouerne about 25. yeares, because then was the taking of *Lailah*, at which time there was no King in *Israel*; That the *Danites* must needs haue taken *Lailah* at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed the coming of *Israel* out of *Aegypt*, without excluding the yeares of seruitude; And that the yeares of seruitude must needs be included, for that otherwise he himselfe should haue spent his time vaine-ly, in seeking to pleasure *S. Paul* with an expolition: Whether this ground be strong enough to vphold a paradoxe, I leaue it to the decision of any iudicious Reader.

And now to proceede in our storie. To the time of *Iephia* are referred the death of *Heracles*, the rape of *Helen* by *Pandrus*, and the prouisions which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycena*, made for her recoverie. Others referre this rape of *Helen* to the fourth yeare of *Ithaca*: from which time, if the Warre of *Troy* (as they suppose) did not beginne till the third of *Alpharion*, yet the *Greekes* had lixe yeares to prepare themselves: the rule holding not true in this Warre, *longa praeparatio bellum aduersari victoriam*; That is, *longe praeparatio beget a speculie victorie*: for the *Greekes* consumed ten yeares in the attempt; and *Troy* as it seemed was entred, sackt and burnt in the third yeare of *Habdon*.

Three yeares after *Troy* taken, which was in the fixt yeare of *Habdon*, *Aeneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth yeare of his rule died; after he had bene the Father of 40. Iames and 30. grand-children: and whereas it is supposed, that the 40. yeares of *Israel*s oppression by the *Philistims* (of which *Isaiah* 23. 18. speaketh beginning from the ninth yeare of *Samson*, and ended with the lust of *Habdon*): I see no great reason for this opinion: For *Samson* had had little cause of quarrell with *Iephia*, for not calling them to Warre ouer *Jordan*, if the *Philistims* had held them in seruitude in their owne Territories: and if *Ephraim* could haue brought 42000. armed men into the field it is not likely that they were so oppressed, and had it bene true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather haue fought against the *Philistims* with so powerfull an Armie for their owne delivrance, than against their owne brethren the *Israelites*? But *Samson* being overthrown, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore these 40. yeares must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Samson* and afterward: or else they must bee referred to the inter-regnum betweene the death of *Habdon*, and the deburance of *Israel* by *Samson*, such as it was.

was.

## CHAP. XIII.

## Of the Warre of Troy.

p. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they haue observed Historicall truth.



THE Warre at Troy with other Stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this Citie, by mozt Chrono-  
logers is found in the time of *Habdon*, Judge of *Israel*, whom in the last place I haue mentioned) I rather choose here to intreate of in one intire narration, beginning with the lineall descent of their Princes, than to breake the Storie into peeces by rehearsing a part in diuers yeares the diuerlitie of occurrences.

The Historie of the ancient Kings of Troy is vncertaine, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Tenecr* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of *Virgil*, which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) tooke from *Berosus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it from him, then it rests vpon the authoritie of *Virgil*, who saith thus.

Encl. 3:

*Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto*  
*Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostra*  
*Centum vrbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna*  
*Maximus unde Pater (si rite audita recordor)*  
*Tenecrus Rhæteus primum est aduectus ad aras*  
*Optatusq; locus regno. Nondum hinc & arces*  
*Pergæa steterant: habitabant valibus omnes*  
*Hinc Mater Cultrix Cybele, Corybantiq; ara*  
*Idæaq; nemus.*

In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lie:  
Where LOVE was borne, thence is our progenie.  
There is mount Ida: there in fruitfull Land  
An hundredth great and goodly Cities stand.  
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)  
TEYCEER the eldest of our grand-fires came  
To the Rætæan shores: and reigned there  
Ere yet faire Ilion was built, and ere  
The Towers of Troy: their dwelling place they sought  
In lowest vales. Hence CYBELS rites were brought:  
Hence Corybantiæ Cymbales did remoue:  
And hence the name of our Idæan groue.

Thus

Thus it seemes by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authoritie, that *Tenecr* first gaue name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the same booke he speaks thus.

*Est locus Hesperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:*  
*Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere gleba.*  
*OEnotrij coluere viri, nunc fama minores*  
*Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.*  
*Ha nobis propria sedes: hinc DARDANVS ortus:*  
*Isusq; Pater, genus à quo Principe nostrum.*

*Hesperia* the *Gracians* call the place:  
An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race.  
*OEnotrians* held it, now the later progenie  
Gives it their Captaines name, and calls it *Italie*,  
This seate belongs to vs, hence *DARDANVS*,  
Hence came the Author of our stock, *Isus*,

Alfo Encl.  
1.7.

*Atq; equidem memini (fama est obcurior annis)*  
*Auruncos ita ferre senes, his ortus ut agris*  
*DARDANVS Idæas Phrygia penetrant ad vrbes,*  
*Threiciamq; Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.*  
*Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrenâ ab sede profectum*  
*Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia celsi*  
*Accipit, &c.*

Some old *Auruncans*, I remember well  
(Though time haue made the fame obscure) would tell  
Of *DARDANVS*, how borne in *Italie*:  
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.  
And leauing *Tuscaine* (where he earst had place)  
With *Corytus* did faile to *Samothrace*,  
But now inthronized he sits on high,  
In golden Palace of the starrie skie.

But contrarie to this, and to so many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that these names, *Troes*, *Tenecr*, and *Thrace*, are deriued from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the sonne of *Iaphet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Mylians*, and *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Troians*, were *Germane* Nations, descended from *Askenaz*, the sonne of *Gomer*: of whom the Countrey, Lake, and Riuer of *Ascanius* in *Asia* tooke name. That *Askenaz* gaue name to those places and people it is not vnlkely: neither is it vnlkely that the *Ascanij*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times passe into *Europe*: that the name of *Tenecr* came of *Tiras*, the coniecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Tenecr*, whereas *Italicarnesius* makes him an *Athenian*, I finde none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*, whose authoritie is the more to be regarded, because he had good means to finde the truth, which it is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did follow: seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Tenecr* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diomedes* and others, that thinke him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the sonne of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Countrey, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the second wife of *Dardanus*, founder of *Troy*. *Reineccius* further

Q 9 2

thinks



Concerning the beginning and continuance of the *Troian* Kingdome, with the length of euery Kings raigne, I haue chosen good Authors to bee my guides, that in a Historie, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the *Greekes*, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and generall passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that Citie whilest it stood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780. yeares more ancient than the beginning of the 94<sup>th</sup>. *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore 372. did passe betweene the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the first yeare of the 94<sup>th</sup>. it is manifest that the remainder of 780. yeares, that is, 408. yeares went betweene the destruction of *Troy*, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authoritie of *Diodorus* be good proofe, who elsewhere tells vs, that the returne of the *Heracleida*, which was 80. yeares after the fall of *Troy*, was 328. yeares before the first *Olympiad*.

Diod. lxx.

Diod. in prof.

Dionys. Halic. Antiq. l. vi.

Solon. Politiq. l. c. vi.

Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. x. c. vi.  
Cic. Alex. orat. lib. i.

Hereunto agrees the authoritie of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*, that is foure and twentie yeares after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later than the fall of *Troy*. *Solinus* in expresse wordes makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphidius*, 408. yeares later than the destruction of *Troy*. The summe is easily collected by necessarie inference out of diuers other places in the same booke. Hereunto doth *Eusebius* reckoning exclusively agree: and *Eratosthenes* (as hee is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes vp out of many particulars, the same total summe, wanting but one yeare, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

The other collections of diuers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, doe neither cohere any way nor depend vpon any collateral Historie, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the yeare before the *Olympiads* foure hundred and eight: wee must seeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end out of *Eusebius*, who leades vs from *Dardanius* on-wards through the raignes of 40 four Kings, by the space of two hundred and fife and twentie yeares, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed vnder *Laomedon*, wee are faine to doe, as others haue done before vs, and take it vpon trust from *Amnius* his Authors; beleeuing *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings raignes and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may giue vs leaue to thinke that *Amnius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point wee neede not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no Historie or account of time depends vpon the raigne of the former Kings, but only vpon the ruine of the Citie vnder *Priamus*, it may suffice that wee are careful to place that memorable accident in the due yeare.

True it is that some objections appearing waightie, may be alledged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answers I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those yeares, wherein the *Greekes* knew no good forme of a yeare; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprize that was vnder-taken by generall consent of all *Greece* was the last Warre of *Troy*, which hath bene famous euen to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there assembled: the great batailes fought with variable successe: the long indurance of the siege; the destruction of the great Citie; and the many Colonies planted in sundry Countries, as well by the remainder of the *Troians*, as by the victorious *Greekes* after their vnfortunate returne. All which things with innumerable circumstances of especiall note, haue bene deliuered vnto posteritie, by the excellent wits of

of many writers, especially by the Poems of that great *Homer*, whose verses haue giuen immortalitye to the Nation, which might else perhaps haue bene buried in oblivion, among other worthy deedes done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith;

Vixit: sortis ante AGAMENNONA  
Multi, sed omnes illeachrimabiles  
Vrgentur, ignotique longæ  
Noctæ: carent quia vate sacro.

10

Many by valour haue deseru'd renowne  
Ere AGAMENNON: yet lye all opprest  
Vnder long night, vnwept for and vnknowne:  
For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilest these writers haue with strange fables, or (to speake the best of them) with *Allegories* farre strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble vndertakers: they haue both drawne into suspicion that great vertue which they sought to adorne, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the Historie, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that wee seeke for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did manage them of Poets, in whose works are both profit & delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted ouermuch; but such as can either interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall finde matter in Poems, not vnworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authors, written of this great warre. All writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the sonne of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking armes: but how he was hereunto emboldened it is doubtful.

30

## §. II.

Of the Rape of *HELEN*: and strength of both sides for the warre.



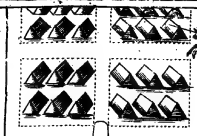
*Erodorus* fetcheth the cause of this rape from very farre: saying, That whereas the *Phenicians* had rauished *Io*, and carried her into *Egypt*, the *Greekes* to bee reuenged on the *Barbarians*, did first rauish *Europa* whom they brought out of *Phenicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Medea*, whom they tetcht from *Colchos*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of *Io*. By these deedes of the *Greekes*, *Paris* (as the same *Herodorus* affirms) was emboldened to doe the like, not fearing such reuenge as infused. But all this narration seemes frivolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to doe with the iniurie of the *Phenicians*? or how could the *Greekes*, as in reuenge of *Io*, plead any quarrell against him, that neuer had heard the name of *Phenicians*? They did a writer of vnquestionable sinceritie make it plaine, that the name of *Barbarians* was not vied at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the warre of *Troy*; and that the *Greekes* themselves were not then called all by one name *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were vnreasonable to think, that they should haue sought reuenge vpon all Nations as barbarous, for the iniurie received by one: or that all people else should haue esteemed of the *Greekes*, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that euen then when as the *Greekes* had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redeliuery of *Hefione*, King *Priamus* his sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and giuen to *Telamon*. This may haue bene true.

For

for *Telamon* (as it seemes) was a cruell man, seeing his owne sonne *Teucer* durst not come in his light, after the warre of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, onely because his brother *Ajax* (which *Teucer* could not remedie) had slaine himselfe. Yet, were it so that *Helen* was ill intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her brother would seeke to take her from her husband, with whom she had liued about thirtie yeeres, and to whom she had borne children which were to succede in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that *Paris* had no regard, either to the rape of *Euroopa*, *Medea*, or *Helen*: but was merely incited by *Venus*, that is by his lust, to do that which in those dayes was very common. For not onely *Greekes* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greekes*, as *Herodotus* discouerseth, but all people were accustomed to steale women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and hauing stollen them, either to sell them away in some farre Country, or keepe them to their owne vse. So did *Theseus* and *Pirithous* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) rauish *Helen*. And these practises, as it appears in *Thucydides* were so common, that none durst inhabite neere vnto the sea, for feare of pyracie, which was accounted a trade of life no lesse lawfull than merchandise: wherefore *Tyndareus* the father of *Helen*, considering the beautie of his daughter, and the rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her wooers who were most of the principall men in *Greece*, to binde themselves by solemne oath, that if she were taken from her husband, they should with all their might helpe to recouer her. This done, hee gaue free choyce of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus* brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the *Greekes* vnto *Troy* in reuenge of *Helen*'s rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made vnto her father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon* besides his great Dominions in *Peloponnesus*, was Lord of many islands: he was also rich in money, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he imbarqued for *Troy* in his owne ships, which were more than any other of the *Greece* Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or ledde by the reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprize; take armes against the *Troians*. The *Greekes* Fleet was (by *Homers* account) 1200. sayle or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build shippes with deckes; onely they vsed (as *Thucydides* saith) small shippes, meete for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fiftie men, the greatest 120. euery man (except the Captaines) being both a Marriner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* armie consisted of 100000. men or thereabout. This was the greatest armie that euer was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatnesse of this armie, doth well declare the strength and power of *Troy*, which tenne whole yeeres did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Troians* which inhabited the Citie not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homers* *Iliades*; but their followers and aydes were very many and strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the lesse, tooke part with the *Troians*. The *Amazones* also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Assyria* (though some thinke out of *Ethiopia*) came to their defence.

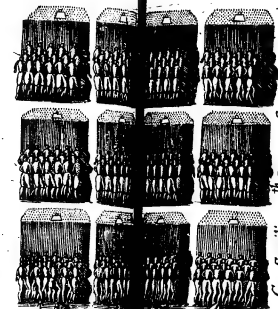
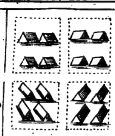
452.  
The greater  
Camp of the  
Romans



The lesser  
Camp of  
the Romans



The Roman Camp  
beyond the river



80000 foot  
Cn: Scipio

L. Aemilius Paulus

The Roman  
Velites

C. Terentius Varro

Aufidus fluvius

Asdrubal

The Boians

Spurius Sulpicius

Afri:

Afri:

Hanno or Maharbal

The Camp of  
Hannibal



carts

carts

Hannibal

Rego

## p. III.

Of the *Gracians* journey, and Embassage to *Troy*, and of *Heleues*  
being detained in *Egypt*; and of the Sacrificing  
of *Iphigenia*

10 **V** Herefore the *Greekes* unwilling to come to tryall of armes, if things might bee compounded by treatie, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* Embassadors to *Troy*; who demaunded *Helen* and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his house. What answered the *Troians* made hereunto it is vncertain. *Herodotus* from the report of the *Egyptian* Priests makes it very probable that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his returne to *Troy*. The summe of his discourse is this.

*Paris* in his returne with *Helena*, being driuen by foule weather vnto the coast of *Egypt*, was accused for the rape of *Helen* by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of *Egypt*, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because hee was a stranger. When therefore the *Greekes* demaunding *Helen* had answered, that she was in *Egypt*: 20 they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of *Troy*. But when after the Citie taken, they perceiued indeed she had not bene there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to aske his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer* and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Enrypides*) vary from this Historie, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more gracefull to their Poems, for the retaining of a faire Ladie, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliuer her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysseys*, *Homer* speaks of *Menelaus* his being in *Egypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily beleueed, that he made for pleasure: and if he were driuen thither by contrary windes, much more may we thinke that *Paris* was likely to haue bene 30 driuen thither by foule weather. For *Paris* immediatly vpon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking such windes as hee could get, and rather enduring any storme, than to commit himselfe to any Hauens in the *Greece* Seas; whereas *Menelaus* might haue put into any port in *Greece*, and there haue remained with good entertainment, vntill such time as the winde had come about, and serued for his Nauigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirme the saying of the *Egyptian* Priests, which is, that if *Helen* had bene at *Troy*, it had bene vtter madnesse for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him, during the warre, and so many of his sonnes slaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for 40 *Hector* was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seeme that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly than truely, when he said that *Helen*, at the warre of *Troy*, was almost as old as Queene *Hecuba*, considering that she had bene rauished by *Thesew* the companion of *Hercules*, who tooke *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to *Cassius* and *Pollux* (he and *Pollux* being said by some to haue bene twinnes) who sailed with the *Argonautes*, hauing *Telamon* the father of *Aiax* in their companie before the time that *Hesione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Aiax*, that was a principall commander in the *Troian* warre. But whether it were so, that the *Troians* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Embassadors returned ill contented, and not very 50 well intreated; for there wanted not some that aduised to haue them slaine. The *Greekes* hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calebes* (whom some say to haue bene a runnagate *Troian*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captaines and all the Hoste with many troublesome answers and diuinations. For he would haue *Agamemnon*s daughter sacrificed to appease

*Liana*,

*Diana*, whose anger he said withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the *Goddesse* was contented with a hinde, it is not needfull here to be disputed of. Sure it is that the malice of the deuill which awaits for all opportunities, is neuer more importunate than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the *Greekes*, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible till some fatall impediments were remoued: and that till tenne yeeres were past, the towne should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding the *Greekes* proceeded in their enterprize; vnder the commaund of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greekes*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phoenix*; *Aias* and *Teucer* the sonnes of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*,<sup>10</sup> and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor*, and his sonnes *Antilochus*, and *Thrasymedes*; *Visites*, *Mnestibrew* the sonne of *Petrews*, captaine of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the sonne of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wise and learned *Palamedes*; *Acalaphus*, and *Ialmenus*, the sonnes of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* also the sonne of *Peon*, who had the arrowes of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said that the Citie could not be taken; *Aias* the sonne of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Thoas*, *Eumelus*, *Tisandrus*, *Eurypilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the sonne of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machon*, the sonnes of *Aesculapius*; *Epeus* who is said to haue made the wooden horse, by which the towne was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatned death to him that landed first.

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## §. IIII.

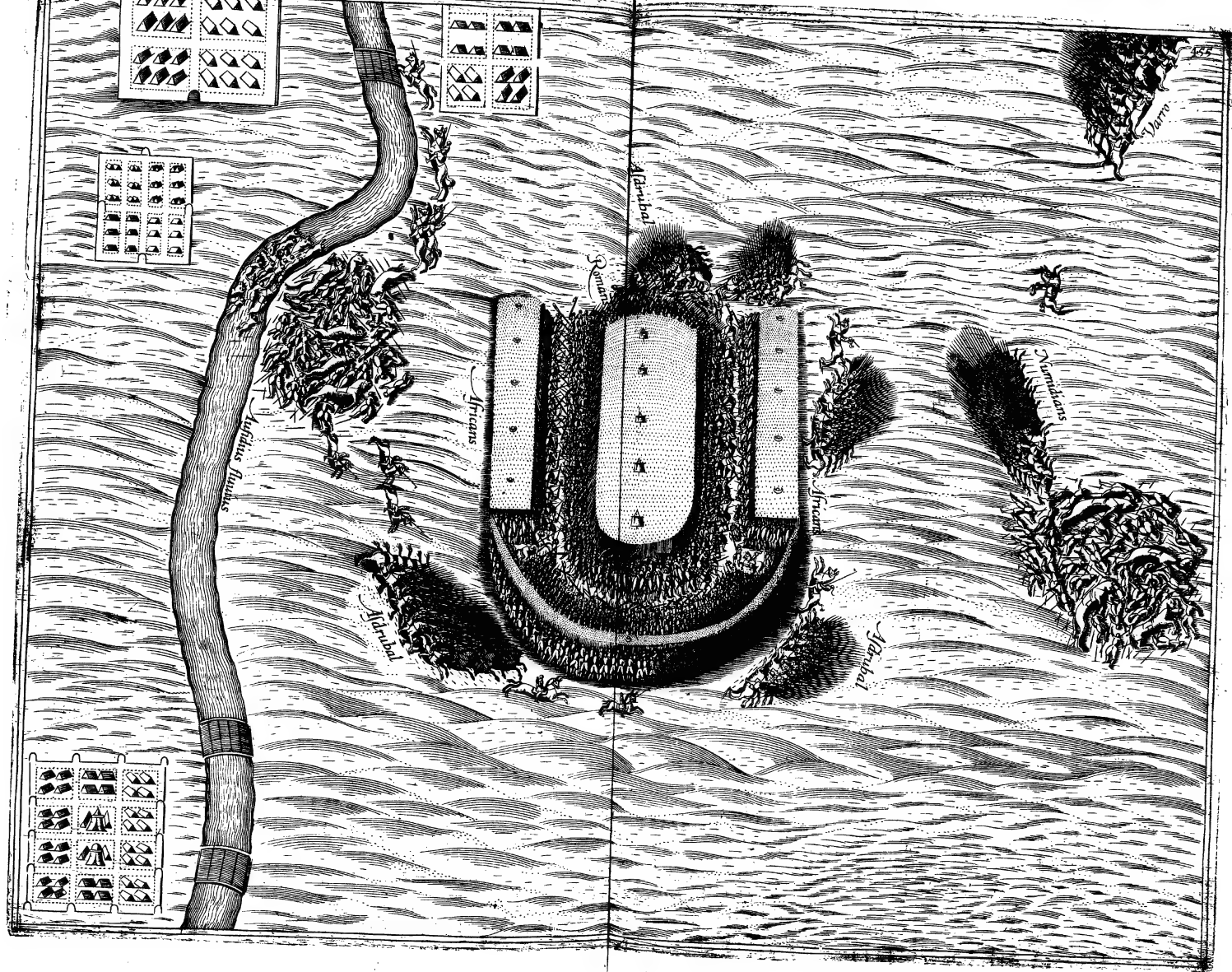
Of the Actes of the *Gracians* at the siege.

**T**Hese and many other of lesse note, arriuing at *Troy*, found such sharpe entertainment, as might easily perswade them to thinke that the war would bee more than one yeeres worke. For in the first encounter they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, and many other, without any great harme done to the *Troians*: saue onely that by their numbers<sup>30</sup> of men, they wonne ground enough to incampe themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principall impediment which the *Greekes* found, was want of victuals, which grew vpon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallnesse of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an armie. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cheroneesse*: others to robbe vpon the sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the warre protracted nine whole yeeres, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the towne receiue little losse by them, having equall numbers to maintaine the field against such *Greekes* as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat, if the enemy got the better.

40

Wherefore *Ouid* saith, that from the first yeare till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: and *Heraclides* commends as very credible the report of *Herodotus*; That the *Greekes* did not lye before *Troy* the first nine yeeres: but onely did beate vp and downe the seas, exercising their men, and enriching themselves, and so by wasting the enemies Country, did blocke vp the towne, vnto which they returned not vntill the fatall time drew neere, when it should be subuerted.

This is confirmed by the enquire which *Priamus* made, when the *Greeke* Princes came into the field, the tenth yeere, for he knew none of them, and therefore sitting vpon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all haue bene supposed that hee should bee ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the towne so many yeeres together. Betwene these relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, the difference is not much, the one saying that a few of the *Greekes* remained in the Campe before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purueyance by land and sea: the other that the whole<sup>50</sup>



whole armie did spend the time in wasting the sea-coastes. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authours: for they make report of many townes and Islands wasted, and the people carried into Captiuitie; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the armie could not well, nor would haue spared, if any seruice of importance had beene to bee performed before the Citie. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by generall consent, that in the beginning of that summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great pestilence arose among the *Greekes*: which *Homer* saith that *Apollo* sent in reuenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let goe, for any rancome: but *Heracles* interpreting the place, saith that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne: who raised pestilent fogges, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish peece of ground. And it might well bee that the campe was ouer-pestered with those, who had beene abrode, and now were lodged all close together: hauing also grounded their shippes within the fortifications.

About the same time arose much contention betwene *Agamemnon* and *Achilles*, lea about the bootie, whereof *Agamemnon*, as *General*, hauing first chosen for his part a captiue woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himselfe an other, then *Alex*, *Phyllis*; and so the rest of the Chieftaines in order: When the Soothsayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman should be restored to her father, *Apollo's* Priest; that so the Pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage and say, that hee alone would not looke his part of the spoile, but would either take that which had beene giuen to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Alex*, or to *Phyllis*. Hereupon *Achilles* desired him, but was faine to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Conscience by strong hand; nor to reuenge her loss, otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to lend forth his Companies: But the *Greekes* encouraged by their Captaines, presented themselves before the Citie without him and his troupes.

The *Troians* were now relictued with great iacours; all the neighbour Countries hauing sent them ayde: partly drawn to that warre by their Commianders, who assisted *Tristram* for money, where with he abounded when the warre beganne (as apperates by his words in *Homer*) for loile of himselfe and his sonnes, or hope of marriage with some of his many and faire daughters; partly also (as we may well guess) incited by the wrongs receiued of the *Greekes*; when they wasted the Countrey adioyning vnto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* issued out of the towne, hee was little inferior to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders: The principall Captaines in the *Troian* armie, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus* and the other sonnes of *Priamus*; *Antenor*, and his sonnes; *Polydamas*, *Sarpidon*, *Glaucus*, *Astius*; and the sonnes of *Panthus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slaine the first night of his arriuall, *Mentor*, *Queen Penelope*, and others who came towards the end of the warre: Betwene these and the *Greekes* were many battels fought: the greatest of which were that at the taking of *Ilium* upon the plaines; and another at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the *Greekes*, and began to fire their shippes: at which time *Alex*, the sonne of *Tristram* with his brother *Teucer*, were in the maine the onely men of horse that remaining vnwounded, made head against *Hector*, when the rest of the *Greekes* was almost desperate.

Another battell (for antiquitie calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who hauing obtained leaue, drew forth *Achilles* troopes rescuing the wearie *Greekes* with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Phyllis*, and the rest of the Princes, though sore wounded, yet were driuen to put on armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Troians* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torne from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of those warres; hauing slaine a man, to stripp him and

and hale away his bodie, nor restoring it without ranfome, if he were one of make. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foote, slightly armed, and commonly followed the fuccesse of their captaines; who rode not vpon horses, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horses, which were guided by some trauie followers of theirs, which draue vp and downe the field, as they were directed by the Captaines, who by the swiftnesse of their horses presenting themselves where neede required, threw first their lauelins, and then alighting fought on foote, with swords and battel-axes, retiring into the ranks of the footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began againe with anew dart as they could get it, if their old were lost, or broken. Their armes defensive were helmets, breft-plates, bootes of brasse or other metall, & shields commonly of leather, plated ouer. The onlinie were swords and battel-axes at hand; and stones, arrows or darts when they fought at any distance. The vse of their Chariots (besides the swiftnesse) was to keepe them from wearinesse, whereto the leaders were much subiect, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest warre hauiest: also that from them they might throw their lauelins downewards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I finde not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often druen to returne to their Tents for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none; euery man (speaking of the chiefs) carried his owne compleat, of which if 10 any peece were lost or broken, he was druen to repaire it with the like if he had any fitting, taken from some Captaine whom hee had slaine, and stripped: or else to borrow of them that had by such meanes gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore Achilles had lost his armour which Hector (as is said before) had taken from the body of Patroclus, he was faine to awaite the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might reuenge the death of Patroclus his deere friend.

At this time Agamemnon reconciled himselfe vnto Achilles, not onely restoring his concubine Briseis, but giuing him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next battell Achilles did so behaue himselfe, that he did not onely put the Troians to the worke, but also slew the valiant Hector, whom (if Homer may herein be belieued) hee chased three times about the walles of Troy. But great question may be made of Homers truth in this narration. For it is not likely that Hector would stay alone without the Citie (as Homer doth report of him) when all the Troians were fled into it: nor that he could leape ouer the riuers of Xanthus and Simois, as he must haue done in that flight: nor that the Troians perceiving Hector in such an extraxime, would haue forborne to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace Achilles, who hauing (by what meanes soeuer) slaine the noble Hector, did not onely carry away his dead bodie, as the custome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrulling leatherne thongs into 40 them, tyed him to his Chariot; and dragged him shamefully about the field, killing the dead bodie to his father Priamus for a very great ranfome. But his crueltie and cometousnesse were not long vnreunited, for he was shortly after slaine with an arrow by Paris, as Homer sayes in the Scæan gate, or as others in the Temple of Apollo, whither he came to haue married Polyxena the daughter of Priamus, with whom he was too farre in loue, hauing slaine so many of her brethren, and his body was ranfomed (as Lycophron saith) at the selfe same rate that Hector was by him sold for. Not long after this, Penelope Queene of the Amazons arrived at Troy; who after some prospectiue of her valour, was slaine by Pyrrhus the sonne of Achilles.

¶ V.

¶ V.

of the taking of Troy, the wadden Horse, the Booke of Dares and DICTIS, the Colonies of the reliques of Troy.

10 Finally after the death of many worthy persons, on each side, the Citie was taken by night, as all writers agree: but whether by the treason of *Æneus* and *Antenor*, or by a wadden Horse, as the Poets, and common fame (which followed the Poets) haue deliuered, it is vncertaine. Some write that vpon one of the gates of Troy called *Scæa*, was the image of a horse, and that the *Greekes* entring by that gate, gaue occasion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificiall horse. It may well bee that with some wadden engine, which they called an Horse, they either did batter the wals, as the *Romans* in after-times vsed to doe with the Ramme: or scaled the wals vpon the sudden and so tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow bodie of a wadden horse, it had bene a desperate aduerture, and seruing to no purpose. For either the *Troians* might haue perceived the deceit, and slaine all those Princes of *Greece*, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintaine this report they are said to haue thought vpon) or they might haue left it a fewe days without the Citie (for it was vnlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude vpon the bringing it into the towne, and breake downe their walles vpon the suddaine to doe it) by which meanes they who were shut into it, must haue perished for hunger, if they had not by inslitting forth vnseasonably discovered the inuention. Whereas further it is said, that this horse was built so high and great, that it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that therefore the *Troians* were faine to pull downe a part of their wall, to make way for it, through which breach the *Greekes* did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifest that the inclosing of so many principall men was altogether needlesse, considering that 30 without their helpe there was way sufficient for the armie, so that the surprizing of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

10 Iohn Baptista Gramay in his Historie of Asia, discoursing of this war, saith that the *Greekes* did both batter the wall with a wadden engine, and were also let into the Citie by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* gate: the townsmen sleeping and drinking without feare or cure, because the flecte of the *Greeks* had hoisted saile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Troians* into securitie. That the Citie was betrayed the bookes of *Dares* and *Lycius* must proue, which whither we now haue the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who haue made mention of these writers in ancient times, would not, as they 40 did, haue followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictorie in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they hauing serued in that warre made against the Common report: that it not been that either those bookes were euen in those times thought friuolous; or else contained no such repugnance to the other authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slaine in this warre which *Dares* and *Dyctis* say to haue bene about 600000. on the *Troian* side, and more than 800000. of the *Greekes*, it is a report merely fabulous; forasmuch as the whole flecte of the *Greekes* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their armie and dedes as much as hee could, to bee somewhat lesse than 1200. sile, and the armie therein transported or the *Greeke* seas, not much about 100000. men according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of men to extoll the dedes of their Ancestors: for which cause both *Homer* magnified the Captains of the *Greekes*, that served in the warre, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending & extolling the *Troians* and their Citie, from which the *Romans* descended. Yea the *Athenians* long

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long after in the warre which *Alexander the Persian King* made against all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Mineius* the sonne of *Petens* had shewed, in marshalling the *Grecian* army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had beene a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld vnto *Gelon* King of almost all *Sicily*, the *Admirall* of their Seas, notwithstanding that hee promised to bring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanitie possessed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in these parts of the world, which haue striven to bring their descent from some of the Princes, that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or vnlikelihoods in such their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probability came of the *Troians*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romanes*, brought into that Countrey by *Aeneas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the Countrey adioyning by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the sonne of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellenus* addeth that the posteritie of *Hector* did resemble such of the *Troians* as were left, and reigned ouer them about *Troy*.

## §. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greekes returning from Troy.

**C**ONCERNING the *Greekes*, they tasted as much miserie as they had brought vpon the *Troians*. For *Thucydides* notes that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: some were slaine anone after their arrival: others were debarred from the Soueraignty among their people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seeme to haue beene the dispersion of the armie, which weakened much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell iniuries, being diuided so many peeces vnder seuerall Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising vpon the diuision of the bootie, and the like occasions) at the time when they should haue set saile, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and performe some sacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot wordes, halfe the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them failing to the Ile of *Tenedos*: where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to *Agamemnon*, others were dispersed, each holding his owne course. But the whole Fleet was vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not bee perswaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor* and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Orestes* afterward slew: also *Idomeneus*, and *Philoctetes*, who neuertheless, as *Virgill* tels, were driven soone after to seeke new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italy*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slaine by his wife and by the adulterer *Aegisthus*, who for a while after vsurped his Kingdom. *Menelaus* wandering long vpon the Seas, came into *Aegypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seeme) to fetch her. *Vlisses*, after ten yeeres, hauing lost all his company, got home in poore estate, with much adoe recovering the mastershippe of his owne house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and faine to seeke out new habitations.

*Aias* the sonne of *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Damius*, who was Lord of the *Iapyges* in *Apulia*; some of the *Loerians* were driven into *Africke*, others into *Italy*; all the East part whereof was called *Magna Gracia*, by reason of so many townes which the *Greekes* were driven to erect vpon

to erect vpon that coast. Finally it appears in *Homer* that the *Grecian* Ladies, whose husbands had bene at the warre of *Troy*, were wont to call it; The place where the *Greekes* suffered miserie, and the vnluckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy* and those that warred there: the ouerthrow of which Citie, as hath bene said, happened in the time of *Isabon* Iudge of *Israell*, whom *Samson* after a variance or *Interregnum* for certaine yeeres succeeded.

## CHAP. XV.

## Of SAMSON, ELI, and SAMUEL.

## §. I.

## Of SAMSON.



HE birth and aces of *Samson* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that Storie. First that the *Angell* of *God* forbade the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Samson*, to drinke wine or strong drinke, or to cate any vnclean meate, after she was conceived with child; because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrinke the child in the mothers wombe: Though this were euen the counsell of *God* himselfe,

and deliuered by his *Angell*, yet it seemeth that many women of this age haue: not read, or at least will not beleue this precept: the most part forbearing not drincks, nor meats, how strong or vnclean foucer, filling themselves with all sorts of wines, and with artificiall drincks farre more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are borne into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly it is to be noted, that the *Angell* of *God* refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would haue offered him, commanding him to present it vnto the Lord: and therefore those that professe diuination by the helpe of *Angels*, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are *Deuils* who accept thereof, and not good *Angels*, who receive no worship that is proper to *God*.

Thirdly, this *Samson* was twice betrayed by his wiues, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitfull teares: by the first he lost but a part of his goods: by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas euertit; Whom no force could overcome, voluptuousnesse ouerturned.*

Fourthly we may note, that he did not in all deliuer *Israell* from the oppression of the *Philistims*; though in some sort he reuenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slaine 30. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corne in harvest time, and giuen them a great ouerthrow instantly vpon it: yet so much did *Israell* feare the *Philistims*, as they assembled 3000. men out of *Iuda*, to besiege *Samson* in the rocke or mountaine of *Etam*, vnder these wordes. *Knowest not thou that the Philistims are Rulers ouer vs? &c.* After which they bound him, and deliuered him vnto the *Philistims*, for feare of their reuenge; though he was no sooner loosened, but he gaue them another ouerthrow and slew 1000. with the iawbone of an asse.

Lastly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, hee was content to end his owne life, to be auenged of his enemies, when he pulled downe the pillars

pillars of the house at the feast wherto they sent for Samson, to deride him, till with time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of Seneca; *Patientia sapientia virtutis in furorē, Patience often wounded is converted into furie*: neither is it at any time so much wounded by paine and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

## §. II.

Of Eli and of the Arke taken, and of DAGONS fall, and the sending backe of the Arke.

**T**He storie of Eli the Priest, who succeeded Samson, is written in the beginning of Samuel; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose sinnes were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophane and polluting the holy places: though *Leui Ben Gerson* to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the sonnes of Eli, hath a contrarie opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to call the Israelites vnder the sword of the Philistines, of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000. and in the second battell 3000. footmen; among whom the sonnes of Eli being slaine, their father (hearing the lamentable successe) by falling from his chaire, brake his necke. Hee was the first that obtained the High Priesthood of the stocke of Ithamar the sonne of Aaron, before whose time it continued successively in the race of Eleazar the eldest brother of Ithamar: for Aaron was the first, Eleazar the second, Phinees the sonne of Eleazar the third, Abisue the sonne of Phinees the fourth, his sonne Boodi the fifth, Ozai the sonne of Boodi the sixth, and then Eli, as Iosephus and Lysanias out of diuers Hebrew authors haue conceived. In the race of Ithamar the Priesthood continued after Eli to the time of Salomon who cast out Abisithar, and established Sadok and Achimias and their successors. The Arke of God which Israel brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the Philistines. For as David witnesseth. God greatly abhorred Israel, so that he sought the habitation of Shilo: euen the Tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and deliuered his power into captiuitie &c.

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the Arke whereby himselfe was represented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did he permit the Chaldeans to destroy the Temple built by Salomon; the Romans to overthrow the second Temple; and the Turkes to overthrow the Christian Churches in Asia and Europe. And had not the Israelites put more confidence in the sacrament, or representation which was the Arke, then in God himselfe, they would haue obserued his Lawes, and serued him onely: which whensoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captiuitie they had no Arke at all, nor in the times of the Maccabees: and yet for their pietie it pleased God to make that familie as victorious, as any that garded themselves by the signe in stead of the substance. And that the Arke was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an enligne; David witnesseth when he fled from Absalon. For when the Priests would haue carried the Arke with him; he forbade it, and caused it to be returned into the Citie, vying these words. *If I shall finde fauour in the eyes of the Lord, hee will bring mee againe: if not, let him doe to me as seemeth good in his eyes.*

The Troians beleued that while their Palladium or the image of Minerva was kept in Troy, the Citie should neuer bee ouerturned: so did the Christians in the last fatal battell against Saladin carrie into the field, as they were made beleue, the very Crosse whereon Christ died, and yet they lost the battell, their bodies and the wood. But Christ himselfe vpon Saint Matthew (if that bee his worke) giueth a good iudgment, speaking of those that were a part of Saint Iohns Gospel about their neckes, for an amulet or preseruatue. *Si tibi ea non presunt in ambrum,*

*auribus quomo. so proderant in Collo? If those words doe not profit men in their eares (to wit, the hearing of the Gospell preached) how should it profit them by hanging it about their neckes? For it was neither the wood of the Arke, nor the wood of the Crosse, but the reuerence of the Father that gaue the one for a memorie of his Councant: and the Faith in his Sonne, which shed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and vs, which in this life or after it.*

The Philistines returning with the greatest victorie and glorie which euer they obtained, carried the Arke of God with them to Azotus, and set it vp in the house of Dagon their Idoll: but that night the Idoll fell out of his place, from aboute to the ground, and lay vnder the Arke. The morning following they tooke it vp, and set it vp, and set it againe in his place. And it fell the second time, and the head brake from the bodie, and the hands from the armes, shewing that it had nor power, nor vnderstanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason, and knowledge, and the hands (by which wee execute strength) were sundred from the armes. For God and the Deuill inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not indure the representation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at such time as it pleased him to couer his onely begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the Oracles wherein the Liueli derided and betrayed mortall men lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true light which had neuer beginning of brightnesse, brake through the clouds of a virgins bodie, shining vpon the earth which had beene long obscured by Idolatrie, all those foule and stinking vapours vanished. Plutarke receaerth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great God Pan, as hee stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his braines for many reasons of so great an alteration: yet finds he none out but friuolous. For not onely this olde Deuill did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as Apollo, Iupiter, Demus, and the whole race became speechlesse.

Now while the Philistines triumphed after this victorie, God strook them with the grievous disease of the Hemorrhoides: of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written that the Lord destroyed them. It was therefore by generall consent ordered that the Arke should be removed from Azotus to Gath or Geth another of the five great Cities of the Philistines; to proue, as it seemeth whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to Gath and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortal. For the hand of the Lord was against this Citie with a very great destruction, and hee smote the men of the Citie both small and great, &c. And being not yet satisfied, they of Gath lent the Arke to Ekron or Accaron, a third Citie of the Philistines: but they also felt the same smart, and cried out that themselves and their people should be slaine thereby; For there was a destruction and death throughout all the Citie. In the end, by the aduise of their Priests, the Prince of the Philistines did not onely refuse to return the Arke, but to offer gifts vnto the God of Israel, remembering the plagues which had fallen on the Egyptians, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his seruice by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the God of Israel to bee almightie, and that their owne Idols were subiect thereunto, they agreed to offer a sinne offering, vying these words; *So see shall glorie to the God of Israel that hee may take his hand from you, and from your Gods and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approue our cause? according to Aristotle, *Pulcherrimum est testimonium, quo nostris probantur ab hostibus.* So did Pharaos confesse the liuing God, when he was plagued in Egypt: and Nabuchodonosor, and Darius, when they had seene his miracles by Daniel.

This counsell therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden Hemorrhoides, and the golden Mice prepared, they caused two miche kine to bee chosen, such as had not bene yoked, and a new Cart or carriage to bee framed: but they durst

durit not drive or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make triall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had stricken them. For if the *Arke of God* were carried towards *Bethleem*, and into the territorie of *Israel*: then they should resolve that from *God* onely came their late destruction. For the *Philistines* knew that the milch kine which drew the *Arke*, could not be forced from their calves, but that they would have followed them wherefoever; much lesse when they were left to themselves would they traue a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world if calves be remoued from their dammes, the kine will follow them through woods, and desertes by the foote, till they finde them. But the kine trauielled directly towards *Bethleem*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Iosua* of the same Citie, they stood fill there; which when the Princes of the *Philistines* perceived, they returned to *Ekrum*: After which, *God* spared not his owne people the *Bethlemites*, in that they presumed to looke into the *Arke*. And because they knew *God*, and his commandments and had bene taught accordingly: he strooke them more grievously than he did the *Heathen*, for there perished of them fiftie thousand and seuentie. From hence the *Arke* was carried to *Kiriath-seaun* and placed in the house of *Abinadab*: where it is written that it remained twentie yeere in the charge of *Elezar* his sonne, untill *Dauid* brought it to *Hierusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the meane while the *Arke* was in *Xob*, *Misphab* and *Galgala*, it was the *Tavernacle*, which was at this time seuered from the *Arke*: or at least, it was for the present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-seaun*.

## §. III.

Of *SAMUEL* and of his Government.

These Tragedies ouerpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom *God* appeared while hee was yet a childe, became now *Judge* and *Gouernour* of *Israel*. He was descended of the familie of *Beniamin*, *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Leui* had three sonnes *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Amerari*: *Cheath* had *Amram*, and *Iezar*: of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Iezar*, *Chore*: and of the familie of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Elezar* a *Leuite*, was called an *Ephraimite*, not that the *Leuites* had any proper inheritance, but because he was of *Mount Ephraim*, like as *Iesse*, *Dauid*'s father was called an *Ephraimite*, because borne at *Ephraim*, or *Bethleem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of *God* by prayers and teares: it being an exceeding shame to the *Lewish* women, to be called barren in respect of the blessing of *God* both to *Abraham* that his seed should multiply, as the *Starres* of Heauen, and the fands of the *Sea*, as in the beginning to *Adam*, *increase and multiply*, &c. and in *Deuteronomie* the seauenth, *There shall bee neither male nor female barren among you*.

*Samuel* was no sooner borne, but that his mother according to her former vowe dedicated him to *God*, and his seruice, to which the deliuered him euen from the dugges. For as the first borne of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were five yeeres old for five sheekles, and betwene five yeeres and twentie for twentie sheekles: so was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the *Leuites* should be called to serue about the *Tavernacle*, till they were five and twentie yeeres old.

*Saint Peter* reckons in the *Actes* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually this name of a Prophet was giuen, and yet did *Moses* account himselfe such a one, as in the 18. of *Deuter*. The Lord thy *God* will raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto mee, &c. But hee is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as, Before time in *Israel*, when a man went to seeke an answer of *God*, thus he *spake*, Come and let us goe to the *Seer*:

for

for he that is now called a *Prophet*, was in old time called a *Seer*. And although it pleased *God* to appeare by his *Angels* to *Moses*, as before to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*: yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision; not that *God* had altogether with-drawne his grace from *Israel*: but as the *Chaldean Paraphrast* hath it, those reuelations before *Samuel*'s time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein *Samuel* iudged were *Mispha* or *Mispha*, seated on a hill in *Beniamin* neare *Juda*: also *Gilgal*, and *Bethel*, of which we haue spoken elsewhere.

The *Philistines* taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation for Warre at *Mispha* in the beginning of *Samuel*'s government, gathered their Armie and marched towards the Citie: at whose approach the *Israelites* stricken with feare, and with the memorie of their former slaughters and seruitude, besought *Samuel* to pray to *God* for them: who was then performing his sacrifice when the *Philistines* were in view. But *God* being moued with *Samuel*'s prayers (as he was by those of *Moses*, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at their first entrance into *Arabia*) It pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beate downe the Armie of the *Philistines*, according to the prophetic of *Hanna*, *Samuel*'s Mother. The Lords aduersaries shall be destroyed, and out of heauen shall be thunder upon them, &c. *Iosephus* affirms that a part of the *Philistines* were swallowed with an earth-quake: and that *Samuel* himselfe led the *Israelites* in the prosecution of their victorie. After which *Samuel* erected a Monument in memorie of this happy successe obtained by the miraculous hand of *God*, which *Iosephus* called *lapidem sortem*: *Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunitie and aduantage of the victorie, the *Israelites* recovered diuers Cities of their owne formerly lost, and held long in possession of the *Philistines*, who for a long time after did not offer any inuasion or reuenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts: the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be assaulted from diuers parts at once; having the *Philistines* towards the West and Sea-coast, the *Canaanites* toward the North and East, and the *Idumites* on the South. The estate being thus settled, *Samuel* for the ease of the people gaue audience and iudgment in diuers places by turnes, as hath bene elsewhere said.

## CHAP. XVI.

Of *SAUL*.

## §. I.

## Of the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdome.



When age now beganne to ouer-take *Samuel*, and that hee was not able to vnder-goe the burthen of so carefull a government, he put off from himselfe the waight of the affaires on his Sonnes, *Ioel* and *Abijah*, who iudged the people at *Beersheba*, a Citie, the very vtmost towards the South of *Juda*. And as the place was inconuenient and farre away, so were themselves no lesse remoued from the iustice and vertue of their Father. For the thirst of couetousnesse the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and delireth, finding tast in nothing but gain; to recouer which they did set the Law at a price, and sold Iustice and iudgment to the best Chapman. Which when

Sam. 13.  
See in this booke, c. 12. §. 1. in the margin.

\* Plutarch reports of *Demetrius* the last King of *Rome*, that when as hee was sacrificing it was told him that the enemies approached, he notwithstanding, answered, *Ego autem sacrifico*.  
1. Sam. 4. 10.

1. Sam. 6. 6. &  
1. Chron. c. 12.  
2. See in this booke, c. 12. §. 1. in the margin.

b1. Chron. 6. 23.

c Which region was called *Ephraim* appears *Iud. 12. 5.* whence for distinction we reade *Ruth. 1. 2.* *Ephraim* & *Bethleem* to be distinct towns *Ephraim* which is *Bethleem* in *Iuda*, *Gen. 35. 19.* from the region of *Ephraim*, which is in *Mount Ephraim* whence *Iud. 12. 5.* *Bethleem* is put for *Philistia* which was in the trib. of *Ephraim*.

Ysa. 15.  
1. Sam. 9.

when the Elders of *Israel* observed, and saw that *Samuel* as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the errors of his owne, they praised him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be judged as other Nations were; who might also leade them to the Warre and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable success which followed the rule of *Eli* his sonnes, when those of *Samuel* by their first blotsomes promised to yeld fruit no lesse bitter, they saw no way to put the government out from his race, whom they so much reuerenced, but by the choise of a King.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsaile from God: which surely he did not for the establishing of his owne sonnes; who being as they were, God would not haue approved his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, hee vsed his best arguments to deterre them: which when he perceived to bee ouer-feeble, hee deliuered vnto them from Gods reuelation, the inconueniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which hee fore-shewed was not intolerable, but such as hath bene borne, and is so still by free consent of the Subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will vse their sonnes in his owne seruice to make them his Horse-men, Chariotiers, and Foot-men; which is not only not grievous, but by the vassalls of all Kings according to their birth and condition desired: it being very agreeable to Subjects of the best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres; and to till the ground no lesse proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought vp: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dresse meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned: *He will take up your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and give them to his servants;* with other oppressions; this hath giuen, and giues daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their owne discretion, to affirme that *Samuel* describeth here vnto them the power of a King, gouerned by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others vpon further examination construe this Text farre otherwise, as teaching vs what Subjects ought with patience to beare at their *Soueraignes* hand. The former opinion is grounded first vpon that place of *Deuteronomie*, where God fore-sheweth this change of government from Iudges to Kings, and after he had forbidden many things vnto the Kings, as many wiues, couetousnesse, and the like: he commandeth that the Kings which were to raigne ouer *Israel*, should write the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all dayes of his life: that he may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the wordes of this Law, and these ordinances for to do them: that he may prolong his daies in his Kingdome, he and his Sonnes.* But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrarie to the lawes of God: in the same booke written. For it is said, *That which do is right and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayest liue.* Now if it bee not permitted to carrie away grapes more than thou canst eate out of an other mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much lesse lawfull to take the vineyard it selfe from the owner, and giue it to an other. Neither are the wordes of the Text (say they) such as doe warrant the Kings of *Israel*, or make it proper vnto them, to take at will any thing from their vassalls. For it is not said that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your Sonnes: and againe, this shall be the manner of the King that shall raigne ouer you. God thereby fore-shewing what power secured from pietie, (because it is accountable to God only) will doe in the future. And hereof we finde the first example in *Achab*, who tooke from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrarie to the trust which God had put in him, of gouerning well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be iudged with righteous iudgement.* Wherefore though the King had offered vnto *Naboth* composition, as a Vineyard of better valew, or the worth in money

Deut. 17.

Deut. 6.

Deut. 23. v. 24.  
Lev. 6.

Deut. 16.

money which he refused: yet because he was falsely accused and vniustly condemned (though by colour of law) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a liuing Law, euen as *Dauid* testifieth of himselfe. *Posuisti me in caput gentium:* For this of *S. Augustine* is very true. *Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata equitas non est equitas: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio: Fained innocence, and fained equitie are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled in which there is both iniquitie and dissimulation.* Such in effect is their disposition who thinke this place to containe the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrarie side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well knowne to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true law of free Monarchies*, which *Treatise* I may not presume to abridge, much lesse here to insert. Only thus much I will say, that if practise doe shew the greatnesse of authoritie, euen the best Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were not so tied by any lawes, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the greatest things; and commanded some of their owne Princes, and of their owne bretheren to be slaine without any trial of law, being sometimes by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *Dauid* confessed his offence by the death of *Uriah*, yet *Salomon* killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed vnto him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receiue this change of government, it was not only fore-told by *Moses* in *Deuteronomie*, but prophesied of by *Iacob* in this Scripture. *The scepter shall not depart from Iuda, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing. For it was not only assured that his issues should in number equall the Starres in heauen, but that Kings should procede of him: Which state seeing it is framed from the Patterne of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Vniuersall: and the excellencie thereof in respect of all other governments, hath bene by many iudicious men handled and proued, I shall not neede to ouer-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the *Judges* every man hath observed what ciuill Warre *Israel* had: what outrageous slaughters they committed vpon each other: in what miserable seruitude they liued for many yeares: and when it faced best with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the best vallies of the Countrey. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* ouer *Jordan*: the *Philistines* the Sea-coasts: and the *Iebusites* *Hierusalem* it selfe, till *Dauid*s time: all which that King did not only conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subiected all the Neighbour Nations, and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassalls. But whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moued by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to liue vnder a Monarch, or whether by this means they sought to be cleared from the sonnes of *Samuel*, they became deafe to all the perswasions and threats which *Samuel* vsed, insisting vpon this point that they would haue a King, both to iudge them and defend them: wherevnto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, hee sent euery man to his owne Citie and abiding.

1 Sam. 8.

## §. II.

of the election of *S. AVAL*.

After that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at  *Mizpah* , hee forbore the election of a King, till such time as he was therein directed by God: who fore-told him the day before, that he would present vnto him a man of the Land of *Beniamin*, whom hee commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So



Samuel

*Samuel* went vnto *Ramath* *Saphim*, to make a feast for the entertainement of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promise) and *Saul* also hauing wandred diuers daies to seeke his Fathers Asse, at length by the aduise of his seruant trauailed towards *Ramath*, to finde out a *Seer* or *Prophet*, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beasts. In which Iourney it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect *Saul*, who sought an Asse, and not a Kingdome: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheepe of *Iethro*; and after to make choise of *Dauid* the yongest of eight sonnes, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beuts, and changed his sheep-hooke into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of *Iuda* and *Israel*. So *Iohn* and *Jacob* were taken from cauling their nets, to become Fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of *Apofiles*, a dignitie that died not in the graue, as all worldly Honours doe: but permanent and euermlasting in Gods endlesse Kingdome.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected and staid his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom he had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. *Saul*, finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Iudge of *Israel*, much lesse knowing the Honour which attended him: asked *Samuel* in what part of the Citie the *Seer* dwelt, *Samuel* answered that himselfe was the man he sought, and praised *Saul* to go before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the Kingdome, and of Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following appointed him King of *Israel*.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward; that two men should encounter him by *Rabels* Sepulcher, who should tell him that his Asse were found; and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of loosing his beasts, to doubt the losse of his sonne: that he should then meete three other men in the plaine of *Tabor*; then a companie of Prophets: and that he should be partaker of Gods spirit and prophetic with them; and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar into that which became a King elected and fauoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spirituall gifts, were not of the first and most reuerenced number, who by diuine reuelation fore-told things to come, reprehended without feare the errors of their Kings, and wrought miracles of which number were *Moses*, *Isaiah*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Isaiah*, *Abias*, *Elisha*, *Elisha*, *Isay*, *Ieremie*, &c. and the rest; for these Prophets faith S. CHRYSOSTOME, *Omnis tempora percurrunt, praterita, presentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom S. Paul speaketh of 1. Cor. 1. 14. who enriched with spirituall gifts expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

At *Shiloh* *Samuel* assembled the people that hee might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his owne Vnde therewith, when he asked him what had past betwene him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reueale it, till he were confirmed by generall consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Shiloh*, the generall opinion is, that hee was chosen by lot. *Chimbi* thinks by the answer of \**Prin* and *Thumim*: that is, by the answer of the Priest, wearing that myserie vpon his breast when he asked counsaile of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much vsed among the *Iewes*, but by many others, if not by all Nations. The Land of promise was diuided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goates, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliuerance, for whose garments the *Iewes* also cast lots. *Cicero*, *Plautus*, *Paulinus*, and others haue remembered diuers sorts of lots, vsed

vsed by the *Romanes*, *Gracians*, and other Nations: as in the diuision of grounds or honours; and in things to be vnder-taken: the two first kinds were called diuision; the third diuinatorie; and into one of these three all may be reduced: all which kinds howsoever they may seeme chancefull, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*. *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord*. And in like sort fell the Kingdome of *Israel* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gaue *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himselfe in modestie, as both *Iosephus* confests it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himselfe to the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* enlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the chosen King of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and praised for him; yet some there were that enuied his glorie (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to auoide sedition, tooke no notice.

### Of the establishing of SAUL by his first victories.

SOONER was *Saul* placed in the Kingdome, but that hee receiued knowledge that *Nabes* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Iabes Gilead*: which Nation since the great overthrow giuen them by *Iephtha*, neuer durst attempt any thing vpon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did alwaies attend vpon the aduantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the *Amorites*, and then *Israel* dispossest them of: which they made the ground of their invasion in *Iephtha*'s time; yet they neuer perfwaded themselves of more aduantage than at this present. For first they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly they were remembered that the *Philistims* had not long before slaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and besides had vsed great care and pollicie that they should haue no *Smithes* to make them swords or speares: neither was it long before that of the *Bethshemites* and places adioyning, there perished by the hand of God more then 50000. and therefore in these respects, euen occasion it selfe invited them to enlarge their Dominions vpon their borderers: *Iabes Gilead* being one of the nearest. Besides it may further be coniectured that the *Ammonites* were emboldened against *Iabes Gilead*, in respect of their weakenesse, since the *Israelites* destroyed a great part of them, for not ioyning with them against the *Beniamites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their yong women, and gaue them to the *Beniamites*: and therefore they were not likely to haue beene increased to any great numbers: And if they had recovered themselves of this great calamitie, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himselfe with the opinion, that *Israel* hauing for long time beene disarmed by the *Philistims*, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would giue them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they should be vterly disabled for the Warre, as elswhere hath beene spoken: *Saul*, both to valow himselfe in his first yeares raigne, and because perchance he was defended of one of those 400. Maides taken from the *Gileadites*, and giuen to the *Beniamites*, gaue order to assemble the forces of *Israel*: hewing a yoke of Oxen into peeces and sending them by messengers ouer all the coasts, profitting thus: *That whosoever came not forth after SAUL and after SANUEL, so should his Oxen be serued*: threatening the people by

Chrysost. 164. 43.  
\* The *Prin* and *Thumim* in the ornaments of the High Priest were inserted within the pectorall, which therefore was duplicated, they were placed in the pectorall ouer against the heart of the High Priest. It is plain that they were not the precious stones nor any thing made by the Artificers. See Exod. 28. 17. 29. 10. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

by their goodes, and not by their liues at the first. Seuen daies had Saul to assemble an Armie, by reason that the Gileadites had obtained the respite of these seuen daies to giue *Nahab* the Ammonite an answer: who, could they have obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to haue secured themselves from *Israel*, and to become Vassalls and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while Saul assembled the forces, which repaired vnto him at *Bezece*, neare *Jordan*, that he might readily passe the River; which done he might in one day with a speedy marche arrive at *Iabes*, vnder the Hills of *Gilead*.

1.Sam.17.8. The Armie by Saul led consisting of three hundred and thirtie thousand: he returned an answer to those of *Iabes*, that they should assure themselves of succour by the next day at noone. For as it seemeth Saul marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch hee surprized the Armie of *Nahab* the Ammonite. And to the end that he might set on them on all sides, he diuided his force in three parts, putting them to the sword, vntill the heate of the day, and the wearinesse of Sauls troups, infort them to giue ouer the pursuit. Now the Ammonites were become the more carelesse and secure, in that those of *Iabes* promised the next morning to render themselves and their Citie to their mercie. After this happy successe the people were so farre in loue with their new King, that they would haue flaine all those *Israelites* that murmured against his election, had not himselfe forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent louers of the prosperous, and base vassalls of the time that flourisheth: or as despightfull and cruell without cause against those, whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident hath throwne downe.

1.Sam.17.11. After the Armie remoued, Samuel summoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where Saul was now a third time acknowledged, and as some Commenters affirme, anointed King; and here Samuel vied an exhortation to all the assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearsal of his owne Iustice, during the beginning of his gouernment to that day. After Saul had now reigned one yeare before hee was established in *Gilgal* or *Galgala*, he strengthened himselfe with a good guard of 3000. chosen men, of which he assigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his sonne at *Gibeah*, the Citie of his 30 natuities: the rest hee kept about his owne person in *Niomas*; and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

### §. IIII.

Of SAULS disobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the *Philistims* and *Amalekites*, which caused his small reitition.

1.Sam.13.5. **I**NATHAN with his small Armie or Regiment, that attended him, 40 taking a time of advantage, surprized a Garrison of *Philistims*: the same, as some thinke, which Saul past by, when he came from *Rama* where he was first anointed by Samuel, which they thinke to haue bene *Cariath-seirim*: because a place where the *Philistims* had a Garrison 1.Sam.10. is called the Hill of God, which they vnderstand of *Cariath-seirim*: but *Imus* vnderstands this Garrison to haue bene at *Gibeah* in *Beniamin* neare *Gibba* where *Jonathan* abode with his thousand followers. Howsoever by this it appeareth that the *Philistims* held some strong places, both in the times of Samuel, and of Saul, within the Territorie of *Israel*: and now being greatly iraged by this surprize they assembled 30000. armed Chariots, and 6000. Horse, where-with they invaded *Iduea*, and incamped at *Michmas* or *Michmas*, a Citie of *Beniamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hierusalem*, and in the midle of the Land betweene the Sea and *Jordan*. With this suddaine inuasion the *Israelites* were stricken in so great a feare, as some of them hid themselves in the caues of the mountains, other fled ouer *Jordan* into

1.Sam.13.13. *Goa* and *Gilead*: Saul himselfe with some 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, staid at *Galgala* in *Beniamin*, not farre from the passage of *Iordan* which hee led *Israel* ouer *Jordan*. Here Saul by Samuels appointment was to attend the coming of Samuel seuen daies. But when the last day was in part spent, and that Saul perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place 1.Sam.13.9.) to exercise the office which appertained not vnto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering vnto God, contrarie to the Eccle. asticall lawes of the Hebrewes, and Gods Commandements: others expound the word *obedi*, in this place, by *obedi* per *Sacerdotem*, and so make the sinne of Saul not to haue bene any intrusion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commandment, in not laying according to the appointment. Secondly a diffidence or mistrust in Gods helpe, & too great relying vpon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not beare patiently, and lastly a Contempt of the holy Prophet Samuel, and of the helpe which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him.

1.Sam.13.13. But whatsoeuer was his sinne, notwithstanding his excuses, he was by Samuel reprehended most sharply, in termes vntisning his estate, had not extraordinary warrant bene giuen to Samuel so to doe, from God himselfe, at which time also Samuel feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome should be conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from Saul and his posteritie.

1.Sam.13.19. 10. After this Samuel and Saul returned to *Gibeah*, where Saul when he had taken view of his armie found it to consist of 600. men: for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or speare, but Saul and his sonne *Jonathan* only. For the *Philistims* had not left them any Smith in all *Israel*, that made weapons; besides they that came to Saul came hastily, and left such weapons & armour as they had, behind them in the garrisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how Saul should be able the yeere before, or in some part of this very yeere, to succour *Iabes Gilead* with 33000. men, if there had not now bene any yron weapon to defend themselves withall, saue onely in the hand of Saul and *Jonathan* his sonne. But howsoever, all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the *Philistims*, and all those craftsmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left vnto the *Israelites* onely files to sharpen and amend such stiffe as serued for the plough, and for nought else: yet that they had some kinde of armes it is manifest, or els they durst not haue attempted vpon the *Philistims* as they did. And it is not said in the Text that there was not any sword in all *Israel*, but onely that there was not any found amongst those 600. souldiers which staid with Saul after Samuels departure: 1.Sam.13.22. and it seemeth that when Samuel had publicly reprehended Saul, that his owne guards forooke him, hauing but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie souldiers, and of all the rest that repaired vnto him, of which many were fled from him before 40 Samuel arrived.

With this small troupe he held himselfe, to his owne Citie of *Gibeah*, as a place of more strength and better assured vnto him, then *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to passe that the *Philistims* should thus disarm the most part of the *Israelites*, howsoever in the time of Samuel much had bin done against them. For the victories of Samuel were not got by sword or speare, but by thunder from heauen: and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Israel*, no meruaile if they could not in a short peace vnder Samuel be replanted againe. For this tyranny of the *Philistims* is to be vnderstood, rather of the precedent times, than vnder Samuel: and yet vnder him it is to be thought that by their craftiest they proceeded in the policie, not suffering their artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so euen to the times of Saul kept them from hauing any store of armour. The same policie did *Nabuchodonosor* vse after his Conquest in *Iudea*: *Dariusius* in *Suetie*; and many other Princes elsewhere in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the *Israelites* might repaire in *Gilead*, for ouer *Jordan* the *Philistims*

*Philistines* had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquitie vsed, and their present necessitie ministred vnto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and slings. For the *Beniamites* exceeded in casting stones in slings: and that these were the naturall weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of *Chronicles* the twelfth Chapter, it is written of those that came to succour *David* against *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, That they were armed with bowes, and could vse the right and the left hand with stones; & with a sling it was, that *David* himselfe slew the gyant *Goliath*.

While the State of *Israel* stood in these hard termes, the *Philistines* hauing parted their armie into three troupes, that they might spoile and destroy many parts at once; *Jonathan* strengthened by God, and followed with his Esquire onely, scaled a mountaine, whereon a companie of *Philistines* were lodged: the rest of their armie (as may be gathered by the successe) being incamped in the plaine adioyning. And though hee was discovered before he came to the hill toppe, and in a kind of derision called vp by his enemies: yet hee so behaued himselfe, as with the assistance of God hee slew twentie of the first *Philistines* that hee encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, feare, and ieioultie, they slaughtered one another in stead of enemies: wherupon those *Hebrewes* which became of their partie, because they feared to be spoiled by them, tooke the aduantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly *Saul* himselfe taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that thronged themselves in mount *Ephraim*, set vpon them and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happie and glorious victorie ouer them. Heere was that prophetic in *Deuteronomie* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, That one of those which feared God, should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.

This done, the small armie of *Israel* made retreat from the pursuit. And though *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take foode till the euenng, yet his son *Jonathan* being infeebled with extreme labour and emptinesse, tasted a droppe of hony in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would haue put him to death, had not the people deliuered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, seemes to haue reduced vnto the *Philistines* remembrance their former overthrow likewise miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the meane while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, vnderooke by turnes all his bordering enemies; namely the *Mohabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zabab*, against all which he preuailed. Hee then assembled all the forces hee could make, to wit, 2 10000. men, and receiuing the commandement of God by *Samuel*, hee invaded *Amalek*, waisting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the desert, belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Hailah* towards *Tigris* vnto *Shur*, which bordereth *Aegypt*; in which warre hee tooke *Agag* their King prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all other attempted *Israel*, when they left *Aegypt* in *Moses* time: he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of *Agag*, but reserued the best of the beastes and spoile of the Country, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the liuing God.

Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know, that God would cast him from his roiall estate to which he was raised, when he was of base condition, and as the Text hath it, *little in his owne eyes*. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there bin no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how severely it pleased God to inioyne the *Israelites* to reuenge themselves vpon that Nation, he was in all vnexcusable. For God had commanded that the *Israelites* should put out the remembrance of *Amalek* from vnder heauen. For the crueltie which the predecessors of this *Agag* vsed against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were ouerwearyed, faint, sicke, and aged people, was now to be reuenged on him, & his Nation about 400. yeres afterword; and

and now hee was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himselfe hauing also sinned in the same kind, as these words of *Samuel* witness: *As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women*; at which time *Samuel* himselfe (after he had bin by many bootlesse intreaties perswaded to stay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in peeces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and soone after he departed to *Ramath*, and came no more to see *Saul*, until the day of his death.

¶ V.

Of the occurrences betwene the reiection of *Saul* and his death.

**N**OW while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a King for *Israel*, among the sonnes of *Israh*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to performe, till it pleased God to direct him, how he might auoide both the suspicion, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wisdom he sought to auoide the inconuenience or dangers of this life, then doe those men mistake the nature of his diuine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath giuen them, doe not otherwise auoide the perils and dangers thereof, than as men flippied in the opinion of fate, or destinie, neglecting either to begge counsaile at Gods hand, by prayer, or to exercise that wisdom or fore-sight, where-with God hath enriched the mind of man, for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) disdain here to instruct *Samuel*, to auoide the curse of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the sonnes of *Israh*, *Samuel* by God directed, made choise of *David*, the yongest, hauing refused *Eliab*, the first borne; who though he were a man of comely person and great strength; yet vnto such outward appearance the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, *God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart*. Hee also refusing the other six brethren, made choise of one whom his Father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock, for of him the Lord said to *Samuel*, *arise and anoint him, for this is he*: which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to seeke the life of *David*: in which cloudy mind he continued till he died, ouercome in battaile by the *Philistines*.

The *Philistines* hauing well considered (as it seemes) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilst they had sitten still and forborne to giue impediment vnto his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new triall of their fortune, as iustly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to *Israel* might be repaied with aduantage, if euer opportunitie should serue their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Israh*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all Warlike promotions, the *Philistines* had reason to thinke themselves equal, if not superiours to *Israel*. The successe of their former wars had for the most part been agreeable to their owne wilhes; as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisdom, impute them to second causes, as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarme, whereby their Armie possessed with a needlesse feare had fallen to rout. Hauing therefore mustered their forces and taken the field, encamping so neare to the Armie which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the triall of a battaile, each part kept their ground of aduantage for a while, not ioyning in grosse, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to passe the valley that lay between their Camps. Iust causes of feare they had on both sides; especially the *Philistines*, whose late attempts had beene confounded by the angrie hand of God. Vpon this occasion perhaps it was, that they fought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any

stroke from heaven were to be feared. *Goliath* a strong giant, fearing neither God nor man, undertooke to defie the whole hoste of *Israel*, prouoking them with despitefull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand, offering condition, that the partie vanquished in Champion, should hold it selfe as ouercome in grosse, and become vassall to the other. This gaue occasion to young *Dauid*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had anointed, to make a famous entrance into publicke notice of the people. For no man durst expose himselfe to encounter the great strength of *Goliath*, (sent by his father to an errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes offensive or defensive than a sling, wherewith hee ouerthrew that haughtie gyant, and after with his owne sword strooke off his head. Hereupon the *Philistines*, who should haue yielded themselves as subiects to the Conquerour, according to the couenant on their owne side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered euen to their owne gates. By this victorie the *Philistines* were not so broken, that either any of their townes were lost, or their people discouraged from insulting the Territories of *Israel*. But *Dauid*, by whom God had wrought this victorie, fell into the grievous indignation of his matter *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well deserving. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul* and came vpon *Dauid*, he then became a cruel Tyrant, faithlesse and irreligious. Because the high Priest *Amiath* led *Dauid* in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with the sword of his own conquest taken from *Goliath*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite* Doeg murdered this *Amiath*, and 85. Priests of *Nob*, but also he destroyed the Citie, and smote with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both childe and sucking, both Oxe and Ass, and sheepe. And he that had compassion on *Agag* the *Amalekite*, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preferred the best of his Cattell, contrary to the Commandement and ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercie in store, for the innocent, for the Lords seruants the Priests of *Israel*. Yea he would haue slaine his owne sonne *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *Dauids* innocencie, as also once before for tasting the hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers vnreasonable commination. The companions of crueltye are breach of faith towards men, and impietie towards God. The former he shewed in denying *Dauid* his daughter, whom he had promised him: and againe in taking her away from him, to whom he had giuen her; also in that when as *Dauid* had twice spared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworn to do him no hurt, and confessed his errors, yet he sought still to destroy him, by all the means he could. His impietie towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsell of the witch of *Endor*, which was the last preparatiue for his destruction. For whereas when he sought counsell from God he had bene alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Demill this successe followed, that both himselfe, and his three sons, with his neereft and faithfuller seruants, were all slaughtered by the *Philistines*: his bodie with the bodies of his sonnes (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung ouer the wals of *Bethsan*: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of rauenous birds, had not the grateful *Gileadites* of *Iabes* stolne their carcases thence and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had gouerned *Israel*, together with *Samuel* 40. yeeres, and by himselfe after *Samuel* 20. yeeres, according to *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, & *Iosephus*. But yet it seemeth to me that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written that *Samuel* died: and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of *Dauid*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gaue a faire entrance to all those victories which *Dauid* afterward obtained, for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring Nations; crushed the *Syrans*, and their adherents; broken the strength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the *Philistines*.

Ap. 19. 31.  
Cedren. p. 69.  
Theoph. l. 3. p. 3.  
Ioseph. l. 28.

Q. V I.

Of such as lined with *SAMUEL* and *SAUL*; of *HELLEN* and *HERCULES*, and of their issues: upon occasion of the *DORIES*, with the *HERACLIDAE*, entering *PELOPONNESVS* about this time.



N the second yeare of *Samuel*, according to *Ensebius*, was *Dauid* borne: after *Codemian* later, and in the ninth yeare: after *Bunting* in the tenth. For *Dauid*, saith he, was thirtie yeares old when he beganne to raigne: whence it followeth, that he was borne in the tenth of the fortie yeares, which are giuen to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleuenth of *Samuel*, *Aeneas Silvius* the sonne of *Posthumus* beganne his raigne ouer the *Latines* in *Alba*, who gouerned that State 31. yeares. There are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Aeneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleuenth of *Samuel*, *Dercilus* late in the Throne of *Assyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; hee ruled that Empire 40. yeares. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponnesus*, and at once with the *Heracids*, who then led and commanded the Nation, possesse a great part thereof 328. yeares before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratosthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, viz. the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Aeolians*: at length it was called *Hellenis*, and the people *Hellenes*, of *Hellen*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Countrie of *Phrygia* in *Thessalia*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many Colonies, and sundrie great victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Countrie vnder their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet euerie seuerall Nation after some one of the posteritie of *Hellen*, who had raigne ouer it. And because this is the furthest antiquitie of *Greece*, it will not be amiss to recount the Pedigree of her first planters.

*Epetus* (as the Poets fable) was the sonne of Heaven and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents, had in the Greeke tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Astronomie* and *Philosophie*.

*Epetus* begat *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*: of whom all men haue read that haue read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*. *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* raigne in *Thessalia*, which then was called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretensis Rhanius* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the Queene. In *Deucalions* time was that great flood, of which we haue spoken elsewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whose sonnes were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Aeolus*: of *Dorus* and *Aeolus*, the *Dores* and *Aeolians* had name. The *Aeoles* inhabited *Haetia*. The *Dores* hauing first inhabited landrie parts of *Thessalia*, did afterward seate themselves about *Parnassus*: and finally became Lords of the Countrie about *Lacedaemon*: *Xuthus* the eldest sonne of *Hellen*, being banished by his brethren, for hauing diuerted from them to his owne wife some part of their Fathers goods, came to *Asiens*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Erichon*, hee begat on her two sonnes, *Achaeus* and *Ion*. Of these two *Achaeus*, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into *Peloponnesus*: and seating himselfe in *Laconia*, gaue name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterward departed; and leuying an Armie recovered the Kingdome of his grand-father in *Thessalia*.

*Ion* being Generall for the *Athenians*, when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby such loue and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He diuided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing euerie one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied he planted Colonies in *Sicionia*, then called *Aegialos*, or *Aegida*: In which Countrie *Salmus* then raigning, thought it safer to giue his daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him. So

Ion married *Helen*, and built a Towne called by his wifes name in *Agialia*, where he and his posteritie reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gave to that Land the denomination. But in after-times the *Dores* assisting the Nephewes of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and over-comming the *Acheans* possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Acheans* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Acheans* driven to seeke a new seate, came vnto the *Ionians*, desiring to inhabite *Agialia* with them, and allading in vaine, that *Ion* and *Acheus* had beene brethren. When this request could not bee obtained, they fought by force to expell the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their King *Tijamenes*, the sonne of *Orestes*, in that Warre.

Thus were the *Ionians* driven out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they came into *Asia*, and peopled the Westerne coast thereof, on which they built twelue Cities, inhabited by them, euen to this day, at the least without any vniuersall or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Ionians* into *Asia* hath bene mentioned of all which haue written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. yeeres after the warre of *Troy*, and 60. yeeres after the descent of the *Heracles* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heracidae* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeeres. Of their Father *Heracles* many strange things are deliuered vnto vs by the Poets, of which some are like to haue bene true, others perhaps must be *auaricantly* vnderstood. But the most approved Writers thinke that there were many called *Heracles*; all whose exploits were by the *Greekes* ascribed to the sonne of *Amenus*, who is said to haue performed these twelue great labours.

First, he slew the *Nemean* Lyon: secondly, he flew the Serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: The third was the ouer-taking a very swift Hart: The fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which hanted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadia*: The fift was the cleaning of *Augias* his Oxen-stall in one day, which hee performed by turning the Riuer *Alpheus* into it: The sixt was the chaling away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalia*: The seuenth was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: The eighth was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen* of the *Amazons*: The three last were to fetch *Geryons* Beeces from *Gades*, the golden Apples of the *Hesperides*, and *Cerberus* from hell. The *Mythologicall* interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both ouer-long to be here set downe, and no lesse perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by *Heracles* vnderstand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancie, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make *Heracles* the Sunne, and his traualles to be the twelue signes of the Zodiac. There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits; as well allured, that the expolition cannot haue more vnlikelihood, than the fables: That hee tooke *Elys*, *Phylis*, *Oechalia*, and other Townes, being assisted by such as either admired his vertues, or were beholding vnto him. Also that he slew many *Theues*, and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His traualles through most parts of the world are, or may seeme, borrowed from *Heracles Libyensis*. But sure it is that many Cities in *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his inducours to the common good) deliuered the Land from much oppression. But after his death no Citie of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) required the vertue and deserts of *Heracles*, with constant protection of his children, persecuted by the King *Eurythius*. This *Eurythius* was sonne of *Sibenus*, and grand-child of *Perseus*; he reigned in *Mycena*, the mightiest Citie then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard taskes vpon *Heracles*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murder, which in his madnesse hee had committed vpon his owne Children; but as others say, because hee was his Subiect and Seruant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurythius* for employing the strength of *Heracles* to so good a purpose. But it is generally agreed

agreed by the best writers, that *Heracles* was also of the stocke of *Perseus*, and holden in great ialousie by *Eurythius* because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous seruices, wherein hee was employed, so that hee grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many wifes and Concubines about threecore children. These children *Eurythius* would haue gotten into his power, when *Heracles* was dead: but they fled vnto *Ceyx* King of *Trachinis*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurythius*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not only gaue them entertainment, but lent them ayde, wherewith they encountered *Eurythius*, Iolau the brothers sonne of *Heracles*, who had assisted him in many of his trauels, was captaine of the *Heracleide*. It is said of him, that being dead, he obtained leaue of *Pluto* to liue againe till hee might reuenge the iniuries done by *Eurythius*: whom when he had slaine in battell, he died againe. It seemes to mee, that whereas he had led *Colomes* into *Sicilie*, and abroad there a long time forgotten: hee came againe into *Greece* to assist his colins, and afterwarde returned backe. When the *Peloponnesians* vnderstood that *Eurythius* was slaine, they tooke *Atrous* the sonne of *Pelops* to their King: for hee was rich, mightie, and fauoured of the people. Against him the *Heracleide* marched vnder *Hyllus* the sonne of *Heracles*. But to auoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echemus* King of the *Tegens* a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Atrous*, with condition that if *Hyllus* were victor, hee should peaceably enioy what hee challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heracleide* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in 100. yeeres. In that combat *Hyllus* was slaine; and the *Heracleide* compelled to forbeare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned vnder *Arifloemus* (as the best authoritie shewes, though some haue said, that they came vnder the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dores*, whom they planted in that country, as is before shewed, hauing expelled the *Acheans*, ouer whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurythius* foure generations.

## p. VII.

OF HOMER and HESIOD, and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.



About this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* liued, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirme. He was by race of the *Achaens*, descended (as *Functius* imagineth) of *Berosus* his *Anamcon*, who gaue name to that people. But this *Functius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to haue bene long after these times, rashly framing his *Archichon* in the tract, or rather fragment of *temporibus*, & makes seuen more of this name to haue flourished in diuers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, sprang the diueritie of opinions, both of the time and of the native Citie of *Homer*. According to this *Archichon*, *Functius* findes *Homer* about the time of *Alansic* King of *India* and *Ninus* of *Rome*. Hee was called *Atelegenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blind men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verbe *homo*: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blinde. \* *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* liued. So also *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Affricus* in his Oracion ad gentes. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950. yeeres before the *Consulshippe* of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* casteth vpon the worlds yeere 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260. yeeres: and about 250. yeeres before the building of *Rome*, making him to haue flourished about the time of *Iehosaphat* King of *Iuda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* about named, mention authors that make him much auienter. The difference of which authors in this point is not vnworthie the readers consideration, that by this one instance hee may guesse of the difficultie, and so pardon the errors

*Funct. Chron. fol. 11. col. D.*  
 A this author  
 fer out with Be-  
 rous and o-  
 thers, first at  
 B. fil. and after  
 with 1199. An-  
 nus his Com-  
 ment at Ant-  
 werp is inerte  
 fidei.  
 \* *Quaceler* f. 149.  
 placeth *Homer*  
 in the 3450.  
 generation in  
 the time of Sa-  
 mul.  
 \* *Stronstun* l. 9  
 b. 24. c. 11. d. 4  
 b. 24. c. 11. d. 4  
 174. c. 11.

errors in the computations of auncient time: being in such diuersitie of opinions a man may hardly finde out what to follow. For *Crates the Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gaue being to *Homer* about 85. yeeres after *Troy* taken, neere the time that the *Heraclides* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and \* *Erato* benes after *Troy* 100. yeeres. *Theopompus* 500. yeeres after the armie of *Greece* failed into *Phrygia* for the warre of *Troy*. *Ephorion* makes him contemporarie with *Gyges*, who began to reigne in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. yeeres after *Rome* was built) and *Sosibius* saith, that hee was 90. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*: which hee feckes to proue by the times of *Charillus* and his sonne *Nicander* 3 *Phidocorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Aristarchus* 140. in the time of the seating of the Colonies in *Ionis*. *Apollodorus* affirms that hee liued while *Agagilus* gouerned *Lacedaemon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young yeeres, about 100. yeeres after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, neere 240. yeeres after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* findes *Homer* flourishing 622. yeeres before *Xerxes* enterprise against the *Grecians*: which *Bravallus* accounteth at 168. yeeres after the *Troian* warre. *Eusebius* seemes to make him to haue bene about the time of *Iouis* King of *Iulia* 124. yeeres before *Rome* built: though else where in his *Chronologie* he notes, that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *Dauid*, and others in other ages. In his *Euangelicall* preparation where out of *Tatianus Assyrius* he cithethundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* liued, hee reckoneth many other *Greece* writers more auncient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philonon*, *Epimenides*, *Pheinius*, *Aristaeus*, *Orpheus*, *Musaes*, *Thamyris*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Achius Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirme, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrarie, that *Luc. Accus* the Poet, and *Ephorbus* the Historian make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaues it vncertaine which of these learned fablers was first borne: but he findes that they liued together some certaine yeeres, wherein he confirms himselfe by an *Epigram*, written vpon a Treuit, and left by *Helicon* in *Helicon*.

*Cornelius Nepos* reports that they both liued 160. yeeres before *Rome* built: while 30 the *Siluij* reigned in *Alba*, about \* 140. yeeres after the fall of *Troy*. *Euthimenes* findes them both 200. yeeres after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acastus* the sonne of *Pelias*, King of *Theffaly*. For my selfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet liued 3; neither would I offend the reader with these opinions, but only to shew the vncertaintie and disagement of Historians, aswell in this particular, as in all other questions: and dispute of time. For the curiolitie of this mans age is no lesse ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his *Iliades* with the word *Menein*, as perhaps containing some great myserie. In derision whereof *Lucian* taining himselfe to haue bene in hell, and to haue spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he beganne his booke with that word: who answered, That he began in that sort, 40 because it came in his head so to doe.

It seemeth that *Senes*, or after *Macrobis* *Senemires*, ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tamperfabrius* was his successeur who preceded *Vaphres*, father in law to *Salem*.

About the end of *Sauls* gouernment, or in the beginning of *Dauids* time according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amazons* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italie*. And besides the ouertthrow of that famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103. yeeres before *Dauids* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reason of those Northerne Nations: but there sprung vp, somewhat neerely together, fixe Kingdomes into greatnesse not before erected. In *Italie*, that of the *Latimer* in the South part of *Greece*, those of *Lacedaemon*, 50 *Corinth*, and the *Achai*. In *Arabia*, *Syria* *Saba*, and *Damascus*, the *Adams* made themselves Princes, of which there were tenne Kings, which beganne and ended with the King of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Isaacites* hauing now altered their forme of Gouernment, began to flourish vnder Kings, of which

\* As both *Cleles* and *Catana* Afforesport his opinion  
43. For in this comment.  
Philonon comm.  
in Archilog.

Heli. vita 110.

Roll. Attic. 13.  
6. 11.

Varro de imag.  
lib. 1.

Nepos in Chron.  
Cassiodorus lib. 1.  
a This number  
Mercurius cor.  
rectis, & reads  
240 for 10.  
Euthimius in chr.  
anad. cleus Alex.  
Stron. 5.

Eu. & Cassiodorus.  
in Chron.

which *Dauid*, in a fewe yeeres, became master of all those neighbouring Nations, who by interchange of times had subiected the *Indians*, corrupted their religion, and held them vnder in a most abiect, and grievous slavery; to wit, the *Edomians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Itureans*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistines*, *Iebusites*, *Geshurites*, *Machabites*, all which acknowledged *Dauid* for their Soueraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

## CHAP. XVII.

## Of DAVID.

## §. I.

Of DAVIDS estate in the time of SAUL.



HE hazards which *Dauid* ranne into while hee was yet onely deligned King, and liuing as a priuate man, expected the Empire, were very many. The first personal act of fame, was his killing of *Goliath* in the viewe of both armies, whereby hee became knowne to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Jonathan* the sonne of *Saul*, that hee loued him as his owne soule: In so much as when *Saul* sought to perswade his sonne, that *Dauid* would assuredly be the ruine of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when hee pleaded his cause,

30 *Jonathan* could neuer be perswaded, neuer fors, nor euer wearied from the care of *Dauids* life, and well doing. It was not long after this signall act of *Dauids*, but that *Saul* became exceeding iealous of him, though hee were become as his household seruant, and his Esquire, or armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an euill spirit, was aduised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him vpon the harpe; whereby it was thought that he might finde ease, which came to passe accordingly. He entertained *Dauid* for this purpose, and began to fauour him, giuing him a place of Command among the men of warre. But the iealous tyrant soone waxed wearie of his good affections, and sought to kill *Dauid*, being thereunto moued onely through enuie of his vertue. This passion first brake forth in the middelt of his ra- 40 uing hir, at which time hee threw a speare at *Dauid* that was then playing on his harpe to doe him ease.

*Conforius* remembreth one *Aclepius* a *Physitian*, who praised the curing of the Frenzie, by the like Mullick: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a Kinde of harmonic, *Somer* in his third booke of anger witnesseth. But the madnesse of *Saul* came from the cause of causes, and was thereby incurable, howeouer it sometimes left him, and yielded vnto that mulicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Muiitian than to the King.

*Saul* hauing failed in such open attempts, gaue vnto *Dauid* the Commandement 50 of 1000. soldiours, to confront the *Philistines* withall. For hee durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his reuenge. Now the better to couer his hatred towards him, hee promised him his daughter *Merab* to wife: but hauing married her to *Adriel*, hee gaue to *Dauid* his younger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskinnes of the *Philistines*: hoping rather (in re- spect

consec. 12. & 14

fect of the valour of that Nation, that the *Philistims* would take *Dauid's* head, than he their foreskinnes. This hope failing, when as now *Dauid's* victories began new feares and iacouities in *Saul*, hee practised with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this hee sought to murder him in his owne house, but *Michol* his wife deliuered him. So *Dauid* fought *Sammel* at *Ramoth*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence vnto *Ab* in *Beniamin*, to *Abimelech*, then to *Achis* the *Philistim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to ob- scure himselfe, he was forced to counterfeit both simplicitie and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistims* he couered himselfe in the case of *Achillies*: and after conueying such of his kinsfolkes as were not fit to follow him into *Achish*, he hid himselfe in the deserts of *Ziph*, *Maon*, and the hills of *Egaddi*, where hee cut off the lap of *Saul's* garments, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the desert of *Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis* of *Geth* the second time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the hatred, with which his master *Saul* was knowne to persecute him.

Of *Achis* *Dauid* obtained \* *Siklag* in *Simoon*, pretending to inuade *Iudaea*: but hee bent his forces another way and strooke the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israell*, letting none liue to complaine vpon him. *Achis* supposing that *Dauid* had drawne boud of his owne Nation, thought himselfe assured of him: and therefore preparing to inuade *Israhel*, summoneth *Dauid* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore hee withdrew himselfe to *Siklag*. At his returne he found the towne burnt, his two wines with the wines and children of his people taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his folowes murmured, but God gaue him comfort, and assurance to recouer all againe: which hee did.

This armie of the *Philistims* commanded by *Achis*, encountered *Saul* at *Gibeah*, in which hee and his three sonnes were slaine. The newes with *Saul's* Crowne and bracelets were brought to *Dauid* at *Siklag*, in his returne from being victorious over *Amalech*, by a man of the same Nation, who auowed (though falsely) that himselfe at *Saul's* request had slaine him. *Dauid*, because hee had accused himselfe, made no scruple to cause him to be slaine at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gaue strong euidence withall. Otherwise it followeth not that euery man ought to bee beleueed of himselfe to his owne prejudice. For it is helde in the lawes,

*Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbata alia insinuit religionem cognoscentis.* The prisoners confession must not be taken for an euidence of the crime, unless some other proofe informe the conscience of the Judge. For a man may confesse those things of himselfe, that the Judge by examination may know to bee impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title de *custodiis reorum* l. si confitetur, et in cap. de *pauis* l. qui sententiam, therefore doth the Gloss reconcile these two places in this sort. Si quis in iudicio sponte de seipso confitetur, & postea moueat in confessione, id est satis. If any man in iudgement doe confesse of himselfe, of his owne record, and after doth perseuer in his confession, it is enough. That *Dauid* greatly bewailed *Saul* it is not improbable, for death cutteth asunder all competition and the lamentable end that befell him, being a King, with whom in effect the strength of *Israell* also fell, could not but stirre vpon sorrow and moue compassion in the heart of *Dauid*.

The victorie which the *Philistims* had gotten was so great, that some townes of the *Israelites*, even beyond the river of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left vnto the enemy, who tooke possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seeme strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious as were the *Philistims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seeke to make the Conquest entire. Most like it seemes, that the Ciuill warre immediately breaking out betweene *Dauid* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Iuda* was diuided from the rest of *Israell*, gaue them hope of an easie victorie ouer both; and thereby caused

sed them to attempt nothing at the present, least by so doing they should inforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessarie reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means, both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were vnited.

## §. I I.

of the beginning of *DAVIDS* reigne, and the warre made by *ABNER* for *ISROSETH*.



FTER the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the war, sought to aduance *Ishbosheth* (or *Ishbosus* according to *Iosephus*) though hee had no right to the Kingdome of *Israell*: for *Ishbosheth* the first sonne of *Jonathan* liued. Against this *Abner*, and *Ishbosheth*, *Dauid* made a defensive warre, till *Abner* past *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Iuda*; at which time hee sent *Isab* with such forces as hee had, to resist *Abner*: *Ishbosheth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *Dauid* in *Hebron*. The armies encountered each other neere *Gibeon*, where it seemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few; like to that Combat betwene the *Lacedaemonians*, and the *Argiues*, remembered by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were onely left vnslaine. The like triall by a farre lesse number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* for the *Romanes* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliath* the *Philistim* made, whom *Dauid* slew: a custome very auient. *Edward* the third offered the like triall in his owne person to the French King, and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelue chosen of each part, in this warre of *Dauid* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Beniamin*, and as many of *Iuda*: whose force and valour was so equall, as there furnished not any one to challenge the victorie. But the quarrell staid not here: for the armie of *Iuda* prest *Abner* in grosse, and brake him. Three hundredth and sixtie men of *Abners* companions were slaine, and but twentie of *Iuda*; wherof *Ashbel* the brother of *Isab* was one: who when hee would needes pursue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perswasions could not be moued to quit him, he was forced to turne vpon him, wounding him to death, with the stroke of his speare. For though *Ashbel* were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the T ext, as light as a wild *Ree*, and as *Iosephus* reporteth, contented not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to haue gotten great fame, if he could haue maistrised *Abner* (who as *Ashbel* perswaded himselfe, had by being overthrown and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true; That the race was not to the swift.

That this ciuill warre lasted two yeeres, wee finde it written in the second of *Samuel* the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbines* conceiue that *Ishbosheth* had then reigned two yeeres, when this was written, the warre as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the partie of *Ishbosheth* after this, and till such time as there grew iacouities betwene him and *Ishbosheth* for *Saul's* concubine: neither did the death of *Ishbosheth* instantly follow; but how long after the murder of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appeare.

## §. I I I.

## §. III.

of the death of ABNER slain by IOAB, and of ISBOSETH  
by RECHAB and BAANAH.



ABNER, reconciled to DAVID, was anone by IOAB murdered; for IOAB could not endure a companion in DAVIDS fauour, and in the commendement of his forces, by which hee was growne so powerfull, as DAVID forbore to call him to account, for thus much he confesteth of himselfe. *I am this day weake, and these men the sonnes of ZERUIAH be too hard for mee.* In this sort DAVID complained after ABNERS death; and to make it cleare that hee hated this fact of IOAB, hee followed him with this publike imprecation; *Let the blood fall on the head of IOAB, and on all his fathers house: and let them be subject to vicer, to the leprose, to lameness, to the sword, and to pouertie, &c.* For could a ny thing haue withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by IOAB might greatly haue endangered DAVIDS estate, ABNER being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, nor yet reconciled. This mischance therefore DAVID openly bewailed, so that all ISRAEL perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which ABNER held, being General of the men of warre, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were faine to giue them great respect, as hath bene alreadie shewed more at large. This office IOAB held in the armie of IUDA, & thought himselfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to DAVID in kinred, and had bene partaker of all his adueritie; wherefore hee did not thinke it meete, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefit, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so ious of his dignitie and place, that hee afterward slew AMSA, his owne kinsman and the Kings vpon the same quarrell; taking it in high disdain to see him ioyned with himselfe as captaine of the hoste of IUDA; much lesse could hee brooke a superiour, and such a one as had slaine his brother, and bene beaten himselfe in battell. But howsoever IOAB did hate or despise ABNER, DAVID esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in ISRAEL, excusing the ouersight by which hee might seeme to haue perished, by affirming that hee died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, *But as a man falleth by, &c. wike men, so (said hee) diuilest thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyeth vnawares, or whom subtiltie in free trust bringeth to confusion. For vnder the Sunne are subiect to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever ISBOSETH meant to haue dealt with ABNER, yet when he heard of his death, hee despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all ISRAEL were posselt with great feare: insomuch as two of ISBOSETHS owne Captaines, RECHAB and BAANAH, murdered ISBOSETH, and presenting his head to DAVID, receiued the same reward that the AMALHITE lately did, for pretending to haue slaine SAUL. ISBOSETH being dead, all the Elders of ISRAEL repaired to DAVID at HELBRON, where he was the third and last time anointed by generall consent.

## §. IIII.

Of the flourishing time of DAVIDS Kingdome, the taking of Ierusalem,  
with two ouerthrowes giuen to the Philistines, and the  
conduccion of the Arke to the Citie of  
DAVID.



WHEN DAVID was now established in the Kingdome, his first enterprise was vpon the Philistines, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their walles with the blinde and lame of their Citie; which DAVID soone after entered: all their other forces notwithstanding. For hauing mastered the fort of ZION

ZION (which was afterward the Citie of DAVID) hee became Lord of Ierusalem, without any great daunger, expelling thence the Iebusites, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of MOSES and IOSEPH, and after them almost 400. yeeres. There are who expound this place otherwise. *Except thou take away the blinde and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither.* For some thinke that it was meant by the Idols of the Iebusites: others, that it had reference to the Couenant made long before with ISAAC and JACOB: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the Angell, and that therefore till those (that is till that Couenant) be broken DAVID ought not to molest them. But for my selfe I take it with IOSEPHUS, that they armed their wals with certaine impotent people at first, in scorn of DAVIDS attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeeres against the Children of ISRAEL, IOSEPH, the Iudges, and SAUL: did not doubt but to defend it also against DAVID.

When he had now posselt himselfe of the very heart and Center of the Kingdome, and receiued congratulatory Embassadours & presents from TIARUS King of TYRE: he entertained diuers other concubines & married inoe wives, by whom he had ten sons in Ierusalem, and by his former wives he had six in HELBRON where he reigned 7. yeeres.

The Philistines hearing that DAVID was now anointed king as wel of IUDA as of ISRAEL, they thought to try him in the beginning, before hee was fully warme in his feat. And being encountered by DAVID at two seuerall times in the Valley of Rephaim, or of the Giants, they were at both times ouerthrowne. After which hee called the place BATHLEHEM.

Then DAVID assembled 30000. choice ISRAELITES to conduct the Arke of God from the house of AMINADAB in GIBEA, to the Citie of DAVID, which businesse was interrupted by the death of YZZAH the sonne of AMINADAB, whom the Lord slewe for presuming to touch the Arke, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harme, when it was shaken. But after three yeeres it was with great solemnitie brought into the Citie with sacrifices, musike, dances, and all signes of ioyfulness, in which DAVID himselfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon MICHEL derided him for dancing before the Arke, and afterward told him in scorn. *That hee was uncovered as a foole in the eyes of the maidens his seruants;* namely that hee forgot his regall dignitie both in apparrell and behaviour; and mixed himselfe among the base multitude, dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and directes: not that the disliked DAVIDS behaviour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of her derision. But rather the abundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred vp, beholding the glorie of her husband to whom shee was deliuered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruines she conceiued that the sonne of ISHAR had built this his greatnesse, together with the many new wives and concubines imbraced since his possession of Ierusalem, made her breake out in those despitfull teares, for which she remained barren to her death.

This done, DAVID consulted with the Prophet AATHAN for the building of the Temple or house of God: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had shed bloud. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; hauing threatned, not in vaine, that hee would require the bloud of man, at the hand of man and beast. The warre which DAVID had made were iust, and the bloud therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appears how greatly those Princes decieve themselves, who thinke by bloodshed and terror of their warres, to make themselves in greatnes like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercie and goodnesse, or seeke the blessednesse promised by our Saviour vnto the peacemakers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of DAVIDS founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon hee receiued both a confirmation of the Kingdome to him and his heirs, and that happie promise of the euertlasting throne, that should be established in his seede.

## §. V.

The overthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

1. Sam. 8. v. 1.

**S**ome after this David overthrew the Philistims, which made them altogether powerless, and vnable to make any inuasion vpon Israel in halfe. For it is written, *accept fructum Amgaris et manu Philistinarum*, which place our English *Geneua* conuerts in these words. And DAVID tooketh the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philistims. The latine of *Iunius* giueth another and a better sense, for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong Citie of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Geneua* hath it in the marginal note. This Citie of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Cesaria*, set on the frontier of Palestine at the entrance into *Iudea* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thence into their retreat in all their inuasions, which being taken by David and demolished, there was left no such frontier towne of equal strength to the Philistims on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood the Hebrewes call *Amme*, whereof and of the word *Gat* is made *Amgar*, of which *Plinius* in his first booke, and thirteenth Chap. T his exposition is made plaine and confirmed in the first of *Cleo.* the 18.

*Iunius* in 8. c. of the second of *Sam.*

There was no nation bordering the *Ierues* that so greatly afflicted them as the Philistims did, who before the time of *Saul*, (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities & villages of that kind, but infort them to come downe into their territorie, for all iron worke whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David* were seldome free from paying tribute to the Philistims.

1. Sam. 13.

After this he gave them foure other overthrowes: but the war of the Moabites and Arabians came betwene. In the first of which he was endangered by *Isbith-benohi*, the head of whose speare weighed 300. shiekles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abisai* succoured David and slew the Philistim, whereupon the Councillors and Captaines of David (least the light of Israel might by his losse be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazard himself in any battaile. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the Philistims was at *Gob* a place neere *Gejur*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the Philistims by the taking of *Geth*, hee invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his aduerlty he sought succour and lett his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no it is not knowne.

1. Sam. 31. v. 17.

The *Rabines* saie that *Atab* flew those kin-folkes of David, which liued vnder his protection in *Sauls* time, but questionlesse David well knew how that Nation had bin alwaies enemies to Israel and tooke all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And he also remembered that in the 23. of *Deuter.* God commaunded Israel not to seeke the peace or prosperitie of the *Moabites*, which David well obserued, for he destroyed two parts of all the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his armie by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Adadazer* the sonne of *Rehob* King therof. The place is set downe in the description of the holy land: to which I referre the Reader.

## §. VI.

The warre which DAVID made vpon the Syrians.

**I**T is written in the Text: *DAVIDS* note also *HADADZER* &c. as hee ment to recouer his border at the river *Euphrates*. Now whether the words (as heauen to recouer his border) be referred to David or *Hadadazer* it is not agreed vpon. *Iunius* thinks that the article (he) hath relation to David, who finding *Tobu* oppressd by *Hadadazer*, overthrow

threw the one and succoured the other. But the ancient and most receiued opinion, that this recouerie hath reference to the *Syrians*, is more probable. For if David had intended any such enterprize towards *Euphrates* he was in farre better case to haue proceeded after his victorie than before: seeing that (*Adadazer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountaines vpon him at his returne.

Again, seeing David was either to passe through a part of *Arabia* the desert, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all: Hee had now both horse and chariots good store to cary his prouisions through those vninhabited places, by which he was to haue marched before he could haue reached *Euphrates* or any part therof. But we find that David returned to *Hierusalem*, after hee had twice overthrowne the *Syrian* armie, not bending his course towards the river *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Wherby it may appeare, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King David, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The King of *Syria* *Damasceus*, and of *Damascus*, whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Adadazer* was overthrowne by the *Israelites*, fearing his owne estate, & the losse of his owne Contry which adioyned to *Syria Zobah* of *Hadadazer*, sent for an army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadazer*, and too late for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 20000. This King of *Damascus*, *Iosephus* (out of *Nicobolus* an ancient Historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name & family as all those other *Adads* were: which now began to grow vp in greatnesse, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the *Assyrians*, as is shewed heretofore. David hauing now reduced *Damascus* vnder his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in *Edom*: hauing also sacked the adioyning cities of *Betab*, and *Berati*, belonging to *Adadazer*, of which Cities *Ptolemy* calleth *Betab*, *Tauaba*: & *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*. *Tobu* or *Thoi* whose contry of *Humathio* ioined to *Adadazer* (as in the description of the Holy land the reader may perceiue) sent his son *Ioram* to congratulate this successe of David: partly because he had war with *Adadazer*, and partly because he feared David, now victorious. He also presented David with vessels of gold, silver, and brasse, all which together with the golden sheilds of the *Aramites*, and the best of all the spoiles of other Nations David dedicated vnto God at his returne. *Iunius* translated the words (*elyceps aureos*) by *rembrances*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the bosses only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But because *Robam* made sheilds of brasse in place of these of *Adadazer*, at such time as *Shicab* the *Egyptian* sackt the Temple of *Hierusalem*, it may be gathered thereby, that those of *Adadazer* were golden sheilds.

2. Sam. 8.

This done David sent Embassadors to *Hannu* King of the *Ammonites* to congratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdome: for David in the time of his affliction vnder *Saul*, had beene relieved by *Rehob*, the father of *Hannu*. But this *Ammonite* being ill aduised, and ouer-iculous of his estate, vled *Dauids* messengers so barbarously, and contemptuously (by curtailling their beards, and their garments) as hee thereby drew a warre vpon himselfe, which neither his owne strength, nor all the aydes purchased could put off, or sustaine. For notwithstanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thousand souldiers of the *Amalakiters*, and their confederates: to wit, of the vassalles of *Adadazer* twentie thousand, and of *Machab* and *Isitob* thirteene thousand (for which hee disbursed a thousand talents of silver) yet all these great armies together with the strength of the *Ammonites*, were by *Iobab* and his brother *Abisai* easily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great losse or slaughter at that time. And it is written that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* also retrained into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the wals, the other in their desarts adioyning, till *Iobab* was returned to *Hierusalem*.

1. Sam. 11.

*Machab* the North part of *Tracemid* reuoluted in *Deut.* 3. 14. *Isitob* or *Thob* a countie neere *Gad* vnder the rocks of *Arnon*.

2. Sam. 10.

*Hadad-*

Helam or the  
land which the  
Phoenicians call  
Helam, is the  
land of the  
Phoenicians  
which is the  
land of the  
Phoenicians

\* See ch. 18. §. 3.

Hadadzer hearing that *Ishb* had disinherited his armie, assembled his forces againe, and sent for all the companies that he could leuie out of *Mesopotamia*, who vnder the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation assembled all the ablest men of *Israel* and marched towards the *Syrian* armie in *Palmyrena*, not yet entered into *Aradia*, to wit, at *Helam*, a place no lesse distant from *Damascus*, towards the Northeast, than *Hierusalem* was towards the Southwest. Now *David* speaking humanely might with the more confidence go on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest-off journey that euer he made, because he was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the mid-way. He also possit himselfe of \* *Thidmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salem* afterward strongly fortified, and this Citie was but one daies iourney from *Helam*, and thence to *Damascus*. So had he two safe retreats the one to *Thidmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *David* & the *Syrians*, they lost 40000 horsemen, and 7000 chariots, together with *Shobach* Generall of their armie. The Chronicles call these 40000 souldiers footmen, and so *Iustus* conuerts it, and so is it very probable. For the armie of *Israel* consisting of footmen, could hardly haue slaughtered 40000 horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foote. So are the chariots taken in this battell, numbered at 7000 in the first of *Chron*, the 9, in which number, as I conceiue, all the souldiers that serued in them with the conductors are included: so as there died of the *Syrians* in this warre against *David*, before he forc't them to tribute; 100000 footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that *Ishb* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adams* in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of *Isa* often: but the kings of *Israel* they impowrished, euen to the last end of that State.

*David* hauing now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mesopotamians* from the partie and confederacie of *Ammon*: He sent out *Ishb* the Lieutenant of his armies to forrage and destroy their territorie, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphus*, which after a while the *Israelites* maltreated and possit. The Kings crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *David* set on his owne head, and carried away with him, the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though *David* stayed at *Hierusalem*, following the warre of *Irish*-his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extremitie and readie to be entred: yet *Ishb* in honour of *David* forbore the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his maisters arriual. To the people he vsed extreme rigor (if we may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters) for some of them he care wch harrowes some he sawed afunder, others he cast into burning kilns, in which he baked tile and bricke.

## §. VII.

Of *DAVID* troubles in his reigne, and of his forces.

**B**V as victorie begetteth securitie, and our present worldly felicitie a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himselfe the giuer of all goodnesse: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly hee had to please God in the precise obseruation of his Lawes and Commaundements. For hauing now no dangerous apparant enimie (against whom hee was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord) hee beganne to be aduised by his owne humane affections and vaine desires. For hee was not only satisfied to take *Irish* wife from him, and to vse her by stealth: but hee imbrodered his adultery with *Irish* slaughter, giuing order to his trustie seruant

*Ishb*

*Ishb* to marshall him in the front or point of those *Israelites*, which gaue an assault vpon the suburbs of *Rabbah*, when there was not as yet any possibilitie of preuailling. And that which could no lesse displease God than the rest, hee was content that many others of his best seruants and souldiers should perish together with *Irish*, hoping thereby to couer his particular ill intent against him. After which he beganly degrees to fall from the highest of happinesse, and his dayes then to come were filled with ioyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-downe sorrowes began againe to spring; and those perils which he had pulled vp by the rootes (as he hoped) gaue him an after-haruest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God to take the witness of *David*s owne mouth against him, as *David* himselfe did against the *Amalekite*, which pretended to haue slaine *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded vnto him his owne error, in the person of another, to wit of him that tooke the poore mans sheepe that had none else, the bearer being Lord of many: He then vowed it to the liuing Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *David*, for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet he deliuered him Gods iustice together with his merie in the tenour following; *Now therefore the sword shall neuer depart from thy house, because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slaine him.* *2 Sam. 11. 24. 25. and 12.*

*Ishb* of the children of *Ammon*. Soone after this *David* lost the child of adulterie which he begot on *Bersheba*. Secondly, his owne sonne *Amnon* being in loue with his halfe sister *Thamar*, by the aduise of his Cousin german the sonne of *Shimeah David*s brother, possit her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and deslightfull manner. Two yeeres after which foule and incestuous act, *Abshalem* caused him to be murdered, at the feast of his sheep-shearings: nor perchance in reuenge of *Thamar*s rauishment alone: but hauing it in his heart to vster the Kingdome; in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Ammon*, he thought his affaire greatly aduanced by his destruction. So the one brother hauing rauished his owne sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice, first, made his own brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done he fled away, and liued vnder the sauegard of *Talmi* King of *Gessur*, neere *Damascus*, who was his grand father by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Abshalem* by the inuention of *Ishb*, (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his sonne) was brought againe: first to the Kings fauour, and then to his presence. He began instantly to practise against *David* his father, seeking by the pretence of common iustice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win vnto himselfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatened by the Lord as a punishment of *David*s sinne.

The company which *Abshalem* gathered at the first were but 200. men: which he carried with him from *Hierusalem* to *Hebron*, pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired vnto him, and many troopes of people from all places, he proclaimed himselfe King, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that *David* doubting to be set vpon on the suddain, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of *Hierusalem*, nor in any other walled towne for feare of surprisall: but incamped in the fields, & departed with some 600. of his gards, and few else. The priests he left in *Hierusalem* with the Arke of God from whom he desired to bee aduertised of those things that chanced, to whom he directed *Hushai* his trustie friend, and seruant, praying him to make himselfe in all his outward actions and counsels of *Abshalem*s partie and confederacie, thereby the better to discouer vnto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a reuolted Counsailler, whose practises hee greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his maister *Achitophel* the sonne of *Ionathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire

of whose hatred *Dauids* prosperitie had smothered, but his aduersitie illighted, holding himselfe vpon the aduantage of a mountaine side, cast stones at *Dauid*, and most despitefully curst him to his face: but *Dauid* attending no priuate reuenges, forbadde *Abisai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the rolle of his reuenge, to his sonne *Salemon*. *Abisai* being now possit of *Iherusalem*, was aduised by *Achitophel* to vse his fathers concubines in some such publike place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that hee was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perliuaded they would then resolutely adhere to *Abisai* and his cause, without feare of being giuen vp vpon a reconciliation betwene them. This saluage and impious (though craftie counsaile) *Achitophel* indeed vrged for his owne respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed *Abisai* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *Dauid*: *I will raise vp euill against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and giue them vnto thy neighbour, and hee shall lie with thy wives in the sight of the Sunne: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all Israel, and before the Sunne.* Hee also gaue aduise to *Abisai*, that himselfe with an armie of 12000. men might be employed at the instant for the surprizing of *Dauid*, which had willingly beene embraced by *Abisai*, had not *Hushai* *Dauids* faithfull seruant giuen counter-aduise, and swayed it: perswading *Abisai*, that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel*, to pursue his father: then by such a troope, which *Dauids* valour, and those of his attendants, might either indaunger or relit. This delay in *Abisai*, and aduantage of time gained by *Dauid*, was indeed, after God, the losse of the one and deliuerie of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the successe which followed, disposed of his owne estate, and then forsooke both the partie and the care of *Abisai*, and of his owne life.

*Dauid* being aduertised of this enterprize against him marched away all night, and past *Jordan*, possessing himselfe of *Mahanaim* in the tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Ishobab* himselfe in the warre against *Dauid* after *Sauls* death seated himselfe. To which place there repayed vnto him *Shobi*, the sonne of *Nahsh* the *Ammonite*, whom *Dauid* loued, the same which *Iosephus* calleth *Shiphur*. And though it bee greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most generall and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hannu*, whom *Dauid* for his fathers sake established in the Kingdome, after *Hannu*s ouerthrow. In thankfulness whereof hee relieved *Dauid* in this his extremite. There came also to *Dauids* allitance *Atchur* of *Iadubar*, Gardian in former times to *Mephiosbeth*, and among others *Barzilai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *Dauid* and all his companie.

In the meane time both the King and *Abisai* prepared to fight, *Abisai* made *Amasa* Commander of the armie of *Israel*, the same place which *Isab* held with *Dauid*; an office next the King himselfe, like vnto that of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in *France*. *Dauid*, perswaded by his companie, stayed in *Mahanaim*, and disposed the forces hee had to *Isab*, *Abisai*, and *Itai*, giuing them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Abisai*. But *Isab*, besides that hee was very cruel by nature, remembered that *Abisai* had lately disposed of his Gouernment to *Amasa*, and therefore the victorie being obtained, and newes brought him that *Abisai* hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when hee could not perswade the messenger to returne and kill him, hee himselfe with his owne seruants dispatcht him. It appeared also by the sequell that *Isab* affected *Adonijah* whom hee afterward acknowledged, *Dauid* yet liuing; and fearing the disposition of *Abisai*, hee embraced the present aduantage offered.

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to *Dauid*, hee mourned and sorrowed, not onely as a man that had lost a sonne, but as one that had outliued all his worldly ioyes, and seene euery delight of life interred. For hee so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward

ward after so great a victorie, couered themselves also in the Citie, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deferred death than recompence. Whereupon *Isab* presenting himselfe before *Dauid*, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himselfe to the armie. For first hee told him that hee had discountenanced his faithfull seruants, who had that day preferred his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not onely to not acknowledge so great a loue and constancie in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolutely expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrary grieue and lament at their good successe. For, no doubt, they might all haue bought their peace of *Abisai* at an easie rate. Secondly, hee vrged that it was generally beleued, that hee loued his enemies and hated his friends, and that hee witnessed by this his mourning, that hee had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull seruants, but would more haue ioyed if they had all perished, and *Abisai* liued, than in the victorie by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

Lastly hee vsed this preualent argument, that if the King came not out and shewed himselfe publicly to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandon him, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatening: *And that will be worse vnto thee than all the euill that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By these bold and arrogant speeches (though perchance vttered with a good intent) *Isab* raised *Dauid*, from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the Citie among the people, whom hee assured of his loue and affection, especially *Amasa* who commanded the armie of *Abisai*, to whom hee promised the office of Lieutenant-shippe; the same which *Abisai* had giuen him, and which *Isab* now enioyed. For *Dauid* doubted that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, hee might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now vnder his commandment.

This done, the King marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his passage hee pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reuiled him to his face; but this remission was but externall, as appeared afterward. Hee also accepted of *Mephiosbeth* his excuse, whom *Ziba* had formerly falsly accused and betrayed.

Hee also intreated *Barzilai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberrall hoste, to follow him to *Ierusalem*, that hee might reward his seruice done him; who excusing himselfe by his age, appointed his sonne *Chimham* to attend the King.

At *Gilgal* on this side *Jordan*, all the tribes assembled, and after some contentment which of them ought to haue most interst in *Dauid*, the armie brake and *Dauid* returned to *Ierusalem*. But *Sheba*, the sonne of *Bichri* a *Beniamite* of the faction of the house of *Saul*, finding some discontentment among the *Israelites*, withdrew them from *Dauid*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interst; and it seemeth that many of the people of the out-tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. *Dauid* employed his reconciled Captaine *Amasa*, to giue him contentment, and to witness his trust, as also because hee conceived that *Amasa* had interst in those reuolts of *Israel* more than *Isab* had. Hee received commandment from *Dauid* to assemble the armie within three dayes, which hee forelloved: but being onward on his way, *Abisai* *Isabs* brother was sent after him, with *Dauids* guard and best souldiers, whom also *Isab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amasa* neere *Gibeon*, pretending to embrace him, gaue him a wound, whereof hee fell dead, being no lesse ialous of *Amasa* than hee was of *Abner*, whom hee murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done hee pursued *Sheba*, and finding him inclosed in *Abel*, assaulted the Citie with that furie, that the Citizens by the perswasions of a wife woman there inhabiting, cut off *Shebas* head, and flung it to *Isab* ouer the walls: which done, hee retrained his armie to *Ierusalem*, and commanded as before all the host of *Israel*.

The next act of *Dauids*, was the deliuerie of *Sauls* sonnes or kinsmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom those Citizens hung vp in reuenge of their fathers crueltie. *Dauid* had knowledge

knowledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeeres, came by reason of Saul and his house; to wit, for the slaughter of the Gibeonites: and therefore hee willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because hee had warrant from God himselfe, as also if we may iudge humancly, to rid himselfe of Sauls line, by whom hee and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and endaugered; only he spared *Mephibosheth* the sonne of *Ionathan*, both for the loue hee bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to God.

Now where it is written in the Text; *The King tooke the two sonnes of RISHAI whom shee bare vnto SAUL, and the five sonnes of MICHEL the daughter of SAUL, whom shee bare to ADRIEL, and deliuered them to the Gibeonites.*

*Iunius* calls this *Michol* the sister of her that was *Dauids* wife, shee whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*; but *Michol* here named had *Adriel* to her husband: the same which is named *Merab* in the first of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was first promised to *Dauid*, when he slew *Goliath* in the valley of *Raphaim*: and because it is written that *Michol* loued *Dauid*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *Dauid* had any humane respect in the deliuerie of her children, it is onely knowne to God.

Now whereas the *Genea* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*, the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here vsed, hauing an eclipsis or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kinred, as in the 19. verse of the same 21. Chapter it is said of *Goliath*, whose speare was weightie as a weavers beame, when as by the same Eclipse it must be vnderstood by the brother of *Goliath*: *Goliath* himselfe being formerlyaine.

As by the death of Sauls children God secured the house of *Dauid*, leauing no head vnto rebellion; so hee here strengthened both the King and Nation against foraine enemies, by the valour of many braue Commanders, the like of whom, for number and qualitie, that people of *Israel* is not knowne to haue had at any time before or after. Thirtie Captaines of thousands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre.ouer these were fixe Coronels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might well be held as miraculous. These Coronels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to haue bene giuen vpon meere consideration of their vertue. For *Abisai* the brother of *Ioshab*, who in the warre against the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lieutenant and commaunded halfe the armie, could not attaine to the honour of the first ranke, but was laine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the second order, notwithstanding his neerenesse in blood vnto the King, the flourishing estate of his owne house, and his well approued seruices. All these Coronels and Captaines, with the Companies belonging to them, may seeme to haue bene such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readinesse for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawne out, if need required into the field, very farre exceeded thirtie thousand, yea or thirtie times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in Sauls time, & bin hardened with his aduersities. Others there were very many, and principall men in their severall Tribes, that repaired vnto him after the death of *Saul*; but these Captaines and Coronels, (who with *Ioshab*, that was Generall of all the Kings forces, make vp the number of 37.) were the especiall men of warre, and reckoned as *Dauids* worthies. The long reigne of *Dauid*, as it is knowne to haue consumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably be gessed to haue wasted the most of those whose deaths we finde nowhere mentioned. For the sonnes of *Zeruia*, who had bene too hard for *Dauid*, were worne away, and onely *Ioshab* left in the beginning of *Salomon*, who wanted his brother *Abisai* to stand by his side in his last extremitie.

By the actions forepassed in the time of *Dauid*, it is gathered that hee had reigned now 33. yeeres, or thereabout, when the posteritie of *Saul* was rooted out, so that hee

hee enjoyed about seauen yeeres of entire quiet and securitie, wherein it pleased God to remoue all impediments that might haue troubled the succession of *Salomon* in his fathers throne. In this time also *Dauid* hauing established all things in *Iuda* and *Issriel*, and the borders thereof, hee againe displeased God by numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which hee employed *Iozab* with other Captaines of his armie, who after nine monthes and twentie daies trauell, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to beare armes, and they amounted to the number of thirtie hundred thousand, besides *Leui* and *Beniamin*; whereof in *Iuda* and the Cities thereof fixe hundred thousand, and in *Israel* eight hundred thousand.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfe to which he pleased; to wit, seauen yeeres famine, three monthes warre, wherein hee should be vnprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three dayes: *Dauid* made choyce to bowe himselfe vnder the hand of God onely, and left himselfe subiect to that cruell disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished seauente thousand. And hereby hee both taught all that liue, that is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof hee giueth vs this reason. *For his mercies are great.*

## ¶ VIII.

of the last acts of DAVID: ADONIAHS faction: the reuenge  
vpon IOAB and SHIMEI.

As<sup>1</sup>thly, when hee grew weake and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, hee was yet aduised to lie in the armes of a yong and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake estate of bodie, when he was in a manner bedrid, *Adonijah* his eldest sonne (*Amnon* and *Abishom* being now dead) hauing drawne vnto his partie, that inuincible, renowned and feared *Iozab*, with *Abiathar* the Priest, beganne manerly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now liuing of *Dauids* sonnes, and a man of a goodly personage, *Salomon* yet young, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adulterie, for which her name was omitted by *S. Matthew* (as *Beck*, *Iung*, *Thomas*, and others suppose) he presumed to carrie the matter without resistance. Hereof when *Dauid* had knowledge by *Bersabe* the mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in minde of his faithfull promise, that *Salomon* her sonne should reigne after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the same thing vnto the King, & seconding her report of *Adonijah* his presumption) the King calling vnto him *Zadec* the Priest, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benaiab* the Captaine of his guard, gaue charge and commission to anoint *Salomon*, and to set him on the mule whereon himselfe vsed to ride in his greatest state: which done, *Salomon* attended and strongly guarded by the ordinary and choyce men of warre, the *Cherethites* and *Peletites*, shewed himselfe to the people. Those tydings being reported to *Adonijah*, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safetie of his life he held by the hornes of the Altar, whom for the present *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *Dauid* had remaining two especiall cares, whereof hee was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against *Salomon*; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all meanes to aduance, and make the businesse publique. To bring these intentions to good effect hee summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of *Israel*, the Princes of the severall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers, with all the mightie, and men of power, who repaired vnto *Ierusalem*.

In this assembly the King stood vp, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he tooke occasion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, shewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Jacob* in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himselfe was pleased to make choice of him among all his fathers sonnes. In like manner he said that God himselfe had appointed *Salomon* by name to be his successor; whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his sonne, to conforme themselves vnto all that God had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house which *Salomon* was chosen to build. Then produced hee the paterne of the worke according to the forme which God himselfe had appointed; and so laying open his owne preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The Kings proposition was so well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas he himselfe had given three thousand talents of golde, and seauen thousand of siluer, they added vnto it seauen thousand of gold, and ten thousand of siluer, besides brasse, iron and iewels, heartily reioicing in the aduancement of so religious a worke. This businesse being well dispatched, a solemne feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was againe anointed King, and receiued feaite of all the Princes and people of the land, and of all the Princes his brethren the sonnes of King *Dauid*. *Salomon* being thus established King, his father *Dauid* finding himselfe euery in the hands of death, first exhorted his sonne to exercise the same courage and strength of minde, which himselfe had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happie end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he vttered these mightie words; Take heede to the charge of the Lord thy God, to wake in his waies, and keepe his statutes and his commandments, and his iudgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of *Moses* &c. to the performance of which God hath endued the succession, and prosperitie of his issues. For this done (saith God himselfe) Thou shalt not want one of thy posteritie to sit vpon the throne of *Israel*.

Secondly, hee aduised him concerning *Ioshab*, who out of doubt had serued *Dauid* from the first assault of *Ierusalem* to the last of his warres, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, sauing that hee fastened himselfe to *Achish* (his master yet liuing) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath neuer left crueltie vnuenged, so was it his will that *Ioshab* should drinke of the same cuppe, wherof he had enforced other men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himselfe had vniuently broken others with all, *qui gladius percussit, gladio peribit*: for he had bereaued *Ahner* and *Amasa* of their liues, hauing against the one the pretence onely of his brothers slaughter, whom *Ahner* had slaine in the time of waite, and could not auoid him: against the other but a meere ialousie of his growing great in the fauour of *Dauid*. And though *Ioshab* assured himselfe that his growing great in the fauour of *Dauid*, there was none left either to quall him or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raised vp *Benhuah* the sonne of *Iehoiadab*, to pull him from the Sanctuarie, and to cut him in pieces. For *Dauid* giueth this cause to *Salomon* against *Ioshab*, that he slew the Captaines of the hoste of *Israel*, and shed blood of battell in peace; and to this apparant and iust cause, it is not improbable but that *Dauid* remembered the ill affection of *Ioshab* towards *Salomon*, which *Ioshab* made manifest by the vntimely setting vp of *Achish*, *Dauid* yet liuing. Some other offence *Ioshab* had committed against *Dauid* of which in these words he put his son *Salomon* in minde; Thou knowest also what *Ioshab* the sonne of *Serviah* did to mee, &c. Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abshalom*, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words vsed to him when hee mourned in *Atchanaim* for *Abshalom*; or whether it were the publishing of *Dauids* letter vnto him for the killing of *Uriah*; or thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as defended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is that those great men of warre doe oftentimes behaue themselves exceeding

ding in'olently towards their Princes, both in respect of their seruice done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their masters cannot misse them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath ouerthrowne many a wortheie man otherwise deseruing great honour and respect.

Hee also gaue order to *Salomon*, to ridde himselfe of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast stones at *Dauid* and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise *Dauid* spared *Shimei* all the time himselfe liued, yet being dult and in the graue he slew him, by the hand of *Salomon* his sonne. Hence it seemeth that King *Henry* the seauenth of England had his paterne, when hee gaue order to *Henry* the eighth to execute *Paol* as soone as himselfe was buried, hauing made promise to the King of *Spain* when hee deliuered *Paol* vnto him, that while hee liued hee would neuer put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be laid vpon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Ioshab* yeeld vnto *Salomon* any such great profit or assurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Asaph* of *Samaria*, and *Rezin* of *Damascus* to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witness, were emboldened to enterprize vpon *Salomon*, hearing that *Dauid* slept with his fathers, and that *Ioshab* the Captaine of the host was dead. Now when *Dauid* had reigned in all fortie yeeres, to wit, in *Hebron* seauen yeeres, and in *Ierusalem* three and thirtie, he died.

For his person he was of smal stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces he so farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailetie apart, he was said by God himselfe to be a man according to his owne heart. The *Psalms* which he wrote witness his pietie, and his excellent learning; of whom *Hieronymus* to *Paulinus*. *DAVID SIMONIDES nosse, PINDARVS & ALCAEVS, FLACCVS, GREGORIVS, & SERENVS, Christi am typer sonas, & in dech. choro p. Alterio ab inferis suscitatus regentem*. *DAVID* (saith he) *IOU SIMONIDES, PINDARVS, ALCAEVS, HORACE, CATVLLVS, & SERENVS, he playeth Christ on his harpe, and on a ten stringed p. Alterio he raiseth him vprying from the dead*. And being both a King and a Prophet, hee foretelleth Christ more lightomely and liuely than all theret.

The booke of the *Psalms* saith *Gyeras* were diuided, ordered and distinguished by *Ezekias*: but whether all the *Psalms* were written by *Dauid* it is diuersly disputed. For *Athanasius*, *Cyprian*, *Tyrannus*, & others conceiue diuers authoras, answering the titles of the seueral *Psalms*, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and the rest hee after named, and that onely 73. *Psalms* were composed by *Dauid* himselfe, namely those which are intituled *ipsius Dauid*. For the 50. and 72. with the ten that followe are bestowed on *Asaph* the sonne of *Israhiah*, eleven other on the sonnes of *Korah*, and eleven are ascribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 89. and the 100. following, and so they are intituled in the old *Hebrew* copies, though the vulgar and *Septuagint* (three excepted) stile them otherwise. The supposed nine authoras of these *Psalms* which *Dauid* wrote not. Sixt: *Scen* (is nameth as followeth; *Salomon*, *Moses*, whom *Aben Ezra* contra-rieto *Herome*, maketh one of *Dauid* s fingers) *Asaph*, *Ethan*, *Ezra*, *Isaiah*, *Eman*, *Ezra*, *Isaiah*, *Isaiah*, *Isaiah*, and the three sonnes of *Chore*. But *S. Augustine*, reasoning in this manner. *Al* though (saith he) some there are that ascribe those *Psalms* onely vnto *Dauid*, which are ouerwritten *ipsius Dauid*, and the rest intituled *ipsi Dauid* to others, this opinion (saith hee) *Vox Evangelica saluatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait quod ipse DAVID in spiritu Christi discretus esse suum Dominum quoniam Psalmus 109. sic incipit. Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede a dextris meis &c.* The voice of the Gospel refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *Dauid* himselfe in the spirit called Christ his Lord, because the 109. *Psalm* begins thus. *The Lord said vnto my Lord sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Lastly, his testimonies are vsed both by Christ and the Apostles, and he was as a paterne to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

His Storie and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Semuel*, *Nathan* and *Gad*, as it is in the first of *Chron.* 29. ver. 19. For the seueral parts of the booke

bookes of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *Dauid*, were as it seemes written by these three holy men.

*Constantine Mansueti* hath an opinion, that the *Troians* during the time of the siege, sought for succour from *Dauid*, and that he stayed neuter in that warre. But it seemeth that *Mansueti* did miscall the time twixt *Dauid* and the *Troian* warre. For it is generally receiued that *Troy* fell betwene the times of *Alden* and *Samson* Iudges of *Israel*, about the worlds yeere 2848 and *Dauid* died in the yeere 2991.

c. 17. §. 67.  
In this annales  
translated out  
of Greeke into  
Latin by Ios-  
phus Leuclia-  
tes.

§. IX.

Of the treasures of *DAVID* and *Salomon*.

10

Vol. 14.



Its treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the first of *Chronicles*, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of gold, & a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brasse and yron passing all weight, which is more than any King of the world possit beids himselfe, and his son to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirtie and three cartload & a third of a cartload of silver, allowing two thousand weight of silver or six thousand pound sterling to euery cartload, besides three score and seuentene millions of 20 French Crownes, or of our money twentie three millions and a thousand pound: a matter but for the testimonie of the Scriptures exceeding all beliefe. For that any riches were left him it doth not appeare, seeing that the Iudges had not any treasure, nor any soueraigne power to make leuies: but when they went to the warres, they were followed by such voluntaries as the feuerall tribes by turnes gaue them: seeing also that *Sal* who was a meane parentage, and perpetually vexed and inuaded by the *Philistins*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possit by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amisse to consider how *Dauid* within the space of not very 30 many yeeres, might amasse vp such mightie treasures. For though parsimonie be it selfe a great reuenuer, yet needes there must haue beene other great meanes. It seemes that hee made the vttermost profit of all that hee had, that was profitable. *Eusebius* in his ninth booke and last Chapter de preparatione Evangelica, citeth the words of *Eusepiemus*, who reporteth that *Dauid* among other preparations for the Temple, built a Naue in *Atlanis* (or as *Pallapandus* corrects it *Achani*) a Citie of *Arabia*, and from thence sent men to digge for gold in the Island *Trope*, which *Orelus* thinks, was *Ophir*, though *Eusepiemus* in his place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Island is in the red sea; from whence saith this *Eusepiemus* they brought golde into *Iury*. *Pineda lib. 4. de rebus Salomonis* c. 1. thinks that 40 *Dauid* did this way also enrich himselfe, and citeth this testimonie of *Eusepiemus*: and yet certainly *Dauid* had many other waies to gather great riches. Much land doubtlesse hee gained by conquest, from the *Cananites* and *Philistins*, besides those fruitful vallies neere *Ierusalem* in *Trachonitis* and *Basam*, and the best of *Syria*, and other countries bordering the *Isr. etc.* These demaines belike he kept in his owne hands, and with his infinite number of captiues, which hee tooke in his warres, which were not able to redeme themselves, hee banded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written 1. *Chron.* 17. that *Iehonathan* was ouer his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the Cities, in the townes; that *Ezer* was ouer the labourers, that tilled his ground; *Somer* ouer the vineyards; and *Sabdi* ouer the store of the wine; *Bath* 50 *Hanan* ouer the olive trees, and *Iosab* ouer the store of the oyle. also that hee had herdmen that had charge ouer his cattell, both in the high lands, and in the plaines, ouer his sheepe, camels, and asses. And this custome of enriching themselves by husbandry and Cattell the ancient Kings euery where held, both before

and

and after *Dauid* time. For wee reade of *Pharas* that hee spake to *Ioseph* to appoint some of his brethren or of their seruants, to be Rulers ouer his cattell. We reade of *Pharis*, that hee loued husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dressers of Vines: likewise we reade it in all Greeke Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did especially consist in their Herds and flocks, whereof it were needlesse to cite *Arges* and *Admetus* or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *Dauid* it is not vnlkely, but that those captiues which were not imploied in husbandrie, were many of them vsed by him in all sorts of gainfull professions, as the ancient *Romans* in like manner vsed their slaues.

10 To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions which doubtlesse were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Tebu* and others) wee may adde the great spoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which hee conquered: also the head money which was gathered per legem capitacionis; By the law of capitacion or head money, euery man rich or poore paying halfe a sicle of the Sanctuarie, which is about as much as fouenteene pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous summe in that Kingdome: wherein one thousand thousand five hundred and seuentie thousand fighting men were numbred by *Iosh*. Now although this Law of capitacion be thought by some very learned not to haue beene perpetuall (which opinion of theirs neuertheless 20 they themselues is against the Hebrew expolitions) yet *Dauid* vpon this occasion is not vnlike to haue put it in practise. And by these meanes might he be able to leaue those huge treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seeme that of this great masse of gold and silver left by *Dauid*, the least part was his owne in priuate, and so will it appeare the lesse wonderfull that he left so much. Of his owne liberalitie wee finde, that he gaue to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand talents of silver, a great summe: but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuarie it selfe were exceeding great, as needes they must haue been, hauing receiued continuall encrease, without any losse or diminution euer since the time of *Moses* and *Iosuah*. 30 Thereuenues of the Sanctuarie (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defraied the daily expences, and maintayned the Priest and *Leuites*) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the spoiles gotten in warre. For all the bootie was diuided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the People which remayned at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the Countrey receiued benefit of the victorie, yet so, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiuing more for euery single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people receiued, and one in five hundred, of that which was giuen 40 to the Souldiers; namely one hundred and one thousand part of the whole bootie. So in the spoile of *Midian*, thirtie two thousand women being taken, the armie had sixteen thousand of them for slaues, and the Congregation had other sixteen thousand; but out of the sixteen thousand giuen to the Armie, were exempted two and thirtie for the Lords tribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twentie. By this meanes, the lesser that the Armie was which had exposed it selfe to danger, the greater profit had euery Souldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaying at home were faine to vndergoe more than ordinarie traualle in domestick affaires, did receiue by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwaies certaine, yea many times it was increased, either by 50 some especiall commandement, as when all the gold, and silver, and other metall's found in *Iericho*, were consecrated vnto God; or by thankfulnessse of the Rulers and People, as when after the victorie obtayned against the *Midianites* without the losse of one man, all Jewells, Bracelets, Eare-rings, and the like, were offered vp, as voluntarie presents.

Gen. 47.

1. Chron. 1. 6.

1. Chron. 21.

Num. 31. 27.

Num. 31. 40.

106. c. 19.

Num. 31. 50.

V u

Now

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and troden downe by other Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies neuer got possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie must haue bene exceeding great; as containing about one hundredth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtained against the bordering Nations. For that this treasure was not defrauded of the due portion, it is euident; seeing that before the time of *David* and his Lieutenant *Ioshab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had vied to dedicate of the spoiles obtained in warre, to maintayne the house of the Lord; the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Iudges and Captaines in other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conquest of *David* brought into the Land farre greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of *Iosua* perhaps excepted: but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of siluer, may seeme rather to haue bene made vp, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treasures laid vp in many former Ages, than to haue bene the mere fruits of his owne industrie.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he receiued of yearly reuenues with his tributes sixe hundred fixtie sixe Talents of gold, besides the Customes of Spices. He had also fixie rich Returnes from the East *Indies*, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voiage euery three yeares, and he beganne that trade in the two and twentieth yeare of his raigne, and ruled fortie yeares. Besides this, all *India* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobab*, of *Damascus*, of *Palmyra*, of *Ituraa*; all of *Idumaea*, *Mosab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Heuites*, *Iebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished, though subjected.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdome of *Israel* reduced by *David*, who after fortie yeares raigne, and seuentie yeares of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the Citie of *David*. It is written by *Iosephus* that there was hid in *David's* Tombe a meruailous quantitie of treasures, in so much as *Hircanus* (who first of the *Chasmanai*, or race of the *Maccabees*, called himselfe King) one thousand and three hundred yeares after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himselfe of *Antiochus* then besieging *Jerusalem*, and afterward Herod opening another Cell, had also an exceeding masse of gold and siluer therein. And it was an ancient custome to burie treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they enriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did burie so much treasure in his fathers graue, it would hardly be beleued, in regard of the great exactions with which he was faine to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left vnto him: were it not withall considered that his want of monie grew from such magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulcher of *David* the Scriptures haue no mention, but only the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the Monuments of those Kings, as (by Relation of the Duke of *Pluke*) they remayned within these thirtie yeares, and are like to remaine still, are able to make any report credible, of the cost bestowed vpon them.

¶ II. 50

¶ X.

Of the *Philistims*, whom *DAVID* absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with *DAVID*.



If the *Philistims*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David's* time somewhat here may be spoken. They descended of *Caslim*, who according to *Ifydor* and *Iosephus*, 15d. 19. 19. was one of the sonnes of *Misram*, and was surname *Philistim*, as *Esa* 16. 1. 1. am. 17. was surname *Edom*, and *Jacob Israel*. There were of them five Cities of pettie principalities, namely, *Azotus* or *Asdod*, *Gaza* or *Azaph*, *Ascalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Caslim* was the first founder of this nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Aegyptians*.

The first King of these *Philistims*, which the Scriptures haue named, was that *Abimelech* which loued *Sara*, *Abrahams* wife. Gen. 20.

The second *Abimelech* liued at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumaea*, which *Abimelech* fancied *Isaac* his wife: as his father had done *Sara*. Gen. 26.

After *Abimelech* the second, the *Philistims* Kings are not remembered in the Scriptures, till *David's* time: perhaps the government was turned into *Aristocratick*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philistims*, howsoever *Achis* be named King of *Gath*, the same to whom *David* fled, and who againe gaue him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul's* time. 1. Sam. 27. 1. Sam. 31. 11. 1. Sam. 31. 11.

After him wee read of another *Achis* who liued with *Salomon*, to whom *Semei* trauided to fetch backe his fugitiue seruant, what time the seeking of this seruant was the losse of his life. *Ieremie* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palestin* or *Philistim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The rest of the warres of the *Philistims* are remembered in the Catalogue of the Iudges, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not neede to collect the particulars in this place.

There liued at once with *David*, the third of the *Siluij* King of *Alba* called *Latinus Siluius*, who is said to haue ruled that part of *Italy* fiftie yeeres. And about his fourteenth yeere *Codrus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeded the first Prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Melesionida*, without regall name gouerned *Athens* during their life.

The reasons which moued the *Athenians* to change their gouernment, was not drawne from any inconuenience found in the rule of Soueraigntie, but in honour of *Codrus* onely. For when the *Gracians* of *Doris*, a region betwene *Phocis* and the mountaine *Oeta*, sought counsaile from the Oracle, for their successe in the warres against the *Athenians*, it was answered that then vndoubtedly they should preuaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtaine any victorie against the Nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* King liuing. *Codrus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrewe himselfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common souldier, entred the Campe of the *Dorians*, and killing the first hee encountered, was himselfe forthwith cut in peeces.

*Eupales* the 1. King of *Affria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule 50 that Empire about the 13. yeere of *David*, and held it 38. yeeres.

Neere the same time began *Ixion* the second King of the *Heracleide*, the sonne of *Eurythene* in *Corinth*, and *Agis* the second of the *Heracleide* in *Lacedemon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his succellours were called *Agides*, for many yeeres after. He restored the *Laconian*s to their former libertie: hee ouercame the Citizens of *Helos*.

V u 2.

Helos

1. Chron. c. 16.  
v. 27. §. 18.

A Talent of  
gold is 770.  
rich crownes.  
1. King. 10. 14.

1. King. c. 9. v. 20  
§. 10. 2. 3.

1. Chron. 19. 28.

Ioseph. Antiq. 17.

Peregrinat. Iti-  
rigel. D. N. Ch.  
Rade. Epist. 1.

*Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: hee condemned them and their to perpetuall slavery; whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helotes*.

In like sort from the *Sclavi* came the word *Slave*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized vpon the countrie of *Illyria* and made it their owne by Conquest, their victorie pleased them so highly, that therupon they called themselves by a new name, *Slaves*, which is in their language *glorious*. But in after-times (that warmer Climate hauing thawed their northerne hardines, and not ripened their wits) when they were troden down, and made seruants to their neighbours the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage began to call all their bond-men *Slaves*, vying the word as a name of reproche: in which sense it is now current through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later, about the 23. yeere of *Dauid*, and saie that *Achsestratus* was the fourth King of this race, the same whome *Eusebius* calls *Lalates*, and sets him in the thirteenth yeere of *Salomon*.

In the tenth yeere of *Achsestratus*, *Androclus* the third sonne of *Codrus* assisted by the *Iones*, built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, who after the adioyning of the Ile of *Samos* to his territorie was laine by the *Carians* whose countrie he vlerped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the gates of *Ephesus* called *Magnetics*, his armed *Statue* being set ouer him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next province to *Ephesus* on the sea coast of *Asia* the lesse) he enlarged his Dominions vpon the *Aeoles*, which ioyneth to *Ionians*; and that his posteritie gouerned the Cities of *Ephesus* and *Erythrae* by the name of the *Epistida* in *Strabo* his owne time. Of the expedition of the *Iones* how they came hither out of *Peloponessus*, I haue \* spoken already vpon occasion of the returne of the *Heraclides* into *Peloponessus*, wherein with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achaes*, and inhabited their places in that land: though this of the *Iones* succeeded that of the *Heraclides* 100. yeeres.

The Citie of *Ephesus* became exceeding famous: first, for the temple of *Diana* therein built: which had in length 425. foote, and 220. in bredth, sustained with 127. pillars of marble, of 75. foote high: whereof 27. were most curiously grauen, and all the rest of choise marble polisht, the worke being first set out by *Cleophon* of *Groffon*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that receiued the Christian faith, of which *Timothee* was Bishop; to whom, and to the *Ephesians*, *Saint Paul* wrote his Epistles so intitled. The other Citie posselt by *Androclus* in *Aeolis* was also vniuersally spoken of by reason of *Sibylla*, surnamed *Erythraea*: who liued seuen hundred and fourtie yeeres before Christ borne. *Saint Augustine* auoweth that a *Romane* *Proconsul* shewed him in an ancient Greeke copie certaine verses of this Prophetesse: which began (as *Saint Augustine* changed them into Latine) in these wordes, *Iesus Christus Dei filius saluator. Iesus Christi sonne of God the saviour*.

About the time that *Isab* besieged *Rabba* in *Moaab*, *Vaphres* beganne to gouerne in *Aegypt*, the same that was father in Law to *Salomon*, whose Epistles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembered by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *Dauid*, was the citie of *Magnesia* in *Asia* the lesse founded, the same which is seated vpon the riuer *Meander*, where *Scipio* gaue the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territorie are the best herbes of the lesser *Asia* bred, whereof *Lacina*:

*Et Magnetis equis, Minye gens cognita remis.*

About the same time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcid* in *Euboea* according to *Seruius*; with whom *Strabo* ioyneth the *Cumians* of *Aeolis*, saying that to the one of these people the gouernment was giuen, with condition that the other should giue name to the Citie. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous schooler of *Isocrates*.

*Euse-*

*Eusebius* and *Cassiodor* finde the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. yeere of *Dauid*, but much mistaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Mecimus* the sonne of *Badezor* brother to *Iezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Israel*; and betwene the death of *Dauid*, and the first of *Achab*, there were waisted about 95. yeeres.

In this time also *Acastus* liued, the second of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteene in descent before the State changed into a *Magistrate* of tenne yeeres. Some writers make it probable that the *Aeolians* ledde by *Grani*, the grandnephew of *Orestes*, posselt the Citie and Island of *Leibos* about this time. In the 32. yeere of *Dauid*, *Hiram* beganne to reigne in *Tyre*, according to *Iosephus*, who saith that in his twelfth yeere *Salomon* beganne the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar error in *Iosephus*, to misreckon times, which in this point hee doth so strangely, as if hee knew not how at all to cast any account. For it is manifest that *Hiram* sent messengers, and Cedars to *Dauid*, soone after his taking of *Ierusalem*, which was in the very beginning of *Dauid*s reigne ouer *Israel*, when as yett hee had reigned onely leauen yeeres in *Hebron*, ouer the house of *Iuda*. Wherefore it must needs be that *Hiram* had reigned about 30. yeeres before *Salomon*; vntill some credit should be giuen to those *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Iosephus*, than to the plain words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same *Hiram* who liued both with *Dauid* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

*Euseb. in Chron.*  
*Heb. in vit.*  
*Hom. & Strab.*  
*1. 14.*  
*Antiq. 8. & cont.*  
*Ap. l. 1.*

*Sam. 5.*

## CHAP. XVIII. Of SALOMON.

### § I.

Of the establishing of SALOMON: of his bright, and of the cause  
of ADONIAHs death, and of SALOMONS  
wisdomes.



**S**ALOMON, who was brought vp vnder the Prophet *Nathan*, beganne to reigne ouer *Iuda* and *Israel*, in the yeere of the world 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: hee was also called *Iedidias*, or *Theophilus*, by *Nathan* because the Lord loued him.

*Hiram* King of *Tyre*, after *Salomon*s anunting, dispatched Embassadors toward him, congratulating his establishment: a custome between Princes very ancient. Whence we read that *Dauid* did in like sort salute *Hiram* King of the *Ammonites*, after his ob-

*Sam. 10.*

taining the Kingdome.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in blood, though his reigne were peaceable. For soone after *Dauid*s death, hee caused his brother *Adonijah* to bee Raine by *Benaiah* the sonne of *Iehoiada*, taking occasion from *Adonijah*s desiring by *Bersheba*, that the young maid *Abisag*, which lay in *Dauid*s bosome in his latter daies, to keepe him warme, might be giuen him. Whatsoeuer hee pretended it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and sought the kingdome contrary to the will of *Dauid*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yett it is saide that a word is

V 43

enough

The East gate  
of Ephesus to-  
ward Magnesia  
vpon the riuer  
Androclerus.

*Arist. 1. 5. polit. 6.*

\* See Ch in this  
17. Ch. §. 104.  
medium.

*Phil. 1. 2. c. 59.*  
*Ch. 17. c. 37.*

*Seru. in Aeneid.*  
*3. Strabo. 1. 5.*

enough to the wife, and he that sees but the claw, may know whether it bee a lyon or no: so it may seeme that to the quick-sighted wisdom of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijah*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had been concubines to a King, might not after bee touched but by a King: whence *Achish* wished *Abialon* to take his fathers concubines as a part of the royaltie. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but shut them vp, and they remained widowed vntil their death. And this it seems was the depth of *Abialon*'s quarrel against *Alner*, for hauing his fathers concubine. And some signification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*, *I haue giuen thee thy masters house, and thy masters wines*. And in the word of *Saul*, vpbraid *Jonathan* that hee had chosen *David* to the shame of the nakednesse of his mother. Hereunto perhaps was some reference in this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marrie with her that was alwaies present with *David* in his latter daies, and who be like knew all that was past, for the conueying of the Kingdome to *Salomon*. There might be diuers farther occasions, as either that hee would learne such things by her as might be for the aduantage of his ambition, or that hee would perswade her to forge some strange tale about *Dauid*'s last Testament, or any thing else that might prouide the title of *Salomon*.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the customes of the *Iewes*: yet the Kings of the *Iewes* were so absolute, as they did therein, and in all else what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of kings) which taught them to vse this paternall authoritie in transferring the birthright to a younger sonne: namely of *Isaac*'s disheriting *Reuben*, and giuing the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Ioseph*: of whom hee made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *Dauid*, it appears by the words of *Bersabe* and *Nathan* to *Dauid*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For as for popular election, that it was necessarie to confirme, or that the refusal of the people had authoritie to frustrate the elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it nowhere appeares in the stories of the *Iewes*. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Gibeah*: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that hee was King long before no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of chusing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said, *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse*.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon* at the same time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he hidde himselfe also of *Isab*, and three yeeres after of *Shimei*, as *Dauid* had aduised him: he displaced also the Priest *Abialbar*, who tooke part with *Adonijah* against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed *Dauid* in all his afflictions, and because hee had borne the Ark of God before his father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdome, hee tooke the daughter of *Pharao* King of *Egypt* to wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eusebius* calls him. Hee offered a thousand sacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing vnto him in a dreame, bad him aske what he would at his hands: *SALOMON* chooseth wisdom, which pleased God. And God said vnto him, *Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy selfe long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy selfe, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I haue done according to thy words*: by which wee may informe our selues what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the conueying after long life, in respect of our selues, cannot but proceede of selfe-love, which is the roote of all iniquitie: the desire of priuieriches is an affection of couerousnesse which God abhorreth; to affect reuenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand and to distrust his Iustice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *Dauid*, or from

Deut. 17. 15.  
Filius exaile est  
natus, et datus ei  
portionem duarum  
tribuum: nam iussus  
est ut princeps  
miseretur Regis.  
1. Reg. 11. 20.  
1. Reg. 11. 23.  
1. Reg. 11. 24.  
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1. Reg. 11. 97.  
1. Reg. 11. 98.  
1. Reg. 11. 99.  
1. Reg. 11. 100.

from the Law of God. But because *Salomon* desired wisdom onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to giue him withall that which he desired not. And I haue also giuen thee (saith God) that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour. This gift of wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost all kindes of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plantes and liuing creatures the Scripture testifieth, though no doubt the chiefe excellencie of *Salomon*'s wisdom, was in the knowledge of gouerning his kingdome: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the Scripture telleth how some he iudged the controuersie betwene the two harlots.

1. Reg. 3. 1.  
1. Reg. 3. 9.

## §. II.

## Of SALOMON'S buildings and glorie.



He then entered into league with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from whom hee had much of his materials, from the Kings palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father *Dauid*, and another for God. For like as it is written of *Dauid* that He called *SALOMON* his sonne, and charged him to build a house for the Lord God of Israel: so doth *Tostatus* giue the force of a diuine precept to these words. Behold, a sonne is borne vnto thee, &c. Hee shall build an house for my name.

1. Chr. 2. 2.  
Tost. 9. 6. 11  
1. Chr. 2. 2.

Hee beganne the worke of the Temple, in the beginning of the 4. yeere of his reigne, at which time also hee prepared his fleet at *Eziongeber* to trade for gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to lupp the charge of so great a worke. For that the Temple was in building, while his fleetes were passing to and fro it is mainteined. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the *Amaggin* trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the forme and example was giuen by God himselfe) many learned men haue written, as *Sabacron*, *Alonius*, *Ribera*, *Buradus*, *Azorius*, *Villalpandus*, *Pineda*, and others, to whom I referre the reader.

1. Chr. 2. 6.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which serued that building, *Salomon* employed thirtie thousand Carpenters, tenne thousand euery moneth by course: hee also vied eightie thousand Masons in the mountaine, and seauentie thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceived, he selected out of the *Prescrites*, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his worke, so as hee paid and employed in all one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men, in which number the *Zelomans* which were more skilful in hewing timber than the *Israelites*, may (as I thinke) be included. For *Hiram* caused his seruants to bring downe the Cedars and Firres from *Libanon* to the sea, and thence sent them in railes to *Ioppe* or the next port to *Hiernsalem*. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plaine that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the ouerscers, were strangers, and as it seemeth the vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Pharao* King of *Egypt*. In recompence of all this timber and stone, *Salomon* gaue *Hiram* twentie thousand measures of wheate, and twentie measures of pure oyle yeerely. *Eusebius* out of *Eusebius* in the ninth booke of his preparation the last Chapter, hath left vs a Copie of *Salomon*'s Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Hiram* or *Hiram* King of *Tyre* in these words.

1. Chr. 2. 6.

1. Chr. 2. 6.

1. Chr. 2. 11.

REX SALOMON SVRONI, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phenicia regi. Amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno DAVID patri mei regnum accepisse, cumq; mihi pater precepit tem plium Deo, qui terram creauit, condere, vt etiam ad describerem precepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te vt artifices atque fabros ad edificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.

King

**K**ING SALOMON to King SVRON, of Tyre, Sydon, and Phenicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting; You may understand that I have received of the great God of my father DAVID, the Kingdom: and when my father commanded mee to build a Temple to God which created heaven and earth, he commanded also that I should write to you. I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

To which the King SVRON made this answer.

**SVRON**, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phenicia rex, SALOMONI regi salutem. Letti literis gratias regi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros ministrisq; ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te milia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Iudea, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessarii non egent, & Templum Dei condito ad nos redeant.

**SVRON** of Tyre Sidon and Phenicia King, to King SALOMON greeting: when I read your letters, I gave God thanks, who hath installed you in your fathers Kingdom. And because you write, that carpenters and workmen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I have sent unto you four score thousand men, and a Maister builder a Tyrian, borne of a Jewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be careful that all necessities be provided for them, and when the Temple of God is built that they come home to us.

The Copies of these letters were extant in Iosephus time as himselfe affirmeth, and to be scene, saith he, *Tam in nostris quam in Tyriorum annalibus*, as well in our owne as in the Tyrian annals. But he deliuereth them somewhat in different termes, as the reader may finde in his antiquities. But were this intercourse betwene Salomon and Hiram either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise deliuered in the Scriptures, than either Eusebius or Iosephus set it downe, but, so that in substance there is little difference betwene the one and the other.

The like letter in effect Salomon is said to haue written to Vaphres King of Egypt<sup>30</sup> and was answered as from Hiram.

But whereas some Commenters vpon Salomon finde that Hiram King of Tyre, and Vaphres King of Egypt, gaue Salomon the title of Rex magnus, and cite Eusebius in Eusebius, I doe not finde any such addition of magnus in Eusebius in the last chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in Iosephus in the eight booke and second chapter of the *Antiquities*: it being a vaine title vsed by some of the Assyrian and Persian Kings, and vsed likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, in so much as in latter times it grew common, and was vsurped by meane persons in respect of the great Homes the first which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightinesse.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, Salomon fortified Ierusalem with a treble wal, & repaired H<sup>12</sup> or which had bene the ancient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before Iesusus time: so did he Gaza of the Philistines; he built Bethoron, Gerar and the *Asilo* or munition of Ierusalem. For Pharaoh (as it seemeth in fauour of Salomon) came vp into the edge of Ephraim, and tooke Gerar which the Canaanites yet held & put them to the sword and burnt their Citie. The place and territorie he gaue Salomons wife for a dowrie. And it is probable that because Salomon was then builed in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the warre, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of those neighbours, which Pharaoh performed. But he thereby taught the Egyptians to visite those partes againe before they were sent for; and in his sonne Rehoboams time Shephack this mans successor did sacke Ierusalem it selfe.

Salomon also built Megiddo in Manasse, on this side Iordan and Balah in Dan: also Thadmor, which may be either Ptolemies Thamoron in the desert of Inda (or as Iosephus

phus thinks Palmyra in the desert of Syria, which Palmyra because it stood on the utmost border of Salomons dominion to the northeast of Libanus, and was of Dauids conquest when hee wanne Damascus; it may looke that Salomon therefore bellowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best arte, that that age had. Iosephus calls this place Thadmora, by which name (saith hee) giuen by Salomon, the Syrians as yet call it. Hiram in his booke of Hebrew places calls it Thermeth. In after times, when it was rebuilt by Adrian the Emperor it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In respect of this great charge of building Salomon raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twentie talents of gold received from Hiram seruants, Salomon offered Hiram twentie townes in or nere the upper Galilee, but because they stood in an vnfruitfull and marish ground: Hiram refused them, and thereof was the territorie called Chabulh.

These townes, as it is supposed lay in Galilee of the Gentiles, *Non quod gentes inhabitant: sed quia sub ditone regis gentilis erat*; Not that it was possesed by Gentiles: (saith Nanderus) but because it was vnder the rule of a King that was a Gentile. Howsoever it were, it is true that Salomon in his 27. yeere fortified those places, which Hiram refused. Further, he made a iourney into Syria to Idubab and established his tributes; the first and last warre (if in that expedition hee were driuen to fight) that hee made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his Dominions passing from Thadmor to the North of Palmyrena, and so to the Deserts of Idumaea, from whence hee visited Eziongaber and Eloih, the uttermost place of the South of all his territories, bordering to the red sea: which Cities I haue described in the Storie of Moses.

### ¶ III.

Of SALOMONS sending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about SALOMONS riches, and of PINEDAES conceits of two strange passages about Africk.



Ere Salomon prepared his flecte of shippes for Inda with whom Hiram ioynd in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the Tyrians being of all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of Arabia, which at this time belonged to Edom: and was conquered by David, did the Flecte passe on to the East India, which was not farre off, namely to Ophir, one of the Islands of the *Atalucas*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witnesseth the Spaniards, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in Peru, doe yet plant in those Islands of the East at *Atanilla*, and recover a great quantitie from thence, and with lesse labour than they doe in any one part of Peru, or new Spaine.

The returne which was made by these shippes amounted to foure hundred and twentie talents, but in the second of *Chronicles* the eight, it is written foure hundred and fiftie talents: whereof thirtie talents went in expence for the charge of the flect, and wages of men, and foure hundred and twentie talents, which makes fure and twentie hundred and twentie thousand Crowne meane cleere. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place i. Reg. 10. 14. which speaketh of six hundred fixtie and six talents of gold, that summe, as I take it, is of other receipts of Salomons which were yerely, and which came to him besides the profits from Ophir.

My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is not Peru in America (as diuers haue thought) but a countrey in the East Indies; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedie returne to Ierusalem from the East Indies then in 3. yeres; and that Tharfi in Scripture is diuerstimes taken for the Ocean; hath bene already declared in the first booke.

Onely it remaineth that I should speake somewhat of *Pineda* his strange conceits, who being a *Spaniard* of *Batavia* would faine haue *Gades* or *Calis-malis*, in old times called *Tartessus*, which is the South-west corner of that Prouince, to be the *Tharxis* from whence *Salomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seemes, but for loue of his owne country, and because of some affinitie of sound between *Tharxis* and *Tartessus*. For whereas it may seeme strange that it should be three yeere ere they, that tooke shippes in the red sea, should returne from the East *Indies* to *Ierusalem*, this hath bene in part answered already. And further the intelligent may conceiue of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the mettall, and in their other traffike, and in their land-carriages betwene *Ierusalem* and the red sea, and perhaps also elsewhere: for that wee haue no neede to make *Salomons* men to goe many thousand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Affrick*, that fo they might bee long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Salomon* and the *Israelites* knew not, the *Tyrans* which went with them, could not haue bene ignorant of) was along the *Mediterranean* sea, and so (besides many wonderfull inconueniences and terrible nauigation in rounding *Africa*) they should haue escaped the troublesome land-carriage betwene *Ierusalem* and the red sea through drie, desert, and theeuish Countries; and within 30. mile of *Ierusalem* at *Ioppe*, or some other haven in *Salomons* owne Country, haue laden and vnladen their shippes.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of *Atlantis* in largeness greater than all *Affrick* and *Asia* being swallowed vp in the *Atlantic Ocean* hindered *Salomons* shippes from passing through the straits of *Gibraltar*: for this hee alleadgeth *Plato* in *Timæo*. But that this calamitie happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the Straights of *Gades* were filled with mudde and made vnpassable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the *Mediterranean* sea: or that this indraught where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channell, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Island is supposed to haue stooode: or that *Salomons* shippes being in the red sea, should neglect the golden mines of the East *Indies* (which were infinitely better and nearer to the red sea, than any in *Spain*) to seeke gold at *Cadyz* by the way of compassing *Africa*, it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the *Spaniard* himselfe that hath also the rich *Peru* in the West, fortifieth in the East *Indies* and inhabites some part thereof, as in *Manila*, finding in those parts no lesse quantitie of gold (the small territorie which he there possesseth considered) than in *Peru*.

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elft where he dreames of: supposing whereas *Ionus* sailing to *Tharxis* the Citie of *Cilicia* was cast out in the *Mediterranean* sea, and taken vp there by a Whale, that this whale in three dayes swimming about twelue thousand English miles, along the *Mediterranean* seas, and so through the streights of *Gades*, and along all the huge seas round about *Africa*, cast vp *Ionus* upon the shore of the red sea, that so hee might haue perhaps some sixe miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Ninurie*. This conceit hee grounds onely vpon the ambiguity of the word *Synph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the red sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum*, the sea full of weeds) for the red sea. But in *Ionus* 2. 5. it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would haue it, who in this place against his owne rule (which elsewhere he giueth vs) supposeth strange miracles without any neede. For this long voyage of the whale finished in three daies, is a greater miracle, than the very preservation of *Ionus* in the belly of the whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessity of this miracle, we send it backe vnto him, keeping his owne rule which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda*. And againe, *Non sunt miracula gratis danda. nec pro arbitrio noua fingenda*. Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessity, nor deliuered without cause, nor fained at pleasure. Therefore to leaue this man in his dreames, which (were hee not otherwise very learned and iudicious) might bee

Deuotus Sal.  
4.6.12.11.  
As it appeares  
heooke ship  
ac fuphe ut  
Ioppe. 1. 9. 3.

Ing. 3.

bee thought vnworthie the mentioning. But to proceede with our Storie of *Salomon*.

The Queene of *Sabæe* comming from farre to *Salomon*, (as it seemes from *Arabistice*, & not as some think from *Ethiopia*; and her rich presents, and *Salomons* reciprocal magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult questions, those are set downe at large in the text. But herein *Iosephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queene of *Saba* *Nicaules*, the successeur (saith hee out of *Herodotus*) of thole thirtie and eight *Egyptian* Kings which succeded *Meneus* the founder of *Alenphus*; adding that after this *Egyptian*, and the father in Law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elsewhere proued that the Queene was of *Arabia*, not of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; so were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in Law of *Salomon*. Yea, about three hundred yeeres after *Salomon*, *Pharao Necho* slew *Iosias* King of *Iuda*.

1. Kin. 1. 3. 1.  
2. Chron. 3. 1.  
1. Es. 4. 2. 3.

It is also written of *Salomon* that hee kept in garrisons fourteene thousand chariots and twelue thousand horsemen; that he spent in Court euery day thirtie measures of fine flower, threecore measures of wheat, one hundred sheepe, besides stags and fallow deare, bugles and foule; foure thousand stals of horses he had for his chariots and other vses, and for the twelue thousand horsemen of his guard. For, the ten thousand stals in the first of *Kings* the fourth, are to be taken but for 10 many horses, whence in the second of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but foure thousand stals or teemes, and in euery teeme ten horses, as *Iunius* and the *Geneua* vnderstand it. He was said to be wiser than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*, to which *Iunius* addeth a list, to wit, *Ezech*. For the *Geneua* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by Nation. *Iosephus* writes them *Atban*, *Aman*, *Chalcus* and *Donan* the sonnes of *Hemon*. Hee spake three thousand Proverbs, and his songes were one thousand and fine, whereof either the most part perished in the Captiuitie of *Babylon*, or else because many actes of *Salomons* were written and kept among the publique Records of Ciuill causes and not Ecclesiasticall, therefore they were not thought necessarie to bee inserted into Gods booke.

### ¶ IIII.

Of the full of *Salomon*, and how long hee liued.

**N**O was hee had plentie of all other things, so had he no scarcitie of women. For besides his seauen hundred wiues hee kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commaunded that none of his people should accompanie the daughters of Idolators) hee tooke wiues out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heb*: and when hee fell a doting, his wiues turned his heart after other Gods, as *Asteroth* of the *Zidonians*, *Ashtoreth* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Moab*.

These things God punished by *Asad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Iero-beam* his owne seruant, and one of the masters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his sonne *Roboam*, ten of the twelue parts of all the territorie hee had. *Deus dum in peccatores animaduertit, aliorum peccatis vitatur, quæ ipsi non fecerunt*. God in punishing sinners, vseth the finnes of others, which hee himselfe wrought not.

In the reigne of *Salomon* (as in tymes of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Fourtie yeeres hee reigned: how many he liued, it is not written, and must therefore bee found onely by coniecture. The most likeliest way to guesse at the truth in this case, is by considering the action,

P. Mart. in reg.

of *David* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby wee may best make estimation of the yeeres which they consumed, and consequently learne the true, or most like-ly yeere of his natiuitie. Seauen yeeres *Dauid* reigned in *Iebryon*: in his eight yeere hee tooke *Ierusalem*, and warred with the *Philistims*, who also troubled him the yeere following. The bringing home of the Arke seemes to haue bene in the tenth yeere of *Dauid*, and his intention to build the Temple in the yeere ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leysure, liuing in rest. After this he had warres with the *Philistims*, *Moabites*, *Aramites* and *Edomites*, which mult needes haue held him fise yeeres, considered that the *Aramites* of *Damasco* raised warre against him, after such time as he had beaten *Hadadezer*, and that in euery of these warres, he had the entire victorie. Neither is it likely that these seruices occupied any longer time, because in those daies and places there were no wintering campes in vse, but at convenient seasons of the yeere, Kings went forth to warre, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly vpon the spoyle of the enemies cuntry, partly vpon the priuate prouision which euery souldier made for himselfe. The 17. yeere of *Dauid* in which hee tooke *Stephobeseth* the son of *Ionathian* into his Court, appeareth to haue passed away in quiet; and the yeere following to haue begonne the warre with *Ammon*; but some what late in the end of summer perhaps, it came to triall of a battaile (for *Iob* after the victorie, returned immediately to *Ierusalem*) the causes and preparations for that war hauing taken vp all the summer. *Dauids* personall expedition against the *Aramites* wherein hee brought all the tributaries of *Hadadezer* vnder his owne allegiance, appeares manifestly to haue bene the next yeeres worke, wherein hee did cut off all meanes of succour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab* and *Idumaea* being now at his owne deuotion. By this reckoning it must haue bene the 20. yeere of *Dauids* reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he sent forth *Iob* to beseege *Rabbah*, and finished the warre of *Ammon*: wherein also fell out the matter of *Uriahs* wife. So one halfe of *Dauids* reigne was very prosperous: in the other halfe he felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heauie iudgement laid vpon him by God, for his foule and bloodie offence.

Now very manifest it is that in the yeere after the death of that child, which was begotten in adulterie, *Salomon* was borne, who must needes therefore haue bene nineteene yeres old or thereabout, when hee beganne to reigne at the decaile of his father, as being begotten in the 21. yeere of his fathers reigne, who reigned in all fortie.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *Dauid*, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two yeeres passed ere *Abisalem* slew his brother *Amnon*; three yeeres ere his father pardoned him; and two yeres more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horse and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seemes to haue bene one yeres worke. So the rebellion it selfe with that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa* and the rest, may well seeme to haue bene in the 30. yeere of *Dauids* reigne.

Whether the three yeeres of famine should be reckoned apart from the last yeeres of warre with the *Philistims* or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull to coniecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the tenne remaining yeeres of *Dauid* there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for three yeeres of famine, for four yeeres of warre, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his owne last infirmie, and disposing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed it seemes that the warre with the *Philistims*, was but one yeeres worke, and ended in three or foure fights, of which two or three former were at *Gob* or *Reb* neere vnto *Gezer* and the last at *Gath*. This warre the *Philistims* vnderooke, as it seemeth, vpon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by *Dauids* old age, for hee fainted now in the battaile, and was afterwarde hindered

dered by his men from exposing himselfe vnto danger any more. So *Dauid* had fixe or seuen yeeres of rest, in which time it is likely, that many of his great men of Warre died (being of his owne age) whereby the stirring spirit of *Aiongab* found little succour in the broken partie of *Iob* the sonne of *Zerua*.

At this time it might both truly be said by *Dauid* to *Salomon*. *Thou art a wise man, and by Salomon* to God, *I am but a yong child*; for nineteene yeeres of age might well agree with either of these two speeches.

Neuertheless there are some that gather out of *Salomons* professing himselfe a child, that he was but eleuen yeeres old when hee beganne to reigne. Or this *Rabbi Salomon* seemes the first Authour, whom other of great learning and iudgement haue herein followed: grounding themselues perhapp vpon that which is said of *Abisalons* rebellion, that it was after fortie yeeres, which they vnderstand as yeeres of *Dauids* reigne. But whereas *Kelubom* the sonne of *Salomon* was 41. yeeres old when hee beganne to reigne, it would follow hereby that his Father had begotten him, being himselfe but a child of nine or ten yeeres old; the difference betweene their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who reigned fortie yeeres) were but eleuen yeeres old when his reigne began. To auoid this inconuenience, *Iosephus* allows 80. yeeres of fraigne to *Salomon*; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needes no confutation. Some indeede haue in fauour of this opinion construed the words of *Iosephus*, as if they included all the yeeres of *Salomons* liue. But by such reckoning hee should haue bene 40. yeeres old at his Fathers death; and consequently should haue bene borne long before his Father had wonne *Ierusalem*; which is a manifest vntruth. Wherefore the 40. yeeres remembered in *Abisalons* rebellion, may either seeme to haue reference to the space betweene *Dauids* first anointment, and the trouble which God brought vpon him for his wickednesse, or perhaps be read (according to *Iosephus*, *Theodoret*, and the *Latine* translation) foure yeeres; which passed betweene the returne of *Abisalon* to *Ierusalem*, and his breaking out.

## p. V.

## OF SALOMONS writings.

Here remaine of *Salomons* workes, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the Song of *Salomon*. In the first he teacheth good life and correcteth manners, in the second the vanitie of humane nature, in the third he singeth as it were the Epithalamian of Christ and his Church. For the Booke intituled the wisdomde of *Salomon*, (which some giue vnto *Salomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Hierome* and many others of the best learned make vs thinke it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri sapientie* (saith *HIERONIS* in scriptis, *Græcam reliquit eloquentiam, sum. The stile of the booke of wisdomde, which is ascribed to SALOMON, fauoureth of the Græcian eloquence; and of the same opinion was S. Augustine*, and yet hee consisteth in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Citie of God, that the Author of that Booke hath a direct fore-telling of the Passion of Christ in these wordes. *Circumueniamus iustum quantum insuauis est nobis, &c. Let vs encompass the righteous for he is vnpleasing to vs, he is contrarie to our doings, he checketh vs for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to haue the know ledge of God, and he calleth himselfe the sonne of the Lord, &c.* and so doth the course of all the following wordes point directly at Christ. The Bookes of *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs*, and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moset Kimchi* ascribeth to *Isay* the Prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graued the same on the sides of the porch of the Temple, which they say *Ezechias* pulled downe, because the people neglected helpe from God by prayer, repaired rather for their recoveries.

Of *Salomons* bookes of Inuocations and Inchantments to cure diseases, and expell euill spirits, *Iosephus* hath written at large, though as I conceiue, rather out of his owne inuention, or from some vncertaine report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Elasarus*, who by the roote in *Salomons* ring dispossest diuers persons of euill spirits in the presence of *Rehoboam*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly so strange an example of humane frailty hath neuer been read of as this King: who hauing receiued wildome from God himselfe, in honour of whom, and for his only seruice, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: hee that was made King of *Israel* and *Iudea*, nor by the law of Nature, but by the loue of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weeke and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giuer of all goodnesse, of which he was more liberal to this King, than to any that euer the world had. Of whom *Siracides* writeth in this manner. *Salomon reign'd in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house in his name, and prepare the Sanctuary for euer; How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with vnderstanding, as with a shield!! Thy minde couer'd the whole earth, and hast filled it with grace and dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Isles, and for thy peace thou wast beloued, &c. but thus he concludeth. Thou didst bow thy loynes to Women, and wast ouercome by thy boldy, thou didst staine thine honour, and hast defiled thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath vpon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly.* cap. 27.

## §. VI.

## Of the Contemporaries of SALOMON.

**N**EARE the beginning of *Salomons* raigne, *Agelaus* the third of the *Illyriades* in *Corinth*, *Labotes* in *Lacedaemon*, and soone after *Syllius Alibi* the fourth of the *Syluij*, swaied those Kingdomes: *Laophtenes* then gouerning *Aegyptus*: *Agastius* and *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the fixe and twentieth of *Salomons* raigne *Hiram* of *Tyre* died, to whom *Eliashir* succeeded, and reigned fuentene yeares, after *Alexandors* accompt, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sonnes. *Iosephus* giues him fewer yeares. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Antonicus* findes *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there bee not some Kinges omitted betwene the death of *Hiram*, and the raigne of *Bozorius*.

*Raphres* being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sesac* or *Shishak* (as our English *Geneua* termes him) beganne to gouerne in *Aegypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sosachis*; *Iosephus*, *Susac*; *Cleuerus*, *Suscesmus*; *Engelium* in the column of the *Aegyptian* Kings *Smendes*, and in that of the *Hebrewes* *Susac*. *Iosephus* in the eight of his Antiquities reponeth it as an error in *Herodotus*, that hee ascribeth the acts of *Susac* to *Sesostrius*, which perchance *Herodotus* might haue done by comparison, accompting *Sesac* another *Sesostrius*, for the great thinges hee did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sesostrius* I haue spoken already in the storie of the *Aegyptian* Princes: only in this hee was reprobated that hee caused foure of his captiue Kinges to draw his Carachi, when hee was disposed to bee seene, and to ride in triumph: one of which foure, saith *Entropius*, at such time as *Sesostrius* was carried out to take the aire, cast his head continually backe vpon the two fore-most wheeles next him; which *Sesostrius* perceiving, asked him what hee found worthy the admiration in that motion? to whom the captiue King answered, that he beheld the instabilitie of all worldly thinges; for that both the

lowest

lowest part of the wheele was suddainly carried about, and became the highest, and the vppermost part was as suddainly turned downe-ward and vnder all: which when *Sesostrius* had iudicially weighed, hee dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like seruitude in the future. Of this *Sesostrius*, and that he could not be taken for *Sesac*, I haue spoken at large in that part of the *Aegyptian* Kings preceding.

## CHAP. XIX.

## Of SALOMONS Successors vntill the end of IEHOSAPHAT.

## §. I.

Of REHOBAM his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and IEROBOAMS Idolatrie.



**R**EHOBAM the Son of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an *Ammonitess*, now fortie yeares olde, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was annointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended a while the returne of *Ieroboam* as yet in *Aegypt*, since he fled thither fearing *Salomon*. After his arrival the people presented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sicenim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quam metui; So should his Empire (saith IOSEPHVS) be more assured if hee desired rather to be beloued than feared.*

whereof he tooke three daies to deliberate before his answer, of whom therefore it could not be said as of *Dauid*, that he was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himselfe hee knew not how to resolue, so had hee not the iudgement to discern of counsell, which is the very test of wisdome in Princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those graue and aduised men, that serued his Father, who perswaded him by all means to satisfie the multitude: he was transported by his familiars and fauourites, not only to continue on the backs of his subjects those burdens which greatly crusht them; but (vaunting filly of greatness exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in sharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heauier, and more vsupportable loades on them. But as it appeared by the successe, those yonger aduisors greatly mistooke the nature of seueritie, which without the temper of clemencie is no other than crueltie it selfe: they also were ignorant that it ought to be vsed for the helpe, and not for the harme of subjects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people? and what cordes or fetters haue cuer lasted long, but those which haue bene twisted and forged by loue only? His witless parasites could well iudge of the Kinges disposition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all thinges else, it sufficed and inabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little aduance *Ieroboams* designs. For being fore-told by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future aduancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples loue into furie) confirmed and gaue courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arrived, than elected King of *Israel*: the people crying out what portion haue wee in *Dauid*? wee haue no

inheritance in the Sonne of *Israhel*. Now though themselves, euen all the Tribes of *Israhel*, had consented to *Daniels* anointing at *Hebron* the second time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgot both the bonds of nature, and their dutie to God, and, as all alienated resolute hearts doe, they secured themselves for the present with impudent excuses. And now ouer-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most hateful to all his Subjects, to pacifie them: whom they instantly beate to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from *Siehem* with all speed; and recovered *Ierusalem*, where preparing to invade *Israhel*, with an hundred and foure score thousand chosen men, *Shearn* in the person of God commanding to the contrarie, all was itated for the present. In the meane time *Ieroboam* the new King fortified *Siehem* on this side, and *Peniel* on the other side of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Vnion and exercise of one Religion would also ioyne the peoples hearts againe to the House of *Dauid*; and hauing in all likelihood also promised the *Egyptians* to follow their Idolatrie: he set vp two Calues of gold for the Children of *Israhel* to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these hee represented thof. Gods, which deliuered them out of *Egypt*: and retaining the seruice of the *Leuites*, hee made Priests fit for such Gods. It muſt needs be that by banishing the *Leuites* which serued *Dauid* and *Salomon* through all *Israhel*, *Ieroboam* greatly enriched himselfe: as taking into his hands all those Cities which were giuen them by *Abies* and *Iefai*, for as it is written, *The Leuites left: ex subtribus, another possession, and came to Iuda, &c.* This irreligious policie of *Ieroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatrie that neuer could be rooted out, until *Israhel* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by propheticall and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first beganne; but the affections maintaining it, were loo strong, that neither Propheticall nor Miracle could make them yeeld. *Ieroboam* could not be moued now by the authoritie of *Israhel*, who from the Lord had first promised vnto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as hee stretched it ouer the Altar, which also claue a fonder, according to the signe, which the man of God had giuen by the commandment of God, who againe recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obſtinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in policie to proceede as hee had begunne. This impious inuention of *Ieroboam*, who forsooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a myſticall Historian compared with the policie of late Ages, obseruing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian borne. *Sic qui boue* (saith he) *positum cogunt: & proprii commodi, presensque utilitates sibi tanquam ultimam finem constituunt, easum quemque uolunt in capite communis ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promouenda, conseruanda, cupiunt, a pibis non faciem lum putant. Si uinicia proximo irroganda, si iustitia honestasque leges subvertenda, si religio ipsa pessundanda, si denique omnia iura diuina, & humana violanda, nihil ad ipsos, modo id, quod eire sibi esse sibi persuadent, adinueniunt, omnia percont, nihil ad ipsos, modo id, quod eire sibi esse sibi persuadent, adinueniunt, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castus uere possit Deum; So they who are now called Politicians, vnderstanding to themselves as their utmost end and scope, their owne commoditie and present profit, are wont to alleges the case of state for sooth, as the principall point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for aduancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they thinke they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppress their neighbour, to ouerturne all lawes of iustice and honesty, if religion it selfe must goe to wrack, yea if all rights of God and M. in must be trod, they will trie all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will doe any thing: let all goe to nine, what care they, so long as they may haue what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.*

In deed this allegation of *ragione del stato*, did serue as well to vp-hold, as at the first it had done to bing in this vile Idolatrie of the ten Tribes. Vpon this ground

*Amaziah* the Priest of *Bethel*, consulted the Prophet *Amos*, not to propheticall at *Bethel*; For (saith he) it is the Kings Court. Vpon this ground euen *Iehu* that had murthered the Priests of *Bad*, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wife depart from that politike finne of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Nebeai*, which made *Israhel* to sinne. It was reason of state that perswaded the last famous French King *Henrie* the fourth to change his religion, yet the Protestants whom hee forsooke obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom hee followed murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizor of wise proceeding delude euen those that know the ioule face of impietie lurking vnder it, and behold the wretched endes that haue euer followed it; whereof of *Iehu* and all the Kings of *Israhel* had, and were themselves, very great examples.

## §. II.

OF *REHOBAM* his impietie; for which he was punished by *Sesac*: of his end and Contemporaries.



*V*hile *Ieroboam* was occupied in setting vp his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side hauing now little hope to recouer the Prouinces lost, strengthened the principall places remaining with all endeuour: for he fortified and virtualled fiftene Cities of *Iudah* and *Beniamin*: not that he feared *Ieroboam* alone, but the *Egyptians*, to whom *Ieroboam* had not only kistened himselfe, but withall invited them to invade *Iuda*: laying perchance before them the incountable riches of *Dauid* and *Salomon*; which might now easily bee had, being ten of the twelue Tribes were reuolted, and became enemies to the *Iudaens*. So as by those two waies (of late years often troden) to wit, change of Religion, and inuitation of forraigne force, *Ieroboam* hoped to settle himselfe in the seate of *Israhel*, whom yet the powerful God for his Idolatrie in a few years after rooted out with all his. *Rehoboam* also hauing, as he thought, by fortifying diuers places assured his estate, forsooke the Law of the liuing God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groves on euery high Hill, and vnder euery greene Tree.

And therefore in the fifth year of his raigne, *Sesac* or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now King of *Egypt*, and with whom as well *Adad* of *Iudaea*, as *Ieroboam*, were familiar and his instruments, entred *Iudaea* with twelue thousand Chariots, and three score thousand Horſe, besides foote-men, which *Iosephus* numbers at foure hundred thousand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations, *Egyptians*, *Libaens*, *Succaens*, and *Cushites*. The *Libaens* were *Lybaens*, the next bordering Region to *Egypt*, on the West side. The *Cushites* were of *Petrea*, and of the Desert *Arabia*, which afterward followed *Zerah* against *Asa* King of *Iuda*. The *Succaens*, according to *Iunius* his opinion, were of *Succoth*, which signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they were the *Troglodites*, mentioned often in *Plinie*, *Ptolomee*, and other Authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not farre from the banks of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward about fixe hundred English mile from the best and Maritimate part of *Egypt*: and therefore I doe not thinke that the *Succaens* or *Succa* were those *Troglodites*, but rather those *Arabians* which *Ptolomee* calls *Arabs* *Egyptii* or *Iethiophagi*, which possesse that part of *Egypt* betwene the mountains called *Alabastriani* and the red Sea farre nearer *Egypt*, and readier to be lured then those remoued *Suages* of the *Troglodyte*.

With this great and powerfull Armie, *Sesac* invaded *Iudaea*, and (besides many other strong Cities) wanne *Ierusalem* it selfe, of which, and of the Temple, and Kings house, he tooke the spoile, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of those which *Dauid* recovered from *Adadzer*, in the Syrian warre: these *Rehoboam* supplied with Targets of brass, which were fit enough to guard a King of his qualitie: whom *Siraides* calleth The foolishness of the people.

From this time forward the Kings of *Egypt* claimed the soueraigntie of *Judea*, and held the *Ieruses* their Tributaries: *Sesac*, as it seemes, rendring vp to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the wordes of God, where promising the deliuerance of *Juda* after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leaue them vnder the yoke of *Egypt*, in these wordes. *Neuerthelesse they* (to wit, the *Iudeans*) *shall be his seruants, that is, the seruants of SESAC.*

After this ouerthrow and dishonour *Rehoboam* reigned twelue yeares, and his losses receiued by *Sesac* notwithstanding, hee continued the warre against *Ieroboam* all his life time. After his death *Ieroboam* gouerned *Israel* foure yeares.

*Rehoboam* liued 58. yeares, and reigned 17. his storie was written at large by *She-maiah* and *Iddo* the Prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan* & therelt.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Terfippus*, the third and fourth *Arcontes* or Gouernours for life after *Codrus*, gouerned in *Athens*. *Abdastartus* or *Abstartus*, in *Tyre*. *Lorigibus* the list of the *Heraclides* in *Sparta* according to *Ensebius* (others make him the sixth) and *Priminus* the fourth in *Corinth*. Ouer the *Laces* reigned *Sylanius Aiba* and *Sylanius Arys*, the fourth and fifth of the *Syluij*.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam* *Abdastartus* King of *Tyre* was murdered by his Nurfes sons, or foster brethren, the elder of which vsurped the Kingdom twelue yeares.

Towards his latter times *Periades*, or *Pyrrhiades*, beganne to gouerne *Affrica*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Astartus* the sonne of *Baleastartus* recovered the Kingdome of *Tyre* from the *Parspers*.

### §. III.

Of the great battaile betweene *IEROBOAM* and *ABIA*, with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods iudgements.



**A**BIAH the Sonne of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdome, and his vices. He raised an Armie of foure hundred thousand, with which hee invaded *Ieroboam*, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thousand; both Armies ioyned neare to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Ieroboam* was vtterly ouerthrowne, and the strength of *Israel* broken; for there fell of that side fife hundred thousand, the greatest ouerthrow that euer was giuen or receiued of those Nations. *Abijah* being now master of the field, recovered *Bethel*, *Ieshubab*, and *Ephron*, loone after which discomfiture, *Ieroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. yeares. *Abijah*, the better to strengthen himselfe, entred into league with *Helion*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*; as may be gathered out of the 2. of *Chron*. he reigned but three yeares and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the Prophet, as some part of his Fathers were.

Here wee see how it pleased God to punish the sinnes of *Salomon* in his Sonne *Rehoboam*: first, by an Idolator and a Traitor: and then by the successor of that *Egyptian*, whose daughter *Salomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while hee serued God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when hee forsooke him, it was torne a-sunder by his meanest Vassalls; Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the *Egyptian* *Sesac*. For the sonne *Abijah* was able to leaue foure hundred thousand men and with the same number hee ouerthrew eight hundred thousand *Israelites*, and slew of them fife hundred thousand. God giuing spirit, courage, and inuention, when and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were exprest, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the same being both before, and at the instant deliuered by Prophets; so the same iust God who lieth and gouerneth all things for euer, doeth in these our times giue victorie, courage, and discouragement, raise, and throw downe Kingdomes, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in

in the present: for which reason in these and other the afflictions of *Israel*, alwaies the causes are set downe, that they might bee as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *Dauids* time for three yeeres, *For Saul and his bloudie house, &c.* And *Dauid* towards his latter end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrowes in effect, for *Vriah*. *Salomon* had tenne tribes of *Iudea* torne from his idolatrie. *Rehoboam* was spoiled of his riches and honour by *Sesac* of *Egypt*, because the people of *Juda* made images, high places, and groues &c. And because they suffered *Sodomites* in the land. *Ieroboam* was punished in himselfe & his posteritie for the golden *Calfes* that he erected. *Ioram* had all his finnes slaine by the *Philistins*, and his very bowels torne out of his bodie by an excoiating flux, for murdering his brethren. *Ahish* and *Iezabel* were slaine, the blood of the one, the bodie of the other eaten with dogs: for the false accusing and killing of *Naberth*. So also hath God punished the same and the like finnes in all after-times, and in these our daies by the same famine, plagues, warre, losse, vexation, death, sickness, and calamities, howeouer the wise men of the world raise these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares, seeme to them to worke euery alteration that happeneth.

### §. IIII.

Of *ASA* and his contemporaries.



**A**SABIAH succeeded *Abia*, who enioyed peace for his first ten yeeres, in which time hee established the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groues, and taking away their high places. Hee also spared not his owne mother who was an Idolatrice, but depoling her from her regencie, brake her Idoll, stamp it, and burnt it. Hee also fortified many Cities and other places, providing (as prouident King: doe) for the troubles of war in the leasure of peace. For not long after hee was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commaunded all the *Arabians* bordering *Judea*, and with such a multitude entred the territorie of *Asa*, as (for any thing that I haue read) were neuer assembled of that Nation either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the *Judeans* *Zerah* of *Ethiopia* with an host of tenne hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Asa* encountered with an armie of fife hundred and fourescore thousand, letied out of those two tribes of *Juda* and *Beniamin* which obeyed him, and with which hee ouerthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the spoile both of their Cities and Campe.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Ethiopian* I haue\* proued already, and were it but the length betweene *Ethiopia* and *Judea*, and the strong flourishing regions of *Egypt* interiacent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to passe through them) it were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is that these invaders were *Ethiopians*. But in that the scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were spoiled by the *Judeans* in following their victories, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* standeth vpon the torrent of *Bezor*, which *Dauid* past ouer when hee surprized the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*, this proueth sufficiently that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier towne standing on the vttermost South-border of all *Judea*, from all parts of *Ethiopia* six hundred miles. Also the spoiles which *Asa* tooke, as the 50 cattell, Camels, and sheepe, whereof hee sacrificed fife thousand, shew them to bee *Arabians* adioyning, and not far off, and not vnknowne *Ethiopians*. And if it be objected that these desert countries can hardly yeeld a million of men fit for the wars, I answer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petraea*, and the *Desart* which compass two parts of the holy land, should yeeld ten hundred thousand, as that two tribes of the

1. Chron. 14.

2. Chron. 15. 16.

2. Chron. 14. 9.

\* In the former booke c. 4. §. 14. c. 8. §. 10. c. 6.

1. Chron. 14.

the twelve, should arme five hundred and foure score thousand. Besides it answered to the promise of God to *Abraham*, that these nations should exceed in number; for God spake it of *Israel*, that he would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelve Princes, &c.

*Basia* a King of *Israel* began to reigne in the third of *Asa*, and fearing the greatness of *Asa* after his great victorie, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adezer*, to ioyne with him against *Asa*; and to the end to block him vp, hee fortified *Rama* which lieth in the way from *Jerusalem* towards *Samarina*.

This warre began according to the letter of the *Scriptures* in the 36. yeere of *Asa* his reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that *Basia* died in the 26. yeere of *Asa*, therefore could not *Basia* begin this warre in the 35. of *Asa* his reigne, but in the 35. yeere of the diuision of *Juda* and *Israel*: for so many yeeres it was from the first of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. yeeres, to the 16. of *Asa*. It may seeme strange that *Asa* being able to bring into the field an armie of five hundred and fourescore thousand good soldiers, did not easily driue away *Basia*, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of *Asia* against *Ieroboam*, and of *Asa* himselfe against *Zerib* being yet fresh in minde, which might well haue emboldened the men of *Juda* and much disheartened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the text, which caused *Asa* to fight at this time with mony. It may be that the employment of so many hundred thousands of hands in the late seruice against *Zerib*, had caused many mens priuate busineses to lie vndispatched, whereby the people being now intentiue to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be vnwilling to stirre against the *Israelites*, choosing rather to winke at apparent inconuenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring vpon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might haue deterred *Asa* from aduenturing himselfe with the least part of his forces, and committing the success into the hands of God. Howsoeuer it were, he tooke the treasures remaining in the Temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* again *Basia*, whose employments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake of confederacie with *Basia*. For the *Israelites* were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himselfe (after his inuasion) nor his successors after him euer gaue ouer, till they had made themselves masters of that Kingdome. So *Benhadad* being now entred into *Nephthalem* without resistance, he spoiled diuers principall cities thereof, and enforced *Basia* to quit *Rama*, and to leaue the same to *Asa* with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, *Benhadad* who loued neither partie, being laden with the spoiles of *Israel*, and the treasures of *Juda*, returned to *Damascus*. After this, when *Hamani* the Prophet reprehended *Asa* in that he now relied on the strength of *Syria*, and did not rest himselfe on the fauour and assistance of God, he not onely caused *Hamani* to bee imprisoned, but hee began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore brooken with the grievous paines of the gout in his feete, wherewith after he had bene two yeeres continually tormented, he gaue vp the ghost when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

There liued with *Asa*, *Agassilau* the sixth of the *Heralidae*, and *Bacis* the fifth King of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his successors were afterward called *Bacidae*. *Asarimus* and *Astarmus* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Astarmus* tooke reuenge on his brother *Phelices* for the murder of *Rehobad* priest of the goddesse *Astarta*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worshipped. *Arys* and *Capsus* ruled the *Latines*. *Pyrrhiades* and *Ophreaceu* the *Assyrians*: *Terlippus* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Egypt*; who dying in the 36. yeere of *Asa*, left *Cheops* his successor that reigned fiftie fixe yeeres, euen so to the 16. of *Iosus*.

¶ V.

¶ V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the Ten Tribes during the reigne of *Asa*.

**I**N the reigne of *Asa*, the Kingdome of *Israel* felt great and violent commotions, which might haue reduced the ten Tribes vnto their former allegiance to the house of *Dauid*, if the wisdom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickednesse of *Ieroboam* had, in his latter dayes, the sentence of heauie vengeance laied vpon it, by the mouth of *Asia*, the same Prophet which had foretold the diuision of *Israel*, for the sinne of *Salomon*, and his reigne ouer the ten Tribes. One sonne *Ieroboam* had among others, in whom only God found so much pietie, as (though it sufficed not to withhold his wrath from that Familie) it procured vnto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimonie of the peoples loue, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death; and (whererein hee was most happie) the fauourable approbation of God himselfe.

After the losse of this good sonne, the vngodly father was soone taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile vnthankfulness to God, that he durst not suffer his owne name to be vsed in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruine hanging ouer him and his yea of Gods extreme hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idolls that wrought his confusion. So loath hee was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the world was readie to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hatefull memorie excepted.

*Nadab* the sonne of *Ieroboam*, reigned in the second and third yeeres of *Asa*, which are reckoned as two yeeres, though indeede his fathers last yeere of two and twentie did runne along (how farre is vncertaine) with the second of *Asa*, whose third yeere was the first of *Basia*; so that perhaps this *Nadab* injoyed not his Kingdome one whole yeere. He did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seemes that he little feared the judgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that was secure of his owne estate, hee armed all *Israel* against the *Philistims*, and besieged one of their Townes. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill successe, and recalled to minde their grievous losse of five hundred thousand vnder *Ieroboam*, counting it an vnluckie familie to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, hee exasperated them) flaine he was by *Basia*, whom the Armie did willingly accept for King in his stead. *Basia* was no sooner proclaimed King, than hee began to take order with the house of *Ieroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercede, to the sword. That hee did this for priuate respects, and not in regard of Gods will to haue it so, it is euident, by his continuing in the same forme of Idolatry which *Ieroboam* had begunne. Wherefore hee recieued the same sentence from God that had bene laied vpon *Ieroboam*; which was executed vpon him also in the same sort. Hee beganne to infect *Asa*, by fortifying *Ramab*; but was diuerted from thence by the *Syrian* *Benhadad*, who did waste his Countrey, destroying all the Land of *Nephthalem*. Four and twentie yeeres hee reigned: and then dying, left the Crowne to *Ela* his sonne; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the sonne of *Ieroboam* had done, two yeeres current, perhaps not one compleare.

*Ela* was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. He sent an Armie against *Gibbethon*, the same Towne of the *Philistims*, before which *Nadab* the sonne of *Ieroboam* perished; but hee sate at home the whilst, feasting and drinking with his Minions, whereby hee gaue such advantage against himselfe, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaying with the King at *Tirsa*, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceiued hope of the like fortune as *Basia* had found, by doing as *Basia* had done. Wherefore hee did set vpon

on *Ela* in his drunkenesse, and slue him. Presently vpon which fact, he stiled himselfe King of *Israel*: and began his raigne with massacring all the house of *Basbuz*; extending his crueltie not only to his children, and kinsfolke, but vnto all his friends in *Tirza*. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcomed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers in steade of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the siege of *Gibbethon*) presented themselves before *Tirza*; which in short space they may seeme to haue forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the Citie, not courage to keepe himselfe from falling aliae into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace: consuming it and himselfe together to ashes. Seven dayes he is said to haue raigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Campe. For *Zimri* was also an Idolater, *Isak King in the way of* IEROBOM; and therefore is likely to haue had more time wherein to declare himselfe, than the raigne of seven dayes, and those consumed partly in murdering the friends of *Basbuz*, partly in seeking to haue defended his owne life. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seeme, that *Zimri* had made his partic strong, as being able to set vp a new head, who doubtlesse would neuer haue appeared, if there had not bene readie to his hand, some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the Armie which main- tained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held out; I doe not finde; only it appears that his side was decayed, and so he died, leaving no other Successor than his concurrent.

## §. V I.

A conjecture of the causes hindring the reunion of *Israel* with *Juda*, which might haue bene effected by these troubles.

Any man that shall consider the state of *Israel*, in those times, may justly wonder how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered vnder these vnfortunate Princes, and with the present ciuill warres, did not returne to their ancient Kings, and reuinite themselves with the mightie Tribes of *Juda* and *Beniamin*; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose, the one to endure a desperate necessitie of yielding, or burning himselfe, the other to languish away, a man forsaken: than to haue recourse vnto a remedie, so sure, so readie, and so honourable. To say that God was pleased to haue it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the cause of all things) vnlesse it could be proued, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deale in that busi- nesse, as he forbid *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God vpon *Rehoboam*, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the Warre continued betweene *Israel* and *Juda*, so many years following: wherein *Abia* so farre prevailed, that he wanne a great battaile, and recovered some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his owne Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly looke into the second causes, mouing the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing vnder new vpstarts, rather than to cast their eyes vpon that Royall house of *Dauid*, from which the succession of siue Kings in lineall descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly haue bene laid vpon the meane beginnings thereof: To thinke that *Omri* had preuented his Competitors, in making peace with *Asa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not only an Idolater, but did worse than all that were before him, which as it might serue alone to proue, that *Asa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which hee professed to take at the very first, of reuenging the massacre committed vpon the

1. King. 16. 19.

1. King. 16. 25.

the familie and friends of *Basbuz*, (*Asa* his mortall enemy) giues manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should more iustly than he haue expected the friendship of *Inda* in that quarrell. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardness in the ten Tribes (which was such that they may seeme to haue neuer thought vpon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Princes; it were not amisse to examine the cause, mouing the people to reuenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the sonne of *Ieroboam*, who followed the warres in person, as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very first detection of the ten Tribes, was (if we looke vpon humane reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heauie yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their neckes. Their desire was to haue a King that should not oppress them; not to haue no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediatly choose *Ieroboam* in his stead, as a man likely to afford that libertie vnto them, for which hee had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it seemes) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of popularitie appears in his building of decayed townes, and in the institution of his new deified idolatry; where he tolde the people, that it was too much for them, to trauaile so farre as to *Ierusalem*. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntarie, began to scale, towards the latter end of his reigne, and in the reigne of his sonne, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was onely good by courtesie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a King that he still retained in his owne hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens: it is clearly apparent, that the whole armie of all *Israel* ioynd with *Basbuz*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Ieroboams* house.

Now the reigne of *Basbuz* himselfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) euery way vnfortunate; his labour and cost at *Rama* was cast away; the other side of his Kingdome harried by the *Syrrians*; neither did hee winne that one towne of *Gibbethon* from the *Philistines*, but lest that businesse to his sonne, who likewise appears an vnprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, that the fauour of the people toward the house of *Basbuz* grew from his good forme of Ciuill gouernment, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Ieroboam* ever meant to doe. And surely he that shall take paines to looke into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, in administration of iustice, will finde it most probable, that vpon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued so averse from the line of *Dauid*; as to thinke all aduersitie more tolerable, than the weightie Scepter of that house. For the death of *Iab* and *Shimea* was indeed by them deserved; yet in that they suffered it without some of iudgement, they suffered like vnto men innocent. The death of *Achenish* was both without iudgement, and without any crime obiected, other than the Kings seculousie: out of which by the same rule of arbitrarie iustice (vnder which it may be supposed that many were cast away) he would haue slaine *Ieroboam* (if hee could haue caught him) before he had yet committed any offence, as appears by his confident returne out of *Egypt*, like one that was knowne to haue endured wrong hauing not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Iehoram* did vpon his brethren: and vpon sundry of his greatest men; as also *Iacobi* did so put to death *Zachariah*, the sonne of *Iehonada*, who had made him King, even in the court of the house of the Lord: and *MANASSES* did shed innocent blood exceeding much, till he re-templified *Ierusalem* from corner to corner: and this was imputed to him as another fault, besides his sinne, wherevnto hee made *Juda* to sinne. Contrariwise, among the kings of *Israel* we finde no monument of such arbitrarie proceeding, vnlesse perhaps the words of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an instance,

1. King. 21. 16.

2. Chron. 22.

53

<sup>2.King.6.31.</sup> instance, when he said, *God doe so to mee, and more also, if the head of ELISHA the sonne of SHAPHAT shall stand on him this day*: whereby it is not plaine whether hee meant to kill him without more ado, or to haue him condemned as a false prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Aramites*, till they were faine to eate their owne children, which he thought a sufficient argument to proue, that it was not Gods purpose to deliuer them. The death of *Naboth* sheweth rather the liberitie which the *Israelites* enioyed, than any peremptorie execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not feare to stand vpon his owne right, though *Ahab* were euenticke for anger, neither was hee for that cause put to death, as vpon commandement, but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a iudiciall forme, to which might giue satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the deuise, though to God it could not.

The murder of the Prophets is continually ascribed to *Iezabel*, an impotent woman, and not vnto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made, whereby their liues were taken from them; but certaine it is that the people, being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the kings of *Iuda* (such as are registred) proue them to haue vsed a more absolute manner of command, than the Kings of the tenne Tribes. Neither doe their sufferings witness the contrarie. For of those which reigned ouer *Iuda*, from the diuision of the kingdom, to the captiuitie of the ten tribes, three were slaine by the people, and two were denied a place of buriall amongst their auncellors. Yea, the death of *Ahaziah* and his brethren, slaine by *Iehoi*, with the destruction of all the royall seed by *Athalia*, did not (for ought that wee can reade) stirre vp in the people any such thirst of reuenge, as might by the *Indians* and vniuersitie testifie the affection to be general, and proceeding from a louing remembrance of their Princes; vntill we should thinke that the death of *Athalia*, after seauen yeeres reigne, were occasioned rather by the memorie of her ill purchasing, than by the present fence of her tyrannicall abusing the government, whereon she had seded. On the other side, such of the kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seauen of the twentie) were all slaine by conspiracie of the great men, who as-  
<sup>30</sup>pired by treason to the Crowne: the people being so farre from embruing their hands in the blood of their Soueraignes that (after *Ahab*) they did neuer forbear to reuenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approve the good successe of treason, vntill seare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly reuenged vpon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, vpon *Zimri* and *Shibdon*, who traitorously got and vsurped, for a little while, their places; on ly three of the seauen remaine, whose ends how the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeed it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on *Ahabs* children by *Iehoi*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because they were exceedingly afraid: and the same feare might be in them at the death  
<sup>40</sup>of *Pekia*, whose historie (as others of that time) is cursorily passed ouer. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that neuer any of them perished by furie of the people, but by treason of such as did succed them, neither was there any motiue vrging so forcibly the death of King *Edward* and king *Richard* when they were in prison, as feare least the people should stirre in their quarrell. And certainly (how focuer all that the law calls treason, be interpreted, ascending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which haue here most prevailed, the furie of the multitude hath quenched it selfe with the blood of some great Officers; no such rebellions, how fouler wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their naturall Soueraine, but  
<sup>50</sup>rather forbearing the aduantages gotten vpon his royall person: which if any man impute vnto grosse ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truly, ascribe to a reuerent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his hundred hands giue assistance to *Iupiter*, when  
 all

<sup>2.King.10.14.</sup>

all the reit of the Gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying, that Monarches need not to feare any courbing of their abolluntell: by mightie subiectes, as long as by wisdom they keepe the hearts of the people, who will bee sure to come in on their side. Though indeed the storie might very well haue borne the same interpretation, as it is rebeked by *Hommer*, who tels vs that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracie, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practise, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good forme of government sufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without assistance of a laborious Wit, but euen against all deuises of the greatest and shrewdest politicians: e-  
<sup>10</sup>uery Sherife and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any ouer-weening rebell how mightie focuer, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples loue, being seldome found in *Iuda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it selfe of government there was such, as neither gaue occasion of contentment vnto the subiects, nor of confidence in their good affection, to the Kings. Vpon which reasons it may seeme that the multitude was kept vssually disarmed. For otherwise it would haue beene almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Ahab*, a stranger to the royall blood of *Iuda*, should by the onely authoritie of a Queens mother haue destroyed all the seede of *Dauid*, and vsurped the Kingdom very neere seuen yeeres without finding anie resistance. Yea whic *Iehoi*, the high Priest had agreed with the Captains & principal men of the land to set vp *Iosaph* their lawfull King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; he was faine to giue to these Captaines and their men, the speares and the swordes that were King *DAVIDS*, and were in the house of the Lord. But wee neede not enter into such particulars. Questionless, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their dutie toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admission, holding the Crowne by  
 a more vncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the tenne tribes did neuer seeke to  
<sup>30</sup>returne to their auncient Lords: but after the destruction of their sixe first Kings, which died in the reigne of *Asa*, admitted a seauenth of a new family, rather than they would subiect themselves, with those of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, vnder a more honourable, but more heauie yoke.

So, *Asa* hauing scene the death of seauen kings of *Israel*, died him selfe after one and fourtie yeeres reigne, leaving *Iehosaphat* his sonne to deal with *Ahab* the son of *Omri*, who was the eight king ouer the tenne tribes.

## ¶ VII.

Of *IEHOSAPHAT* and his contemporaries.

**I**EHOSAPHAT, who succeeded *Asa*, was a Prince religious and happie; hee destroyed all the groues, altars, and high places dedicated to idolatrie, and sent searchers to all places and people wanting instruction; hee recovered the Tribute due vnto him, by the *Arabians* and *Philistines*: from the one hee had silver, from the other sheepe and goates to the number of fiftene thousand  
<sup>50</sup>and foure hundred. The numbers of his men of warre were more than admirable: for it is written that *Ahab* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Iehobanum* of two hundred and fourescore thousand, and *Amasias* of two hundred thousand; also that hee had, besides these, in *Beniamin* of those that bare shields, which wee call *Targetiers*, and of Archers vnder *Eliada*  
<sup>2.Chron.17.</sup>

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two hundred thousand, and vnder the commaundement of *Iehozabab* a hundred and fourescore thousand : which numbered together, make eleuen hundred and sixtie thousand, all which are said to haue waited vpon the King, besides his garrisons.

✠ That *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, a territorie not much exceeding the Countie of *Kent*, should mulster eleuen hundred and sixtie thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number farre greater than it was found vpon any other view. *Iosab* in *David* time found five hundred thousand : *Rehobeam* found but an hundred and foure score thousand : *Alia* foure hundred and eight thousand : *Asa* five hundred and foure-score thousand : *Amaziah* inrolled all that could beare armes, and they amounted to three hundred thousand : *Vzzab* three hundred and seuen thousand and five hundred. Surely, whereas it is written that when newes was brought to *Iehosaphat* that *Moab* and *Ammon* were entred his territorie to the west of *Jordan*, and that there numbers were manie, hee feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that hee would haue feared euen the armie of *Xerxes*, if hee could haue brought into the field eleuen hundred and three-score thousand fighting men, leauing all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my selfe to better iudgement) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the seauenteenth, distributed to severall leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thousand vnder *Adnah*, & the two hundred and fourescore thousand vnder *Iehozabab*, were afterward commaunded and mulstered by *Amasiah*, *Eliada*, and *Iehosaphat* : for the grosse and totall is not in that place set downe, as it was vnder the other Kings formerly named. Again, as the aydes which *Iehosaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, so the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* which hee feared could neuer make the one halfe of those numbers, which hee that commaunded least among *Iehosaphats* leaders had vnder him.

This mightie Prince notwithstanding his greatnes, yet hee ioyned in friendship with *Ahab* King of *Israel*, who had married that wicked woman *Iezabel*. Him *Iehosaphat* visited at *Samarita*, and caused his sonne *Ioram* to marrie *Atalia*, this *Iehosaphats* daughter.

*Ahab* perswaded *Iosaphat* to assist him in the warre against the *Syrians*, who held the Citie of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or *Baltes*, to foretell the successe : who promised him victorie. But *Iehosaphat* beleued nothing at all in those diuiners, but resolu'd first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Hereupon *Ahab* made answer that hee had one called *Michaiab*, but hee hated that Prophet, because hee alwaies foretolde of euill, and neuer of any good towards him. Yet sent for *Michaiab* was to the King, but by the way the messenger praied him to consent with the rest of the Prophets : and to promise victorie vnto them as they did. But *Michaiab* spake the truth, and repeated his vision to both Kings, which was that God asked who should perfwade *Ahab* that hee may goe up and fall at *Ramoth Gilead* to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that hee would enter into his prophets, and bee in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ : *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis*. It is not you that speake, but the spirit of your father speakes in you : so in a contrarie kinde did the deuill in the prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, incourage *Ahab* to his destruction. And as *P. Martin* vpon this place well obserueth, these euill spirits are the ministers of Gods vengeance, and are used as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime employ. For as it pleareth God by his good Angels, to saue and deliuer from destruction of which the Scriptures haue many examples : so on the contrary, it is by the euill that hee punisheth and destroyeth, both which are said to performe the wil of their Creator, *sicet non eodem animo*. Ecclesiasticus remembereth a second sort of malignant naturals, but they are euery-where visible. There are spi-

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rits, faith hee, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure fireskes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaias* hauing by this his reuelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whose spirit hee discerned, was firooken by *Zedekiah* one of *Baals* prophets, and by *Ahab* himselfe committed to prison : where he appointed him to be reuered and fed with bread of affliction till hee returned in peace. But *Michaias*, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou returne in peace the Lord hath not spoken by me*. Nevertheless *Ahab* went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. *Iehosaphat* returned to *Ierusalem*, where hee was reprehended by *Iehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the *Avanites* or *Damascenes*, ioyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumeans* to invade *Iudaea* : who passe *Jordan*, and encampe at *Engaddi*, and when *Iehosaphat* gathered his armie, the Prophet *Iahaziel* foretolde him of the victorie, which should bee obtained without any blood-shed of his part : and so when *Iehosaphat* approached, this assembly of nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, disagreeing with the *Idumeans*, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves : those of *Ammon* and *Moab* set vpon the *Idumeans*, and brake them vtterly, which done they also inuaded each other ; in which broile *Iehosaphat* arriving rooke the spoile of them all without any losse of his part, as it was foretold and promised by God. Notwithstanding this victorie, *Iehosaphat* forgetting that hee was formerly reprehended for assisting an Idolatrous King, did notwithstanding ioynne with *Ochazias*, the sonne of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to *Ophir*, hoping of the like returne which *Salomon* had : but as *Eliээр* the Prophet foretold him, his shippes perished and were broken in the port of *Ezion Gaber*, and so that enterprize was ouerthrowne.

Yet hee taketh part with *Iehoram* the brother of *Ochazias*, against the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel* the *Edomites* ioynne their forces, not forgetting, it seemes, that the *Moabites*, assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their armie.

The *Moabites*, subiects to *David* and *Salomon*, forsaking the Kings of *Iuda*, gaue themselves for vassals to *Ierobeam*, and so they continued to his successors till the death of *Ahab* : but *Iosaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatrie of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth, he was drawne into this warre both to bee auenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Iuda* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately ioyned themselves with the *Syrians* against *Iosaphat* and thirdly to punish their double rebellion who first forsooke *Iuda* and now *Israel*.

Both Kings resolu'd to passe by the way of *Ierusalem*, thereby the better to assure that nation, for wee finde that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* against *Iehosaphat* : But whether they had then declared themselves against *Iehosaphat*, it is not certaine, for in the 2. of *Chronid.* 11. vers. 8. it is written that in the time of *Iehoram*, the sonne of *Iosaphat*, *Edom* rebelled, and therefore it seemeth to mee that the *Edomites*, when they were slaine by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, and to ioynne themselves with the armie of *Iuda*. For that they were numbered among the enemies of *Iosaphat* it is plaine in the 2. of *Chron.* the 25. and as plaine e. 2. v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Iehosaphats* death. Now in the passage of these Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the yeere, or whether the *Idumeans* hauing a purpose to rebell, mislead the armie of *Iuda* and *Israel* with intent to inkeble them for want of water, trus it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of *Crispius* and *M. Antiochus* did in their *Parthian* expeditions ; and had, in all likelihood, vtterly perished, had not *Elisba* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water sprang, by which not only *Iehosaphat* and his armie, but

*Iehoram* King of *Israel* an Idolator was relieved: the great mercie and goodnesse of God, hauing euer beene prone to faue the euill for the good, whereas hee neuer destroyed the good for the euill.

2 *Kin. 3.*2 *Chron. 20.*2 *Chron. 20. 33.*

The miserable issue of this warre, and how *Maab* burnt his sonne, or the sonne of the King of *Edom*, for sacrifice on the rampire of his owne Citie, I haue already written in the life of *Iehoram* among the Kings of *Israel*. *Iehosaphat* reigned twentie five yeeres and died, he was buried in the valley of *Iehosaphat*, and a part of the *Tyrans* set ouer his graue is yet to be seene, saith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Iehu* the sonne of *Manai*.

There liued with *Iehosaphat*, *Ophraeues* in *Assyria*, *Capetus* and *Tiberinus* Kings 10 of the *Abians* in *Italie*; of the latter the riuer *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) tooke name.

In *Iehosaphats* time also ruled *Metades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agellus* or *Ageflaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaus* of the same race, of the *Heraclide* the seauenth in *Lacedaemon*. *Badesorus* ruled the *Tyrans*; *Asbab*, *Ochazias* and *Iehoram* the *Israelites*.

## CHAP. XX.

Of *IEHORAM* the sonne of *IEHOSAPHAT*,  
and *AHAZIA*.

## §. I.

That *IEHORAM* was made King sundry times.

**I**EHORAM the sonne of *Iehosaphat* King of *Juda* began to reigne at thirtie two yeeres of age, and liued vntill hee was fourtie yeeres olde, being eight yeeres a King: but of these eight yeeres, which *Iehoram* is said to haue reigned, foure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* warre with *Asbab*, left this *Iehoram* King in his stead, as *Asbab* did his sonne *Ahazias*. This appeares by the feruall beginnings, which are giuen in Scripture to the two *Iehorams* Kings 40 of *Israel* and *Juda*, and to *Ahazias* the eldest sonne of *Asbab*. For *Ahazias* is said to haue begonne his reigne, in the seauenteenth yere of *Iehosaphat*, *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahazias* succeeded him in the second yere of *IEHORAM* the sonne of *IEHOSAPHAT* King of *Juda*, that is in the next yere after that *Iehoram* of *Juda* was digned king by his father; it being (as wee finde elswhere) the eighteenth yere of *IEHOSAPHAT* himselfe, who went with the *Israelite* against *Asbab*. Hereby it appeares that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained still by *Iehosaphat*, who gouerned absolutely by himselfe, not communicating the rule with his sonne. But in the fift yere of *IEHORAM* King of *Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Iehosaphat*, the olde king tooke vnto him, as partner in the Government, this his eldest sonne, who was at that time thirtie two yeeres olde, his father being fiftie seauen. Now forasmuch as *IEHOSAPHAT* reigned twentie five yeeres, it is euident that his sonne did not reigne alone till the eighth of *Ioram* King of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had

1 *Kin. 22. v. 1.*2 *Kin. 8. 17.*2 *Kin. 3. v. 1.*  
and 9.2 *Kin. 8. 16.*1 *Kin. 22. 42.*

had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, who did not alwayes reigne precisely so long as the bare letter of the text may seeme at first to affirme: but their yeeres were sometimes compleat, sometimes onely current, sometimes confounded with the yeeres of their successors or foregoers, and mult therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing lesse needfull than curious, to enquire into the reasons mouing *Iehosaphat* either to affume vnto him his sonne as partner in the Kingdome, whilst hee was able himselfe to commaund both in peace 10 and in warre, the like hauing neuer beene done by any of his progenitors, or hauing once in the seauenteenth of his reigne) vouchsafed vnto him that honour, to resume it vnto himselfe, or at least-wise to deferre the confirmation of it, vntill fower or fife yeeres were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may bee a meane to finde some light, whereby wee may more clearly discouer the causes of much extraordinary businesse ensuing, I hold it not amisse to make such coniecture, as the circumstances of the Storie briefly handled in the Scriptures may seeme to approve.

Wee are therefore to consider, that this King *Iehosaphat* was the first of *Iehorams* issue that euer entred into any straight league with the Kings of the tenne Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had with much labour and long warre, tired themselves in vaine, making small profite of the greatest advantages that could bee wished. Wherefore *Iehosaphat* thought it the wisest way, to make a league offensive and defensive betwene *Israel* and *Juda*, whereby each might enioy their owne in quiet.

This confederacie made by a religious King, with one that did hate the Lord, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true roote and fountaine of all wisdom: yet as a peece of sound pollicie, doubtlesse it wanted not faire pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutuall fortification of both those 30 kingdomes, against the vncircumcised nations their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit, being so inestimable a iewel that it might not easily bee lost, but continue as hereditarie from father to sonne; it was thought a very good counsell to haue it confirmed by some sure bond of affinitie, and thereupon was *Athalia* the daughter of *Omri* and sister of *Asbab* King of *Israel*, giuen in marriage to *Iehoram*, who was sonne and heire apparant to the King of *Juda*. This Ladie was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of *Queene Iezabel* her brothers wife, that shee durst vndertake, and could thoroughly performe a great deale more in *Ierusalem*, than the other knew how to compass in *Samaria*. Shee was indeede a fire-brand, ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Juda*, 40 and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the *Syrian* warre at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Juda* and *Israel* did aduenture equally. But the profite of the victorie should haue redounded wholly to *Asbab*: as godly Princes verie seldom shurue by matching with Idolators, but rather serue the turnes of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himselfe, cannot be well affected to his seruants. Before their setting forth *Asbab* digned, as King, his sonne *Ahazias*; not so much perhaps in regard of the vncertaine euent of warre (for none of his predecessors had euer done the like vpon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Nichias* 50 (for he despised them) as inuited *Iehosaphat* by his owne example, to take the same course, wherein he preuailed.

2 *Chron. 19. and 3.*

## §. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old King IEROM-  
SAPHAT to change his purpose often, in making his  
sonne IEROMAM King.

**M**ANIE arguments doe verie strongly prone *Iehoram* to haue beene wholly ouer-ruled by his wife especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly auncellors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Abah*.

That he was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to liue a priuate life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vaine matter shee was able to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and vnworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children, which were begotten vpon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not vpon base women and meere subiects. The Court of *Abah*, and his famous victories obtained against the *Syrian Benhadad*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man thinke highly of himselfe, as being allied so honorably; who could otherwise haue found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heire apparent to the Crowne, whereof already hee had, in a 20 manner, the possession.

How soone his vices brake out, or how long hee dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be knowne. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did vey soone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himselfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of *Iehosaphat* about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgovernment of his vngodly sonne. For the good old King was faine to make his progress round about the land, reclaiming the people vnto the seruice of God, and appointing Iudges throughout all the strong Cities of *Iuda* Citty by Citty. This had bin 30 a needlesse labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himselfe, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Iustice beene peruered, by the power of such as had borne authoritie. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did giue to the Iudges; and by his commission giuen to one of the priettes in spirituall causes, and to the steward of his house in temporall matters, to be generall ouerscers.

This was not till after the death of *Abazia* the sonne of *Abah*; but how long after it is vncertaine. For *Iehoram* the brother of *Abazia* beganne his reigne (as hath beene already noted) in the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Iehoram*, *Iehosaphats* sonne, though afterward this *Iehoram* of *Iuda* had another first and second yeere, euen in his fathers time, before hee reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and expositors of the holy text agree. So hee continued in priuate estate, vntill the two and twentieth of his fathers reigne, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignitie are not set downe, yet wee may not thinke, that motives thereto, appearing substantiall, were wanting. *Iehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondencie with *Iehosaphat* that his father had done; and made vse of it. Hee drew the *Iuda* into the warre of *Abah*, at which time it might well bee, that the young Prince of *Iuda* was againe ordained King by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition hee had beene. Or if wee ought rather to thinke, that the preparations for the enterprise against *Abah* did not occupie so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, in which yeere that nation rebelled against *Israel*, vnto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations betweene the two Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel*, and the affinitie betweene them contracted in the person of *Iehoram*, might

might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certaine how the behauiour of the younger sonnes, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession, for feare of tumult after his death; or the deepe dissimulation, of *Iehoram* himselfe, might winne the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing vsuall in mischieuous fell natures, to be as abiect and scruile in time of adueritie, as insolent and bloody vpon aduantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himselfe in such wise towards his brethren as caused their father to enable them, not only with store of silver, and of gold, and of pretious things, (which kind of liberallitie other Kings 2. Chron. 21. 10 doublelesse had vnto their younger sonnes) but with the custodie of strong Cities in *Iuda*, to assure them, if it might haue beene, by vnwonted means, against vnwonted perills.

## §. III.

The doings of IEROMAM when he resigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Ithra.

**B**UT all this prouidence auailed nothing; for an higher prouidence had otherwise determined of the sequelle. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the younger sonnes of *Iehosaphat* found strong Cities, a weake defence, against the power of him, to whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in vpon the summons of the King their brother, then had hee them without more adoe; if they stood vpon their guard, then were they Traitors, and so vnable to hold out against him, who besides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the *Israelitish* Kingdome against them, so that the apparent likelihood of their final ouerthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoeuer it was, they were all taken and slaine, and with them for companie many great men of the Land; such belike, as 30 either had taken their part, when the Tyrant fought their liues, or had beene appointed Rulers of the Countrey, when *Iehoram* was deposed from his Government, in which Office they, without forbearing to doe iustice, could hardly auoide the doing of many things, derogatorie to their yong Master, which if he would now call treason, saying that he was then King, who durst say the contrarie?

After this, *Iehoram* tooke vpon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innovations in religion; wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to giue way and safe conduct vnto superstition and idolatrie, nor to prouoke and encourage the people to that sinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were so much addicted, hauing such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that aboute all other 40 sinnes; but he vsed compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registered, to haue set vp irreligion by force.

Whilest hee was thus busied at home, in doing what hee listed, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and hauing thider to, since *Dauids* time, beene gouerned by a Viceroy, did now make vnto themselves a King. Against these *Iehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which hee obtained victorie in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of aduantage, whereof hee forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that hee had gotten in beating and killing some of those, whom he should haue subdued, and kept his seruants. Now beganne the prophesie 50 of *Isaie* to take effect, wherein he fore-told, that *Elihu* in proceesse of time should breake the yoke of *Israhel*. For after this the *Edomites* could neuer be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Iuda*, but held their owne so well, that when, after many ciuill and forraigne warres, the *Iewes* by sundrie Nations had beene brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with Herod his Sonne, and others of that race following them, became

came Lords of the *Jewes*, in the decrepitage of *Isracl*, and raigned as Kings, euen in *Ierusalem* it selfe.

The first comede of the *Edomites*, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Isabna*, a great Citie within *Iudia*, which in the time of *Isaia* had a peculiar King, to rebell against *Iehorab*, and set it selfe at libertie. *Isabna* stood in the confines or *Bemanim* and of *Dan*, farre from the alliance of any bordering enemies to *Iuda*, and therefore so vnlikely it was to haue maintained it selfe in libertie, that it may seeme strange how it could escape from vtter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to haue beene taken, by their powerful, cruell, and thoroughly incensed Lord. The *Israélite* held such good intelligence at that time with *Iuda*, that he would not haue accepted the Towne, had it offered it selfe vnto him: neither doe we read that it fought how to cast it selfe into a new subiection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against *Iehorab*, was, *Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers*; which I take to haue not only bene the first and remote cause, but euen the next and immediate reason, mouing the inhabitants to doe as they did: For it was a Towne of the *Leuites*: who must needs be driuen into great extremities, when a religion contrarie to Gods law, had not only some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsiue authoritie to force vnto it all that were vnwilling. As for the vse of the Temple at *Ierusalem* (which being deuout men they might feare to loose by this rebellion) it was neuer denied to those of the ten reuolted Tribes by any of the religious Kings, who rather invited the *Israélites* thither, and gaue them kinde entertainment: vnder Idolaters they must haue bene without it whether they liued free or in subiection. Yet it seemes that priuate reasons were not wanting, which might moue them rather to doe than to suffer that which was vnwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembred, wherein *Iehosaphat* reformed his Kingdome, the good old King appointing new Gouvernours, and giuing them especiall charge to doe iustice without respect of persons, vsed these words: *The Leuites shall be Officers before you, Be of good courage and doe it, and the Lord shall be with the good*. By these phralses, it seemes, that he encouraged them against the more powerful, than iust proceedings of his sonne; whom if the *Leuites* did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect, in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be euen with them, and makethem now to feele, as many Princes of the Land had done, his heauie indignation. How it happened that *Isabna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea that it was not (for ought that wee can read) so much as belied or molested, may iustly seeme very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mightie Armies which *Iehosaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to haue ouerwhelmed any one Towne, and buried it vnder the earth, which they might in one moneth haue cast into it with shouells, by ordinarie approaches.

But it seemes that of these great numbers which his father could haue leui'd, 40 there were not many whom *Iehoram* could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an eulier losse, to let one *Towne* goe, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse to be feared, than to be lou'd; are faine themselves to stand in feare of those, by whom they might haue bene dreadfull vnto others.

ϕ. I I I I.

*Of the miseries falling upon IEHORAM, and of his death.*

**T** Hese afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the mind of the wicked Prince: a prophetic in writing was deliuered vnto him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wiues, and his owne body. Herby likewise it appears that hee was a cruell Persecutor of Gods seruants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his Predecessors, both good and euill Kings, but were faine to denounce Gods iudgements against him by letters, keeping them close and farre from him. This Epistle is said to haue beene sent vnto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophesied in his stead before this time, even in the daies of *Iehosaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophetic in writing behinde him, or that (as some coniecture) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we were reade *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeede any thing may rather be belceued that the Tradition held by some of the *Iewish Rabbins*, that *Elias* from heauen did send this Epistle, a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deuiled by *Erasmus*, or of the Verbe that was sent from heauen to *S<sup>t</sup>. Giles*.

But whoſoeuer was the Author of this threatening Epistle, the accomplishment  
of the prophesie was as terrible, as the sentence. For the *Philistims* and *Arabians*  
brake into *Iuda*, and tooke the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of  
his children, and wives, all which they flew, or carried away, with great part of  
his goods. These *Philistims* had not presumed since the time of *Dauid*, to make any of-  
fensiue warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best  
of their Townes, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small Territories, by  
defensive armes, to which they were constrained at *Gibbethen* by the *Israelites*. The  
*Arabians* were likely to haue bene then as they are now, a naked people, all hor-  
femen, and ill appointed; their Countrie affording no other furniture, than such as  
might make them fitter to robbe and spoile in the open fields, than to offend strong  
Cities such as were thick set in *Iuda*. True it is that in ages long after following, they  
conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very short space of  
time, destroying some, and building other some very flately Cities. But it must be  
considered; that this was when they had learned of the *Romanes* the art of Warre;  
and that the provisions which they found, together with the arts which they learned,  
in one subdued Province, did make them able and skillfull in pursuing their  
conquest, and going onward in to Regions far removed from them. At this day  
having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as liue in *Arabia* (else  
are good horsemen, but ill appointed, very dangerous to passengers, but vnable  
to deale with good Souldiers, as riding stark naked, and rather trusting in the swiftnesse  
of their horses, than in any other means of resistance, where they are well opposed.  
And such, or little better, may they seeme to haue bene, that spoiled *Iuda* in the  
time of *Iehoram*. For their Countrie was alwaies baraine and desert, wanting manu-  
all force whereby to supply the naturall wealth furniture: neither are thes bands  
named as chiefe in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philistims*. Out of this  
we may inferre, that one halfe, yea or one quarter of the numbers found in the least  
muster of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* under *Iehaphath* (wherein were inrolled three hundred  
and eightie thousand fighting men) had bene enough to haue driuen away farre  
greater forces than these enemies are likely to haue brought into the field, had not  
the people bene vnable to deale with them, for lacke of weapons, which were  
now kept from them by their Princes ielousie, as in *Sauls* time by the policie of the  
*Philistims*.

It may seeme that the house of the King which these invaders tooke, was not  
his

his Palace in *Ierusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Countrey, where his wines and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we read not that they did sacke the Citie, or spoile the Temple, which would haue inuited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they tooke *Ierusalem* it selfe by surpris, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guardes too weake to keepe them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous; and therefore hauing done what spoile they could, with-drew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to conuiege away.

The slaughter committed by *Iehu* vpon the two and fortie brethren of *Achazias*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers Sonnes, and the cruell massacre wherein all the Royall seede perished (only *Ieas* excepted) vnder the tyrannie of *Athalia*, following within two yeares after this inuasion of the *Philistines*, and *Arabians*, make it seeme probable, that the sonnes of *Iehoram* were not all slaine at once, but that rather the first murder beganne in his owne time, and was seconded by many other heauie blowes, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken, vntill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked King, smiting him with a grievous discale in his bowels, which left him not vntill his guts fell out, and his wretched soule departed from his miserable carcase. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of *Iuda*, though his owne sonne succeeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the same spirits that had bene his Fathers euill Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous entering of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to prouide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatnesse, to retaine her fauourites in their authority, and to place about her Sonne such Counsellors, of the house of *Ahab*, as were fittest for her turne. Wherefore shee thought it vnseasonable to make much ado about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eies, with a stately funeral of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed be laid vpon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her selfe, and hers, which it now did concerne her to auoid. Such is the qualitie of wicked infligators, hauing made greedie vse of bad imploiments, to charge not only with his owne vices, but with their faults also, the man whose euill inclinations their sinister counsailes haue made worse, when once he is gone and can profit them no longer. The death of *Iehoram* fell out indeede in a busie time; when his friend and coine the *Israhelite*, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the *Aramites*; and therefore could haue had no better leisure to helpe *Athalia* in setting of things according to her owne minde, than he had (perhaps through the same hindrance) to helpe her husband, when he was distressed by the *Philistines*. Yea rather he needed and craved the assistance of the men of *Iuda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, whither they had not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly runne thither againe, vnlesse they were very fauorably intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I haue thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumstances remembered in holy Scripture, would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appeare, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accomplish neuertheless his hidden purpose, and without miraculous means, confound themselves in the seeming-wisde deuises of their owne folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learne, to submit their iudgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to thinke, that they may safely dispense with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dictateth vnto them. For in such kinde of vnhappy subtilties, it is manifest that

*Athalia*

*Athalia* was able to turnish both her Husband and her Sonne, but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appeare, in that which immediately followeth.

§. V.

Of the reigne of *AHAZIAS*, and his businesse with the King of *Israel*.



**A**CHAZIAS, or *Athalia*, the sonne of *Iehoram* and *Athalia*, beganne his reigne ouer *Iuda* in the twelfth yeare of *Iehoram*, the sonne of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, and reigned but that one yeare. Touching his age, it is a point of more difficultie than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, wherof I see no more probable conclusion, than that of *Tornelius*, alleaging the Edition of the *Septuagint at Rome*. *Anna Domini* 1588. which saith that he was twentie yeares old in the beginning of his Kingdome, and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that giue him two yeares more. Like enough he is to haue bene yong: for hee was gouerned by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gaue him counsaile by which hee perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his Fathers courses. In matter of State, he likewise vp-held the league made with the house of *Ahab*. Hee was much busied in doing little, and that with ill successe. He accompanied his Cousen the *Israhelite* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wanne, but not without blowes: for the *Aramites* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was faine to aduenture his owne person, which escaped not vnwounded. The Towne being wonne was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to bee made by *Hazael* King of *Aram*: which done, *Iehoram* King of *Israel* with-drew himselfe to the Citie of *Ierusalem*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his woundes; and *Athalia* returned to *Ierusalem*. It seemes that hee was but newly come home (for hee reigned in all scanty one yeare, wherof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken vp a great part) when he made a new journey, as it were for good manners sake, to vilit the King of *Israel*, who lay sore of his woundes. Belike *Athalia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would haue hindered, and therefore sought euery occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vaine peece of worke so to leaue his Kingdome, hauing no other businesse than by way of complement to goe see one whom he had seene yesterday. Certaine it is that the Lord had resolu'd at this time to put in execution that heauie iudgement, which hee had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet, vpon the house of *Ahab*. And hereunto at this time had hee disposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in manies might seeme to haue bene accidentally; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtlesse was one; whose mischieuous purposes it will shortly be needfull for explanation of some difficulties arising, that wee diligently consider and examine.

§. VI.

How *AHAZIAS* perished with the house of *AHAB*: and how that Familie was destroyed by *IEHU*.



**T**HE whole Armie of *Israel*, with all the principall Captaines lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elihu* the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were sitting together, who calling out from among them *Iehu*, a principall man, tooke him apart, and anointed him King ouer *Israel*, rehearsing vnto him the prophetic of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*.

*Asah*, and letting him vnderstand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The falshood of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captaines a desire to know his errand, which *Iehu* thought meete to let them know, as doubting whether they had ouer-heard all the talke or no. When hee had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forth-with proclaimed him King. For the propheticie of *Eliab* was well knowne among them, neither durst any one oppose himselfe against him, that was by God ordained to performe it.

*Iehu* who had vpon the suddaine this great honour throwne vpon him, was not slow to put himselfe in possession of it, but vsed the first heate of their affections who ioynd with him, in setting on foot the buisnesse which nearely concerned him, and was not to be fore-slowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The first care taken was that no newes of the reuolt might bee carried to *Iezabel*, where by the King might haue had warning either to fight or flee: this being fore-seene hee marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Iehoram* was now so well recovered of his wounds, that hee could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seemes that there was much feasting, and ioy made, especially by Queene *Iezabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Abasias* comming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queene, as to visit the King.

Certaine it is, that since the rebellion of *Asah* against *Israel*, the house of *Asah* did neuer so much flourish as at this time. Seuentie Princes of the blood Royall there were that lued in *Samarra*; *Iehoram* the sonne of Queene *Iezabel* had wome *Ramsab Gilead*, which his father had attempted in vaine, with losse of his life; and he wonne it by valiant fight, wherein hee receiued wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was so great betweene *Israel* and *Juda*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leauing no hope of successe, to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the propheticie of *Eliab* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembered, than as an vnlikely tale, by them that beheld the majesticall face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and fortie Princes of his blood expected.

In the midit of this securitie, whilst these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents, first against the *Aramites*, and then against *Asah*, *Edom*, and other rebells and enemies; or else were triumphing in ioy of that which was already well achieued and the Queene Mother dressing her selfe in the brauest manner to come downe amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discovered a companie comming. These newes were not very troublesome: for the Armie that lay in *Ramsab Gilead*, to bee readie against all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be discharged vpon some notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not stirre. Only the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger comming to *Iehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to giue the King as little warning as might bee. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the King to bee satisfied, sent out another, that should bring him word how all went; and he was likewise detained by *Iehu*. These dumbe throwes bred some suspicion in *Iehoram*, whome the watchmen certified of all that happened. And now the companie drew so neare that they might, though not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of *Iehu* himselfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loath to discover any weakness, caused his Chariot to bee made readie, and issued forth with *Abasias* King of *Juda* in his companie, whose presence added majestie to his traine, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee had become more needfull. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Iehu* was come cunten to the Townes end, and there they met each other in the field

field of *Naboth*. *Iehoram* beganne to salute *Iehu* with termes of peace, but receiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out vpon the treason to his fellow King, he turned away to haue fled. But *Iehu* soone ouer-tooke him with an arrow, where-with he strooke him dead, and threw his carcase into that field, which, purchased with the blood of the rightfull owner, was to be watered with blood of the vniust possessor. Neither did *Abasias* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize vpon him.

The Kings Palace was ioyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where *Iezabel* might soone be aduertised of this calamitie, if liue did not with her owne eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whose iudgement pronounced against her long before, had ouer-taken her, when she least expected it. But shee, full of indignation, and proud thoughts, made her selfe readie in all hast, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor, or at the least to vtter some *Apophegme*, that should expresse her braue spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for euer. Little did shee thinke vpon the hungrie dogges, that were ordained to deuour her, whose paunches the *stibum*, with which shee besmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the scolding language where-with shee armed her tongue, could trouble the eares of him that had her in his power. As *Iehu* drew neare hee opened her window, and looking out vpon him, beganne to put him in minde of *Zimri*, that had not long ioyed the fruits of his treason, and murder of the King his Master. This was in mere humane valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeede a part of miserable folly, as are all things, how soeuer laudable, if they haue an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her owne *Eunucher* that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much lesse was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When *Iehu* saw that shee did vse the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him; hee made her presently to vnderstand her owne estate, by deedes and not by wordes. He only called to her seruants to know which of them would be of his side, and soone found them readie to offer their seruice, before the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her downe head-long: which immediately they performed without all regard of her greatnesse and estate, wherein shee had a few houres before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that considered not the iudgements of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude handes of her owne seruants, at the commandment of her greatest enemy, that was yesterday her subiect, but now her Lord: and shee perished miserably struggling in vaine with base groomes, who contumeliously did hale and thrust her, whilst her insulting enemy sate on horse-back, adding indignitie to her griefe by scornfully beholding the shameful manner of her fall, and trampling her bodie vnder foote. Her dead carcase that was left without the walls was deuoured by dogges, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murder, and oppression, with flow, but sure paiment, and full interest.

*Abasias* King of *Juda* fleeing a pace from *Iehu*, was ouer-taken by the way where he lurked; and receiuing his deadly wound in the Kingdome of *Samarra*, was suffred to get him gone (which he did in all hast) and seeke his buriall in his owne kingdome: and this fauour hee obtained for his grand-fathers sake, not for his fathers, nor his owne. He died at *Magiddo*, and was thence carried to *Ierusalem*, where he was entered with his Ancestors, hauing reigned about one yeare.

## CHAP. XXI.

Of ATHALIA, and whose Sonne he was that succeeded unto her.

§. I.

Of ATHALIA her usurping the Kingdome, and what pretences shee might forge.



AFTER the death of *Abasia*, it is said that his house was not able to retain the Kingdome: which note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* vpon the death of her Sonne, haue giuen occasion to diuers opinions concerning the Pedegree of *Ious*, who reigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispoiled of her Sonne, vnder whose name shee had ruled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold vpon all the Princes of the blood, and slew them, that so shee might occupie the Royall Throne her selfe, and raigne as Queene, rather than liue a Subiect. Shee had before hand put into great

place, and made Counsaillours vnto her sonne, such as were fittest for her purpose, and ready at all times to execute her will: that shee kept a strong guard about her it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Iehoram*, vpon the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearfull to stirre, whatsoeuer they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soeuer it be, is seldome or neuer so shamelesse as to refuse the commoditie of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serue to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for vs to thinke, that *Athalia* when shee saw the Princes of the Royall blood, all of them in a manner, slaine by her husband, and afterwards his owne children destroyed by the *Philistines*, beganne euen then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practise, into faire likelihoods, those possibilities where-with her husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great show of reason, either by her owne mouth, or by some trustie creature of hers, might shee giue him to vnderstand, how needfull it were to take the best order whilest as yet he might, for feare of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *Dauid*, which now remaine only in his Familie, should by any accident faile (as wofull experience had already shewed what might after come to passe) the people of *Iuda* were not vnlikely to choose a King of some new stock, a popular seditious man peradventure, one that to countenance his owne vnworthinesse, would not care what aspersions hee laid vpon that Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contriue the destruction of him, and all his seede? Wherefore it were the wisest way to deigne by his authoritie, not only his Successour, but also the reuerfioner, and so to provide, that the Crowne might neuer bee subiect to any risings, but remaine in the disposition of them that loued him best, if the worst that might be feared comming to passe, his owne posteritie could not retaine it.

Such perswasions being vrged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate solicitation of her that gouerned his affections, were able to make the ialous Tyrant thinke

thinke that the only way to frustrate all deuises of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the last and yongest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queene-Mother, to vp-hold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* tooke no such course as this in her husbands times, yet might shee doe it in her Sonnes. For *Abasia* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his Mother) was not likely to take much care for the securitie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wiues, in respect of his owne high borne-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischievous woman forgate her selfe so farre in her wicked policie, that shee lost all opportunitie which the weakenesse of her husband and sonne did afford, of procuring to her selfe some seeming Title; yet could shee afterwards haue some such matter, as boldly shee might: being sure that none would aske to see her euidence, for feare of being sent to learne the certaintie of her sonne or husband in another world. But I rather thinke that shee tooke order for her affaires before hand. For though shee had no reason to suspect or feare the suddaine death of her sonne, yet it was the wisest way to prouide betimes against all that might happen, whilest her husbands issue by other women was yong and vnable to reit. We plainly find that the Bretheren or Nephewes of *Abasia*, to the number of two and fortie, were sent to the Court of *Israel*, only to salute the children of the King, and the children of the Queene. The slender occasion of which long journey, considered together with the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stocke of *Iehoram* that could be growne to any strength) makes it very suspicious that their entertainment in *Jezebels* house would only haue bene more formal, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Iehu*. Hee that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two Queenes, will finde cause enough to thinke no lesse. Of such as haue aspired vnto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust our the right Heires by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validitie than the sword of such as claimed by them: could giue, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may say, behold this is new? it hath bettere disced in the old time that was before vs.* That a King might shed his brothers blood, was proued by *Salomon* vpon *Adonia*; that he might aliene the Crowne from his naturall Heires, *Dauid* had giuen proofe: but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practise, as more willingly shewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why *Salomon* slew his brother that had begunne one rebellion, and was entering into another. *Iehoram* slew all his bretheren, which were better than he: *Dauid* purchased the Kingdome, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed; if *Iehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that he might aliene the remainder at his pleasure; or if *Abasia* sought to cut off the succession of his bretheren, or of their issue: either of these was to be answered with the wordes which *Iehoiada* the Priest vsed afterwards, in declaring the title of *IOASH*. Behold the Kings sonne must raigne; as the Lord hath said of the sonnes of *DAVID*. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoeuer it might bee, to the Crowne of *Iuda*; yet is it most certaine that shee had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treacherie, murder, and open violence; and so shee held it sixe whole yeares, and a part of the seuenth, in good seeming securitie.

## §. II.

*How IERU spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest  
ATHALIA.*

**I**N all this time *Ieru* did neuer goe about to disturber; which in reason hee was likeli to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himselfe, rooting out the posteritie of *Abah*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in warres against the *Ammites*, wherein he was so farre overcharged, that hardly hee could retaine his owne, much lesse attempt vpon others. Of the line of *Abah* there were seauentie liuing in *Samaria*, out of which number *Ieru* by letter aduised the Citizens to set vp some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident hee was, which they well vnderstood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom he had slaine, and being exceedingly afraide of him, they offered him their seruice, wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in lesse than one daies warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were inioyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtiltie, slaying a great sacrifice to their God; by which means he drew them altogether into one Temple, where he slew them; and in the same zeale to God vtterly demolished all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie deuided by *Ieroboam*, no King of *Israel* had euer greater reason than *Ieru* to destroy it. For he needed not feare least the people should be allured vnto the house of *Dauida*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted vp, and the Crowne of *Iuda* in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had receiued his kingdom by the vnexpected grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeale exprest in destroying *Baal*, out of *Israel*, he was promised, notwithstanding his following the sinne of *Ieroboam*, that the Kingdom should remaine in his familie, to the fourth generation. But all this would not serue; hee would needes helpe to peece out Gods providence with his owne circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedie gamester, who by stealing a needlesse Card to assure himselfe of winning a stake, forfeits his whole rest. He had questionlesse displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more hee should offend by taking from them the vse of a superstition, so long practiced as was that Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*. Yet all these, how many foueuer they were, had neuer once thought vpon making him King, if God, whom, to retaine them, hee now forsooke, had not giuen him the Crowne, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Ieru* drew terrible vengeance of God vpon *Israel*, whereof *Hazael* King of *Damascus* was the Executioner. The crueltye of this barbarous Prince we may finde in the prophetic of *Ehzeas*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shalt thou set on fire, and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their infants against the stones, and rent in peeces their women with child.* So did not only the wickednesse of *Abah* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatrie of the people bring a lamentable miserie vpon all the Land. For the furie of *Hazael*s victorie was not quenched with the destruction of a few Townes, nor wearied with one inuasion; but he *smote them in all the coasts of Israel*, and wasted all the Countrie beyond the Riuer of *Iordan*. Notwithstanding all these calamities it seemes that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; *For in those daies the Lord beganne to smite Israel*, but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble House of *Abah*, vnder which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had brauely fought for the conquest of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Cities

2 Kings 8. v. 12.

2 Kings 10. v. 3.

ries which his Father had wonne: whereas now they were faine to make wofull shifts, liuing vnder a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruell enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can finde all manner of difficulties in seruing him, to whom nothing is difficult, are in stead of the ease and pleasure to themselves propounded by contrarie courses, owerwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to auoide, and therein by God whom they first forsooke, forsaken, and left vnto the wretched labours of their owne blinde widdome, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

## §. III.

*Of ATHALIAHS Governement.*

**T**Hese calamities falling vpon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giuing her leisure to looke to things at home; as hauing little to doe abroad, vlesse it were so that shee held some correspondence with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husbands grand-father King *Aza*, who had done the like. And some probability that shee did so may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For wee finde that this wicked *ATHALIA* and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow vpon *BAALIM*. Such a sacriledge, though it proceeded from a desire to let out her owne Idolatrie, with such pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some faire pretext of necessitie of the State for requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successor was faine to doe the like, being therunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the tale of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Vnder this impious government of *Athalia*, the denotion of the Priests and Leuites was very notable, and serued (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himselfe, how foueuer the Queenes proceedings aduanced the contrarie. For the pouertie of that sacred Tribe of *Leui*, must needes haue been exceeding great at this time; all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being vtterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they liued, being now very few, and small; and the store laid vp in better times vnder godly Kings, being all taken away by shamefull robbrie. Yet they vp-held in all this miserie the seruice of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping duly their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than in those daies wherein their entertainment was farre better.

## §. IIII.

*Of the preservation of IOAS.*

**I**ERODABA then occupied the high Priest-hood, an honourable, wise and religious man. To his carefulnesse it may be ascribed, that the estate of the Church was in some slender sort vp-held in those vnhappy times. His wife was *Iehosababeth*, who was daughter of King *Iehoram*, and sister to *Ahaziah*, a godlie Ladie and vertuous, whose pietie makes it seeme that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her access to the Court argue the contrarie: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her owne Fathers house, than the education vnder such a Mother could haue permitted her to be such as shee was. By her care *IOAS* the young Prince that raigned some after, was conueighed out of the nourserie, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings children,

children, and was carried secretly into the Temple, where as secretly hee was brought vp. How it came to passe that this yong child was not hunted out, when his bodie was missing, nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policie, that the people should heare say, that one of the children had auoided that cruell blow; it might haue made them hearken after innovations, and so bee the lesse conformable to the present gouernment. So *Iosb* was deliuered out of that slaughter, hee and his Nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peraduenture to bee cast away, as hauing no other guard than a poore woman that gaue him suck, who foolishly doubting that shee her selfe should haue bene slaine, was fled away with him into some desolate places, where it was like enough that shee and hee should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coine such tales, and rather sweare them to bee true in their owne knowledge, than they will loose the thanks due to their ioyfull tidings.

§. V.  
W<sup>h</sup>ose Sonne IOAS WAS.

†. I.  
Whether IOAS may be thought likely to haue bene the Sonne of  
AHAZIA.

**N**OW concerning this *Iosb*, whose sonne he was, it is a thing of much difficultie to asseme, and hath caused much controuersie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the sonne of AHAZIA, seeme plaine enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might giue that title of Sonne vnto him, in regard that he was his Successor, I neither by my selfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to answer the difficultie, appearing in the contrarie opinions of them, that thinke him to haue bene, or not, the naturall Sonne of AHAZIA. For whereas it is said, that the house of AHAZIA was not able to retaine the Kingdome; some doe inferre that this *Iosb* was not properly called his Sonne, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a sonne in the inheritance of his Father. And herunto the murder committed by *Atalia*, doth very well agree. For the perceiving that the Kingdome was to fall into their hands, in whom shee had no interest, might easily finde cause to feare, that the tyrannic exercised by her husband, at her instigation vpon so many noble Houses, would now bee reuenged vpon her selfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedie of *Iezabel* teaching her what might happen to an other Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had bene heire to the Crowne; for shee that had power enough to make her selfe Queene, could with more ease, and lesse enuie, haue taken vpon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie shee might haue done her pleasure, and bene the more both obaied by others, and secure of her owne estate, as not wanting an Heire. Wherefore it was not needfull, that shee should be so vnnaturall, as to destroy the child of her owne sonne, of whose life shee might haue made greater vse, than hee could of his death: whereas indeede, the loue of grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little lesse than that of Mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seeme incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast aside, when as neither necessitie vrgeth, nor any commoditie thereby gotten requirith it, yea when all humane policie doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would haue perswaded.

†. II.

†. II.

That IOAS did not descend from NATHAN.

**B**UT (as it is more easie to finde a difficultie in that which is related, than to shew how it might haue otherwise bene) the pedigree of this *Iosb* is, by them which thinke him not the sonne of AHAZIA, set downe in such sort that it may verie easily be suspected. They say that he descended from *Nathan* the sonne of *Dauid*, and not from *Salomon*; to which purpose they bring a Historie (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *Dauid*, saying that the line of *Salomon* held the kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the family of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the son of *Dauid* there are that would haue him to bee *Nathan* the Prophet, who as they thinke, was by *Dauid* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also *S. Augustine* sometime was, but afterward hee reuoked it, as was meet for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sons of *Dauid*, by *Bathshua* the daughter of *Ammiel*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregorie Nazianzen* (as I finde him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him, *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulensis*, haue likewise held the same of *Iosb*, deriuing him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan*, and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same mother, are thought, vpon good likelihoods, to haue bene the children of *Yria* the *Hittite*; and so are they accounted by sundrie of the fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenfis*, who follow the Hebrew expositors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himselfe the only begotten of his mother, doe approue this exposition: for wee read of no more than two sons which *Bathshua* or *Bathsheba* did beare vnto *Dauid*, whereof the one, begotten in adulterie, died an infant, and *Salomon* only of her children by the king did liue. So that the rest must needs haue bin the children of *Yria*, and are thought to haue bene *Dauid*s onely by adoption. Wherefore, if *Iosb* had not bene the sonne of AHAZIA, then must that pedigree haue bene false, wherein *S. Matthew* deriueth him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not our blessed *Sauour* issued from the loins of *Dauid*, according to the flesh, but had onely bene of his line by courtisie of the Nation, and forme of Law, as any other might haue bene. As for the authoritie of *Philo*, which hath drawne many late writers into the opinion that *Iosb* was not of the posteritie of *Salomon*, it is enough to say that this was *Frisar Aunius* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* hath anie such matter; but *Aunius* can make authors to speake what he list.

†. III.

That IOAS may probably be thought to haue bene the sonne  
of IEHORAM.

**I**N so doubtfull a case, if it seeme lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought vpon, me thinks it were not amisse to laie open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickednesse of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Iehoshaphat* King of *Iuda*, for which hee and his children perished, rehearteth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *Dauid*, that according to his promise he would giue him a light, and to his children for ever: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *IEHORAM*, there was not a sonne left him save *IOASH* as the youngest of his sonnes. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promise to *Dauid*, that, after those massacres of *Iehoram*, vpon all his brethren, and of the *Philistines* and *Arabians* vpon the children of *Iehoram*, one of the seed of *Dauid* escaped; why may it not be thought that he was said to haue escaped, in whom the line of *Dauid* was preferred? for had all the race of *Salomon* bene rooted vp in these wofull Tragedies, and the progenie of *Nathan* succeeded in place thereof; like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would haue bene extant, of an euent so

so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord; as it is recounted by *S. Luke*. but the preservation of the house of *David*, mentioned in the bookes of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Iehoshas* in whom the roiall branch of *Salomon*, the naturall, and not only legall issue remaining of *David*, was kept aliue. Wherefore it may bee thought that this *Iosab*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdome, was the yongest sonne of *Iehoram*, whose life *Athalia*, as a stepdame, was not vnlikely to pursue. For it were not easilly vnderstood, why the preservation of *Dauids* line, by *Gods* especiall mercie in regard of his promise made, should pertaine rather to that time, when besides *Athalia* himselfe there were two and thortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sonnes of his brethren remaining aliue, which afterwards were all slaine by *Iehu*; than haue reference to the lamentable destruction and little lesse than extirpation of that progenie, wherein one onely did escape. Certainly that inhumane murder which *Iehoram* committed vpon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Historie) reuenged vpon his owne children; then was not this vengeance of *God* accomplished by the *Philistims* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Iehu*, and finally tooke effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation hee had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of *Gods* heauie iudgement laid vpon *Iehoram* and all his children, onely *Iehoshas* his youngest sonne was exempted; whom therefore if I should ascribe to be the same with *Iosab*, which is called the sonne of *Athalia*, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise haue bene. For it was the youngest sonne of *Iehoram* in whom the race was preserved; which could not in any likelihood be *Athalia*, seeing that hee was twentie yeeres old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to reigne, and consequently, was borne in the eighth or twentieth yeere of his fathers age. Now, I know not whether of the two is more vnlikely, either that *Iehoram* should haue begotten many children before he was eightene yeeres old, or that hauing (as hee had) many wiues and children, he should vpon the suddaine, at his eighteenth yeere, become vnfruitfull, and beget no more in twentie yeeres following: each of which must haue bene true, if this were true that *Athalia* was the same *Iehoshas*, which was his youngest sonne. But this inconuenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the causelesse crueltie of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Iosab*, are easilly cleared, if *Iosab* and *Iehoshas* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion. For he was *seuen yeeres old when he began to reigne*; which if wee vnderstand of yeeres complet, hee might haue bene a yeere old at the death of *Iehoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sickness. Neither is it more absurde to say that hee was the naturall sonne of *Iehoram*, though called the sonne of *Athalia*, than it were to say, as great authors haue done, this difficult notwithstanding, that hee was of the posteritie of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the rest, might haue serued as the very foundation of this opinion. The name of *Iehoshas*, that soundeth much more neere to *Iosab*, than to *Athalia*, in an English care, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by some, skilful in that language) through the diueritie of certaine letters, differ much from that which it moit resembleth in our westerne manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be so that *Athalia* himselfe be also called *Azaria*, and must haue had three names, if hee were the same with *Iehoshas*; in which manner *Iosab* might also haue had severall names; yet because I finde no other warrant hereof than a bare possibility, I will not presume to build an opinion vpon the weake foundation of mine owne coniecture, but leaue all to the consideration of such as haue more abilitie to iudge, and leisure to consider of this point.

† IIII.

† IIII.

Vpon what reasons *ATHALIA* might seeke to destroy *IO SAB*, if he were her owne grandchilde

If therefore we shall follow that which is commonly receiued, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said that *Athalia* was not onely blinded by the passions of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worshipp of *Baalim*, but pursued the accomplishment of some naturall desires, in seeking the destruction of her grandchilde, and the rest of the blood royall. For whether it were so that *Athalia* (as proud and cruell women are not alwaies chafly) had imitated the libertie of *Iezabel* her sister in law, whose whoredomes were vbraided by *Iehu* to her sonne; or whether she had children by some former husband, before shee was married vnto *Iehoram* (which is not vnlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and sister to *Ahab*) certaine it is that shee had sonnes of her owne, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondered at, that to settle the Crowne vpon her owne children, shee did seeke to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claimes. As for *Iosab*, if she were his grandmother, yet she might mistrust the interest which his mother would haue in him, least when he came to yeeres, it might withdraw him from her deuotion. And hereof (be-  
sides that women doe commonly better loue their daughters husbands, than their sonnes wiues) there is some appearance in the reigne of her sonne: for the made him spend all his time in idle iournies, to no other apparent end, than that the might rule at home; and hee liuing abroad, be estranged from his wife, and entertaine some new fancies, wherein *Iezabel* had cunning enough to be his tutresse. But when the sword of *Iehu* had rudely cut in sunder all these fine deuises, then was *Athalia* taine to goe roundly to worke, and doe as shee did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather thinke) she were onely stepdame to *Iosab*, wee neede not seeke into the reasons mouing her to take away his life; her owne hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

p. VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the libertie of vsing coniecture in Histories.

Hv smuch concerning the person of *Iosab*, from whom, as from a new roote, the tree of *David* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this Historie, and the diueritie betweene it and others, the lesse, me thinks, I neede to suspect mine owne presumption, as deserting blame, for curiositie in matter of doubt, or boldnesse in libertie of coniecture. For all Histories doe giue vs information of humane counsailes and euents, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of *Gods* will, by which all things are ordered, they speake onely at random, and many times falsly. This we often finde in prophane writers, who ascribe the ill successe of great vndertakings to the neglect of some impious rites, whereof indeed *God* abhorred the performance as vchemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the lesse wonder, if we consider the answer made by the *Iewes* in *Egypt* vnto *Ieremie* the Prophet reprehending their idolatrie. For, howsoeuer the written Law of *God* was knowne vnto the people, and his punishments laid vpon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and euen then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent vnto their owne wils, that they would not by any meanes be drawne to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worshipe the *Queen of Heaven*, as they and their

10. c. 4. 4. 2. 17.  
and 18.

their fathers, their Kings and their Princes had vsed to do; For then (said they) had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no euill: adding that all manner of miserie were befallen them, since they left off the seruice of that *Queene of Heaue*. So blinde is the wisdom of man, in looking into the counsaile of God, which to finde out there is no better nor other guide than his owne written will not peruerced by vaine additions.

S. Phil. Sid. in his  
Apolog. for Poe-  
trie.

But this Historie of the Kings of *Israel* and *Iudah* hath herein a singular prerogative aboue all that haue bene written by the most sufficient of meerly humane authours: it setteth downe expressely the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his ouerforwardnesse in battaile; the ruine of his familie, to the securitie of *Ierobam* in *Iezreel*; nor the victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raised in *Israel*, by the comming of *Iehu*; but referring all all vnto the will of God, I meane, to his reuealed will: from which that his hidden purposes doe not varie, this storie, by many great examples, giues most notable prooffe. True it is that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these bookes nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman Sir *Philip Sidney*, that Historians doe borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but some what of their substance. Informations are often false, records not alwaies true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discouer the passions, which did set them first on foote. Wherefore they are faine (I speake of the best, and in that which is allowed: for to take out of *Luie* euery one circumstance of *Claudius* his iourney against *Asorubal* in *Italie*, sitting all to another businesse, or any practise of that kinde, is neither Historically nor Poetically) to search in to the particular humours of Princes, and of those which haue gouerned their affections, or the instruments by which they wrought, from whence they doe collect the most likely motives, or impediments of euery businesse, and so figuring, as nere to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they iudiciously consider the defects in counsaile, or obliquitie in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to giue assurance, howsoeuer it may giue satisfaction. For the heart of man is vnsearchable: and Princes, howsoeuer their intents be seldom hidden from some of those many eyes which pricke both in to them, and into such as liue about them; yet sometimes either by their owne close temper, or by some subtil miste, they concale the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lie dead, and buried in obliuion, when the preparations which they begate, are conuerted to another vs. The indolence of an Historian, hauing so many things to weare it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions worke to the same end, that one small matter in a weak minde is more effectuall, than many that seeme farre greater. So 40 comes it many times to passe that great fires, which consume whole houses or Townes, begin with a few straws, that are wasted or not seene; when the flame is discouered, hauing fastned vpon some wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionlesse it is that the warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the *Greekes*, proceeded from desire of the *Persians* to enlarge their Empire: howsoeuer the enterprize of the *Athenians* vpon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrell: yet *Herodotus* telleth vs, that the wanton desire of *Queene Atossa*, to haue the *Grecian* dames her bondwomen, did first moue *Darius* to prepare for this warre before he had receiued any iniurie; and when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enioy what was already gotten.

Herod. 1. 1.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more iustly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alladging the vaine appetite, and secret speech of the *Queene* in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great euils following; this I may boldly affirme, (hauing I think, in euery estate some sufficient witnesses) that matter

matter of much consequence, founded in all seeming vpon substantiall reasons, haue issued indeed from such petty trifles, as no Historian would either thinke vpon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope made to a certaine Friar, comming to visite him in his Popedom, as hauing long before in his meane estate, bene his familiar friend. T his poore Friar, being emboldened by the Pope to vs his old libertie of speech, aduentured to tell him, that he verie much wondered how it was possible for his holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning politician, to attaine vnto the Papacie; in compassing of which, 10 all the subtiltie (said he) of the most craftie braines, finde worke enough: and therefore the more I thinke vpon the arte of the conclave, and your vnappetite thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to satisfie the plain dealing Friar, dealt with him againe as plainly, saying, Hadst thou liued abroad as I haue done, and seene by what folly this world is gouerned, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred vnto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is moued; the Pope said true. For the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, worke more closely, and earnestly, than right reason either needs or can. But if we liue vp our thoughts to that supreme gouernour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was 20 said of *Iupiter*.

*Qui terram incertem, qui mare temperat  
Ventosum, & arbes, regnaque tristia  
Diuosque, mortalesque turbas,  
Imperio regit vnus equo.*

Who rules the duller earth, the wind-swolne fireames,  
The ciuill Cities, and th' infernall realmes,  
Who th' host of heauen and the mortall band,  
Alone doth gouerne by his iust commaund.

30

Then shall we finde the quite contrarie. In him there is no vncertaintie nor change; he foreseeth all things, and all things discouseth to his owne honour; Hee neither deceiueth nor can be deceiued, but continuing one and the same for euer, doth constantly gouerne all creatures by that law, which hee hath prescribed and will neuer alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contriuers, and the profperitie of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea, this broad and headlong passage to hell, is not so delightful as it seemeth at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poisons which infect the soule, many cruell thornes 40 deeply wounding the bodie, all which, if any few escape, they haue onely this miserable aduantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the seruice of God is the path guiding vs to perfect happinesse, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicitie, yeelding such abundance of ioy to the conscience, as doth easilie counteruaile all afflictions whatsoeuer: though indeed those brambles that sometimes teare the skinne of such as walke in this blessed way, doe commonly laie hold vpon them at such time as they sit downe to take their ease, and make them with themselves at their iournies end, in presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serue, in whose presence is the fulnesse of ioy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for euermore.

[Stat 160. 11.]

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all Historie, to teach by example of times past, such wisdom as may guide our desires and actions, wee should not meruaile though the *Chronicles* of the Kings of *Inda* and *Israel*, being written by men inspired with the spirit of God, instruct vs chiefly, in that which is most requisite for vs to know, as the meanes to attaine vnto true felicitie, both here, and hereafter, pro-  
pounding

pounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The fawe of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) bene written by some Prophet after the captiuitie: wee may well beleuee that the counsaile of God therein, and the execution of his righteous will, should haue occupied either the whole, or the principall roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his wife, and the businesse at *Sardes*, with other occurrences, bene the lesse true, though they might haue bene omitted, as the lesse materiall: but these things it had bene lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein he should not haue done iniurie to the sacred writings, as long as hee had forborne to derogate to from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the businesse that I haue now in hand: wherein I cannot beleuee that any man of iudgement will taxe mee as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not faile, that recheafeth probabilities as bare coniectures; neither doth he depraue the text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reason, those things, which authoritie alone, without further circumstance, ought to haue confirmed in euery mans belief. And this may suffice in defence of the libertie, which I haue vsed in coniectures, and may hereafter vsd when occasion shall require, as neither vnlawfull, nor misbecoming an Historian.

### §. VII.

#### *The conspiracie against ATHALIA.*

**W**HEN *Athalia* had now fixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of *Iuda*, and had found neither any forraine enemy, nor domesticall aduersarie to disturbe her possession, suddainly the period of her glorie, and reward of her wickednesse meeting together, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and shamefull death. For the growth of the young Prince began to be such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had bene very visiting that his education should be simple, to make him seeme the childe of some poore man (as for his safetie it was requisite,) when his capacite required to haue bene inducted with the stomach and qualities meete for a King. All this *Iehoiada* the Priest considered, and with all the great increase of impietie, which taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to spreade it selfe ouer all the Countrey, if care were not vsed to weede it vp very speedily. Wherefore hee associated vnto himselfe fise of the Captaines, in whose fidelitie he had best assurance, and hauing taken an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings sonne, hee made a Couenant with them, to aduance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of 40 the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first onely, that they should repaire to *Ierusalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perswasions to win them to the businesse: the promise of the Lord vnto the house of *Dauid* was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawfull and likeli to succeed as they desired.

But in compassing their intent some difficulties appeared. For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the Captaines, and other associates of *Iehoiada* able by close working, to draw together so many trustie and seruicable hands as would suffice to manage the businesse. To helpe in this case, the Priest gaue order to such of the *Leuites*, as had finished their courses in waiting on the Diuine seruice at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turnes, that they should not depart vntill they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new commers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made vp such a number, as would be able

able to deal with the *Queenes* ordinarie Guard, and that was enough, for it the tyrannesse did not preuaile against them at the first brunt, the fauour of the People was like to shew it selfe on their side, who made head against her. These *Leuites* were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents were bestowed in the vtter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it selfe had store enough; King *Dauid* had left an Armorie to the place, which was now employed in defence of his issue.

All things being in a readinesse, and the day come wherein this high designe was to be put in execution; *Iehoiada* deliuered vnto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents; appointed a guard vnto the Kings person; produced him openly, and gaue vnto him the Crowne; vsing all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings the Queene was the last that heard any word; which is not so strange as it may seeme: for insolent natures, by dealing outrageously with such as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly loose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilst yet it may be prevented, and haue no information of danger, till their owne eyes, amazed with the suddennesse, behold it in the shape of inevitable mischiefe.

All *Ierusalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. 20 Some carried home the newes, others ranne forth to see, and the common joy was so great, that without apprehension of perill, vnder the windowes of the Court; were the people running and praising the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourse, and noise, of folkes in the streets, making towards the Temple, with much vnusuall passion in their looks, did presently conceiue, that somewhat worthie of her care was happened; though what it might be shee did not apprehend. Howsoeuer it were, shee meant to vie her owne wisdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may be, that shee thought it some especiall solemnitie vsed in the Diuine seruice, which caused this much adoe; and heretofore the vnaccustomed number of *Leuites*, and 30 of other deuout men, about the towne, might giue some presumption.

Many things argue that shee little thought vpon her owne Tragedie; although *Iosephus* would make it seeme otherwise. For we finde in the Text, *Shee came to the people into the house of the Lord* (which was neare to her Palace) and that when shee looked and saw the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was, with the Princes, or great men of the Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him, shee rent her clothes, and cried Treason, Treason. Hereby it appears that shee was quietly going, without any mistrust or feare, to take her place, which when shee found occupied by another, then shee began to afflict her selfe, as one cast away, and cried out in vaine vpon the Treason, whereby these saw that shee must perish. But that shee 40 came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) and that her companie being beaten back, shee entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had shee truly knowne how things went, shee would surely haue gathered her friends about her, and vsed those forces in defence of her Crowne, by which shee gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly if it were granted, that shee, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had bene meere madnesse in her, to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if shee perceiving that neither her authoritie, nor their owne weapons, could preuaile to let in her guard, would neuertheless take vpon her to command the death of the new 50 King, calling a child of seven yeares old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom shee saw to be armed in his defence, may wee not thinke that shee was mad in the most extreme degree? Certaine it is that the counsaile of God would haue taken effect, in her destruction, had shee vsed the most likely meanes to disappoint it: yet wee neede not so cut her throat with any morall impossibilities. It is

A a a enough

enough to say, that the godly zeale of *Iehoiada* found more easie successe, through her indiscretion, than otherwise could haue beene expected; so that at his appointment shee was without more adoe carried out of the Temple and slaine, yea so, that no blood saue her owne was shed in that quarrell; her small traine, that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

## §. VIII.

*The death of ATHALIA, with a comparison of her and IERZABEL.*

**M**ost like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashnesse of her Nephew *Iehoram* the *Israelite*, who did foolishly call himselfe into the very throat of danger, gaping vpon him, only through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant; yet theee her selfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and hauing liued such a life as *Iezabel* had done, was rewarded with a futable death. These two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatresse, and a Murtheresse. The only difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Iezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them suruiuing her husband about eight yeares, did spend the time in satisfying her owne affections; the one vling tyrannie, as the exercise of her haughtie minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her vnchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seeme in this world to pertaine vnto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the suddaine by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming vpon the Treason, receiued sentence from the mouth of one that had liued vnder her subjection; in execution whereof, *Iezabel* was trampled vnder the feet of her enemies horses; *Athalia* slaine at her owne horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* hauing (though not much) the more leiscure to vex her proud heart; that of *Iezabel*, the more indiginitie, and shame of body. Touching their buriall, *Iezabel* was deuoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatened by the Prophet *Eliase*; what became of *Athalia* wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that shee was buried, as hauing not persecuted and slaine the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument; for shee was a Church-robber. The seruice of *Basl* erected by these two Queenes, was destroyed as soone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Priests of that Religion, slaine. Herein also it came to passe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who sue them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazeel* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who seemes to haue beene her good friend) pretended her reuenge, as any part of his quarrell to *Iuda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Iezabel* perished in few daies after her; whether *Athalia* left any behinde her, it is vncertaine; shee had sonnes liuing after shee was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were slaine with her, wee doe not finde.

This is a matter not vnworthie of consideration, in regard of much that may depend vpon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had bene in *Ierusalem* when their Mother fell, their death would surely haue followed hers as nearely, and bene registered, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Priest of *Basl*. That Law by which *God* forbade that the children should die for the fathers, could not haue saued these vngenerous Impes, whom the clause following would haue cut off, which commands, that euery man shall die for his owne sinne. Seeing therefore that they had bene professors & aduancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Basl*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of *Basl* with the spoile of it; likely it is that they should nor haue escaped with life, if *Iehoiada* the Priest could haue gotten

2. Chron. 24. 16.

ten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cause enough requiring their death, so the securitie of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craued as much, and that very earnestly. For these had bene elected as heires of their mothers Crowne, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular buisnesse of frowning the Temple, may be thought to haue carried a great way in other matters as Princes and fellows with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is euident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazeel* in his warres against *Iehu*) absent from *Ierusalem*; whereby *Iehoiada* might with the more confidence, aduerture to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate.

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## CHAP. XXII.

*Of IOAS and AMASIA, with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of CARTHAGE.*

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## §. I.

*Of IOAS his doings whilest Iehoiada the Priest liued.*



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**B**y the death of *Athalia*, the whole Countrie of *Iuda* was ruled with great ioy and quietnesse; wherein *Ioas* as a child of seven yeares old or thereabout, began his Raigne, which continued almost fortie yeares. During his minoritie, hee liued vnder the protection of that Honourable man *Iehoiada* the Priest, who did as faithfully gouerne the Kingdome, as hee had before carefully preferred the Kings life, and restored him vnto the Throne of his auncceltors. When hee came to mans estate, hee tooke by appointment of *Iehoiada* two wives, and begat sonnes and daughters, repairing the family of *Dauid* which was a'molt worne out. The first A&T that hee tooke in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needfull peece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that Holy place was fallen, through the wickednesse of vngodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should vphold the Temple, whome the Temple had vpheld. This buisnesse he followed with so earnest a zeale, that not only the *Leuites* were more slacke then hee, but even *Iehoiada* was faine to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke, partly out of the taxe imposed by *Moses*, partly out of the liberalitie of the people: who gaue so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of Gold and Silver, and with all other Vntensiles. The sacrifices likewise were offered, as vnder godly Kings they had bene, and the seruice of God was magnificently celebrated.

2. Chron. 24. 12. 14.

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§. II.

## §. II.

The death of Iehoiada, and Apostasie of IOAS.

**B**Vt this endured no longer than the life of *Iehoiada* the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirtie yeares, died before his Countrey could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Iuda*, as he well deserved, having preferred the race of them, and reformed the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting vp themselves, and all their issue. Yet his honourable Funerall seemes to have beene given to him, at the motion of the people, it being said, *They buried him in the Citie of DAVID*. As for the King himselfe, who did owe to him no lesse than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to have beene Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if hee had thereby beene discharged of some heauie debt.

For after the death of *Iehoiada*, when the Princes of *Iuda* beganne to flatter their King, he soone forgate, not onely the benefites, received by this worthie man his old Councellour, but also the good precepts which he had receiued from him, yea and God himselfe, the author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith *Iehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Countrey, in fifteene or sixteene yeares, that thirtie yeares, or there about, of the Raigne of *IOAS*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to cleare it from that mischief. The King himselfe, when once hee was entred into these courses, ranne on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his libertie, to despise the seruice of God; and a manifest proofe of his being now King indeede, that hee regarded no longer the fowre admonitions of deuout Priests. Hereby it appeares, that his former zeale was onely counterfeited, wherein like an actor vpon the stage, he had striven to expresse much more liuely affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

## §. III.

The causes and time of the *Syrians* invading *Iuda* in the dayes of IOAS.

**B**Vt God, from whome he was broken loose, gaue him ouer into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, hauing taken *Gath*, a Towne of the *Philistims*, addrest himselfe towards *Ierusalem*, whether the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich bootie, did inuite him. He had an Armie heartned by many victories, to hope for more, and for ground of the warre (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough, that the Kings of *Iuda* had assisted the *Israelites*, in their enterprises vpon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I thinke he did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdome of *Iuda* had molested the *Aramites*, in the time of his predecessour, this was thoroughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extreme miserie, to the furie of *Hazael* himselfe. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should haue gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and stirre vp against himselfe a powerfull enemy, before hee had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay betwene *Ierusalem* and his owne Kingdome, if some opportunity had not promised such easie and good successe, as might rather aduance, than any way disturbe, his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sonnes of *Abiath*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men) to expound their Countreys usually doe) to draw many partakers to their owne side; and not to remaine, as *IOAS* did, a neutral in the warre betwene him and *Israel*, but to ioine all their forces with his, as they had

caule, for the rooting out of *IOAS* his posteritie, who, like a bloudie Traitor, had vterly destroyed all the kindred of the *Queenes*, their mother, euen the whole house of *Abiath*, to which he was a subiect. It thus were so, *Hazael* had the more apparant reason to inuade the Kingdome of *Iuda*. Howsoever it were, we find it plainly, that *IOAS* was afraid of him, and therefore tooke all the hideweed things, and all the *Gold* that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his owne house, with which present hee redeemed his peace: the *Syrians* (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargain, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the assurance of this, for the possibilitie of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich bootie of unhappie treasure, which, belonging to the living God, remained a small while in the possession of this mightie, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the graue. For in the thirtie seuenth of *IOAS*, which was the fifteenth of *Iehoshaphat*, he made this purchase; but in the same or the very next yeare he died, leaving all that he had vnto his Sonne *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prospered none other wise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of *Hazael* is, by some, confounded with that warre of the *Aramites* vpon *Iuda*, mentioned in the second Booke of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alleged by them that hold the contrarie opinion, doe forcibly prooue, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without bloodshed or fight, in the later, *IOAS* tried the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worst, hee lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life. In the one, *Hazael* himselfe was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwise, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may seeme to haue then bene the Sonne of *Hazael*) is said to haue bene at *Demoisius*. The first Armie came to conquer, and was so great that it terrified the King of *Iuda*; The second was a small company of men, which did animate *IOAS* in vain, for God was against him) to deale with them, as haue a very great Armie.

Now concerning the time of this former inuasion, I cannot perceiue that God forsooke him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeede some, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Iehoiada* the Priest, because that storie is ioyned vnto the restauration of the Temple. This had bene probable, if the death of *Iehoiada* had bene afterwards mentioned in that place of the second Booke of *Kings*, or if the Apotaisie of *IOAS*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeede to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his owne will and pleasure, neither was he more vnuit in the afflictions of *IOAS* that righteous man, or the death of *Iehoiada* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid vpon *Pharaoh*, or his iudgments vpon the house of *Abiath*. But it appeares plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent seruice of God therewithall, which are ioyned together, were vsed in the house of the Lord continually, all the dayes of *IOAS*, soone after whose death, if not immediately vpon this, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the six, or thirtie seuenth yeare of this *IOAS* his Raigne, the King falling away from the God of his Father, became a foule Idolater.

And indeede we commonly obstruse, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay vpon his seruants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, haue alwayes tended vnto the bettering of their good. In which respect, euen the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (the death of *His Saints being precious in the sight of* *Psalm. 115. vs.* the Lord) are to their great aduantage. But with euill and rebellious men, God keepeth a more euill, and more strict account, permitting vially their faultes to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickednesse be full; or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to runne on in their wicked courses, to their greater miserie. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appeares that he dealt with *IOAS*. For this unhappie man did not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetfull of God and all goodnesse, as if he had frouen to exceede the wickednesse of all that

went before him, and to leaue such auilainous patterne vnto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should indure to imitate.

## §. IIII.

How *Zacharia* was murdered by *Ios*.

**S**Vndry Prophets hauing laboured in vaine to reclaim the people from their superstitiō, *Zacharia*, the sonne of *Iehoida* the Priest, was stirred vp at length by the Spirit of God to admonish them of their wicked-  
ness, and make them vnderstand the punishment due vnto it, where-  
of they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so honourable,  
and sonne to a man so exceeding beloued in his life time, and reuerenced, that if *Ios*  
had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common ho-  
nour, to haue cloaked his ill affection, and haue vsed at least some part of the res-  
pect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which  
he and his father had borne vnto the King, and the vnrecountable benefits, which  
they had done vnto him, from his first infancie, were such, as should haue placed  
*Zacharia* in the most heartie and assured loue of *Ios*, yea though he had bene other-  
wise a man of very small make, and not very good condition. The truth is, that  
the message of a Prophet sent from God, should bee heard with reuerence, how  
simple soeuer he appears that brings it. But this king *Ios*, hauing already scorned  
the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale  
with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandman in that parable of our Saviour dealt  
with the heire of the Vineyard, who said, *this is the heire, come let vs kill him, that the  
Inheritance may be ours*. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Com-  
maunder, supposing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as any one durst tell  
him the plaine truth, how great soeuer that mans deserting were, that did so, yea  
though Gods commaundement required it. So they conspired against this Holy  
Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any  
forme of open law, as was practised vpon *Naboth*, or whether surprising him by a-  
ny close treacherie, I doe neither reade nor can conjecture. The dignitie of his  
person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracie, makes it probable,  
that they durst not call him into publique judgement; though the manner of his  
death, being such as was commonly, by order of Law, inflicted vpon malefactours,  
may argue the contrarie. Most likely it is, that the Kings commaundement, by  
which he suffered, tooke place in stead of Law: which exercise of meere power (as  
hath bene already noted) was nothing strange among the Kings of *Iuda*.

## §. V.

How *Ios* was shamefully beaten by the *Ammites*,  
and of his death.

**T**His odious murder, committed by an vnthankfull snake vpon the man  
in whose bosome he had bene fostered, as of it selfe alone it sufficed  
to make the wretched Tyrant hatefull to men of his owne time, and  
his memorie detested in all ages; so had it the well-deserued curse of  
the blessed Martyr, to accompanie it vnto the throne of God, and to  
call for vengeance from thence, which fell downe swiftly, and heavily vpon the  
head of that vngratefull monster. It wasthe last yeare of his raigne; the end of his  
time comming then vpon him, when he thought himselfe beginning to liue how he  
list, without controulement. When that yeare was expired, the *Ammites* came  
into the Countrey, rather as may seeme to get pillage, than to performe any great ac-  
tion

tion; for they came with a small companie of men: but God had intended to doe more  
by them, than they themselues did hope for.

That *Ios* naturally was a coward, his bloudie malice against his best friend, is, in  
my judgement, prooue sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Haze-  
ael*, when hee might haue leauied (as his sonne after him did mutter) three hundred  
thousand cholen men for the warre, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet  
now he would needes be valiant and make his people know, how stout of dispositi-  
on their King was, when he might haue his owne will. But his timorous heart was  
not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of rouer, he tooke a verie  
great Armie, so that wife-men might well perceiue, that he knew what he did, mak-  
ing them as if he would fight for his Countrey, and expose his person to danger of  
warre, when as indeed all was meere ostentation, and no perill to be feared; he going  
forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wife-men thinke,  
and laugh at him in secret, considering what adoe he made about that, which in all  
apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the  
wisdome of this world is foolishnesse, did laugh, not only at this vaine glorious  
King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that  
he drew along with him.

When the *Ammites* and King *Ios* met, whether it were by some folly of the  
leaders, or by some amazement happening among the Souldiers, or by whatsoever  
meanes it pleased God to worke, so it was, that that great Armie of *Iuda* receiued a  
notable ouerthrow, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of *Iuda*, at  
whose perswasion the King had become a rebell to the King of Kings. As for *Ios*  
himselfe (as *Abimelefis* and others expound the storie) hee was sorely beaten and  
hurt by them, being (as they thinke) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out  
of him an excessive ranfome.

And surely all circumstances doe greatly strengthen this conjecture. For the text  
(in the old translation) saith, they exercised vpon *Ios* ignominious judgments; and  
that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues,  
that they had him in their handes, and handled him illaouerely. Now at that time,  
*Ios* the Son of *Iehoiachin* reigned ouer *Israel*, and *Bombadad* the Son of *Hazeael* ouer the  
*Syrians* in *Damascus*; the one a valiant vnder-taking Prince, raised vp by God to re-  
store the State of his miserable Countrey; the other inferior euery way to his father,  
of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference  
in condition found betwene these two Princes, promising no other euent than  
such as after followed, might haue giuen to the King of *Iuda* good cause to bee  
bold, and plucke vp his spirits, which *Hazeael* had beaten downe, if God had not  
bene against him. But his fearfull heart being likely to quake vpon any apprehen-  
sion of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with  
some shew of warre at his doores, it were ealie to make him craue any tolerable  
conditions of peace. The vnexpected good success hereof, already related, and the  
(perhaps as unexpected) ill success, which the *Ammites* found in their following  
warres against the King of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weaknesse of all earthly  
might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his ordinance, both the  
kingdome of *Iuda*, after more than fortie yeares time of gathering strength, was  
vnable to driue out a small companie of enemies; and the Kingdome of *Israel*, ha-  
uing so bene troden downe by *Hazeael*, that onely fiftie horsemen, tenne *Char-  
riots*, and tenne thousand footmen were left, prevailed against his Sonne, and re-  
couered all from the victorious *Ammites*. But examples herof are euerie where  
found, and therefore I will not insit vpon this; though indeed we should not, if we  
be Gods children, thinke it more tedious to heare long and frequent report of our  
Heavenly fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore fathers  
vpon earth.

When the *Ammites* had what they list, and saw that they were not able, be-  
ing

ing to few, to take any possession of the Countrey, they departed out of *Inda* laden with spoyle, which they sent to *Lamasus*, themselves belike falling vpon the ten Tribes, where it is to bee thought that they sped not halfe so wel. The King of *Inda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the Ionnes of an *Ammonite*, and of a *Mabon*, whom some (because onely their Mothers names being strangers, are expressed) thinke to haue bene bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, cast (as Tyrants vse) hee should reuenge his disaster vpon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoeuer else it were that animated them to murder their Kings; the Scripture tells vs plainly, that, for the blood of the children of *Israhel*, this befell him. And the same appears to haue bene 10 vsed as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Ammon*, the sonne and successe of *Israhel*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdome was established: but contrariwise, his bodie was judged vnworthie of buriall in the Sepulchers of the Kings: whereby it appears, that the death of *Zecharia* caused the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his Sonne, vpon the Traytours, with wel-deserued death.

## §. VI.

Of the Princes living in the time of *Ioas*: Of the time when *Carthage* was built; and of *Dido*.

**H**ere liued with *Ioas*, *Mezades* and *Diogenes* in *Athens*: *Enclemus* and *Arifomeles* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Syluius*, and after him *Syluius Alaudius*, were Kings of the *Calidon* in *Italie*. *Verax*, commonly called *Ancyndax*, the thirthe seuenth King succeeding vnto *Ophrantes*, began his reigne ouer the *Assyrians*, about the eighteenth yeare of *Ioas*, which lasted fortie two yeares. In the sixteenth of *Ioas*, *Cephones*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded vnto *Cheops* in the Kingdome of *Egypt*, and held it fiftie yeares.

In this time of *Ioas*, was likewise the Raigne of *Pigmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*; the building of which Citie is, by diuers Authors, placed in diuers ages, some reporting it to be leuentie yeares yonger than *Rome*, others about foure hundred yeares elder, few or none of them giuing any reason of their assertions, but leauing vs vncertaine whom to follow: *Iosephus*, who had read the *Annales of Tyre*, counting one hundred fortie and three yeares and eight Moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth yeare of *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the leuenth of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this account (which is not rare in *Iosephus*) are very perplexed, and serue not well to make cleare the totall summe. But whether it were so that *Iosephus* did omit, or else that he did miswrite, some number of the yeares, which he reckoned in Fractions, as they were diuided among the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hiram* to *Pigmalion*; we may well enough beleuee, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whose Bookes hee giues vs the whole summe, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betweene two workes no longer following one the other, than in the memorie of three or foure generations might easily reach. This hundred fortie and foure yeares current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleuenth yeare of *Ioas*, was a hundred fortie and three yeares before the birth of *Ioas* *Rome* and after the destruction of *Tyre*, two hundred eightie and nine: a time so long after the death of *Aeneas*, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Antonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigramme.

Aulon, Ep. 117.

*Ille ego sum Dido vultu quam conficiis hospes,  
Arimulata modis pulchraq; mirificis.  
Talis eram, sed non Maro quam mihi finxit erat mens,  
Vita nec inceptis leta cupisibus  
(Namq; nec Aeneas vidit me Troian vngquam  
Nec Libyam aduenit, elapsibus illacis.  
Sed iustus fugiens, atq; arma prociacis larbe,  
Seruui, iaceor, morte pudicitiam;  
Pectore transisco, castos quod pertulit enses)  
Non suor, aut lesa crudus amore dolor.  
Sic cecidisse tuat: vixi sine vulnere sama,  
Vita virum, positis membris oppeti.  
Inuidetur in me stimulaſti Musa Maronem,  
Fingeret ut nostraſta damna pudicitia?  
Vos magis historici lectores credite de me  
Quam qui furta Deum concubitusq; canunt.  
Falsidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,  
Humanisq; deos asimulant vitij.*

Which in effect is this,

**I** am that *Dido* which thou here do'it see,  
Cunningly framed in beauteous Imagie.  
Like this I was, but had not such a foule,  
As *Maro* fained, incestuous and foule.  
*Aeneas* neuer with his *Troian* host  
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.  
But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,  
Not mou'd by furious loue or calousie;  
I did with weapon chaste, to save my fame,  
Make way for death vntimely, ere it came.  
This was my end; but first I built a Towne,  
Reueng'd my husbands death, liu'd with renowne.  
Why did'st thou stirre vp *Virgil*, enuious Muse,  
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?  
Readers, beleuee Historians; not those  
Which to the world *Ioanes* thefts and vice expose.  
Poets are liars, and for vertes sake  
Will make the Gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* vnto the first Punicke warre, that *Carthage* grew and flourish'd in wealth and conquests, we find in many histories: but in particular wee find little of the *Carthaginian* affaires before that warre, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts vpon the Isle of *Sicile*. Wee will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mightie Citie, vntill such time as they shall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the meane while the historie that is now in hand.

## § VII.

## §. VII.

The beginning of AMAZIA his reigne. Of IOAS King of Iſrael, and  
ELISHA the Prophet.



AMAZIAS, the sonne of IOASH, being twentie five yeares old when his father died, tooke possession of the Kingdome of Iuda, when in beleaust of so to demane himselfe, as his new beginning might be least offensive. The Law of *Moses* he protested to observe, yet howsoever it had bene secretly despised since the time of *Jeroboam*, by 15 many great persons of the Land, yet had it by provision of good Princes, yea and of bad ones (in their best times) imitable the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conforme himselfe vnto it. And at that present time, the laughter, which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the service of God, being seconced by the death of the King himselfe, even whilst that execrable murder, committed by the King vpon *Zecharia*, was yet fresh in memorie, did serue as a notable example of Gods justice against idolatours, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazias* from following the way, which led 20 to such an euill end. He therefore, having learned of his father the art of dissimulation, did not only forbear to punish the Traytours that had slaine King *IOAS*, but gaue way to the time, and suffered the dead bodie to be interred, as that *Osai* formerly had bene, in the Citie of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchers of the Kings of Iuda. Neuertheless after this, when (belike) the noyse of the people having wearied it selfe into silence, it was found that the Conspiratours (howsoever their deed done was applauded as the handie worke of GOD) had neither any mightie partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken; the King, who perceived his government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the 30 heate of mens affections, being not well allaid, it was easie to distinguish betweene their treasons and Gods judgment, which, by their treasons, had taken plain visible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to liue; which could not but giue contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a iust Prince, rather than of a reuenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life the better secured, by such exemplarie justice, against the like attempts; *Amazias* carried himselfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest about twelue or thirteene yeares.

As *Amazias* gathered strength in Iuda by the commoditie of a long peace, so *IOAS* 40 the *Israelite* grew as fast in power, by following the warre hotly against the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his predecessours had bene, worshipping the Calues of *Jeroboam*. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of *Iehu*, that the tenne Tribes wanted little of being utterly consumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Iehu* and his sonne *Iehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Iehu* sufficed not to withdraw him from this politique idolatrie; so were the miseries, rewarding that impietie, vnable to reclaime *Iehoahaz* from the same impious course: yet the mercie of God beholding the trouble of *Israel*, condescended vnto the prayers of this vngodly Prince, even then when hee and his miserable sub- 50 jects, were oblitaine in following their owne abominable waies. Therefore in temporall matters the ten tribes recouered apace, but the fauour of God, which had bene infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor beleue, that they sought; that they had it not, I finde in the wordes of the Prophet, saying plainly to *Amazias*, the Lord

2 Chron. 25. 7.

is not with *Israel* neither with all the house of *EPHRAIM*.

Where

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who liued in those times, did foretell the prosperitie of the *Israelites* vnder the Raigne of *IOAS*; or whether *Iehoahaz* wearied and broken with long aduersitie, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himselfe in part of the heauie cares attending those vnhappie Syrian warres, by laying the burthen vpon his hopeful sonne; we find that in the thirtie seventh year 10 of *IOAS*, King of Iuda, *IOAS* the sonne of *IEHOAHAZ* began to raigne ouer *Israel* in *Samaria*, which was in the fiftieth of his fathers raigne, and some two or three yeares before his death.

2 Kings 13. 10.

It appeares that this yong Prince, euen from the beginning of his Rule, did so 10 well husband that poore stocke which he receiued from his Father, of tenne Chariots, fiftie horsemen, and ten thousand foot, that he might seeme likely to proue a thriuer. Among other circumstances, the wordes which he spake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no lesse. For *IOAS* visiting the Prophet, who lay sicke, spake vnto him thus, O my father, my father, the Chariot of *Israel*, and the horsemen of the same, by 15 which manner of speech hee did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his Kingdome in more speede, than all the horses and Chariots could doe.

2 Kings 13. 14.

This Prophet who succeeded vnto *Elisha*, about the first yeare of *Ioram* the sonne of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, died (as some haue probably collected) about the third or 20 fourth yeare of this *IOAS*, the Nephew of *Iehu*. To shew how the Spirit of *Elisha* was doubled, or did rest vpon him; it exceedeth my facultie. This is recorded of him, that he did not only raise a dead child vnto life, as *Elisha* had done, but when hee himselfe was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life vnto a carcasse, which touched them in the graue. In fine hee bestowed, as a legacie, three victories vpon King *IOAS*, who thereby did set *Israel* in a faire way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had vsurped; and weakening the Kings of *Damasco* in such sort, that they were neuer after terrible to *Samaria*.

## §. VIII.

Of AMAZIA his warre against EDOM; His Apostasie; and  
ouerthrow by IOAS.



THE happie successe which *IOAS* had found in his warre against the *Aramites*, was such as might kinde in *Amazias* a desire of vndertaking 40 some expedition, wherein himselfe might purchase the like honour. His Kingdom could furnish three hundred thousand seruicable men for the warre; and his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these; and the hire of many more. Cause of warre he had very iust against the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his grandfather *Iehoram*, had about fiftie yeares bene vnreclaimed, partly by means of the troubles happening in Iuda, partly through the sloth and timorousnesse of his father *IOAS*. Yet, forasmuch as the men of Iuda had in many yeares bene without all exercise of warre (excepting that vnhappie fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wisdom to increase his forces, with Souldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence hee hired for an hundred talents of siluer, an hundred thousand valiant 2 Chron. 28. 5. 100. Ant. Ind. men, as the Scripture telleth vs, though *Iosephus* diminish the number, saying that 12. 9. c. 10. they were but twentie thousand.

This great Armie, which with so much cost *Amazias* had hired out of *Israel*, he 50 was faine to dismisse, before he had employed it, being threatened by a Prophet with ill successe, if hee strengthened himselfe with the helpe of those men, whom God (though in mercy he gaue them victorie against the cruell *Aramites*) did not loue, because they were idolatours. The *Israelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismission, as an high disgrace, which to reuenge, they fell vpon 2

a peece of *Iuda* in their returne, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men; and some spoile, which they carried away. But *Amazias* with his owne forces, knowing that God would be assistant to their journey, entered courageously into the *Edomites* Countrey; ouer whome obtaining victorie, he slew tenne thousand, and tooke other tenne thousand prisoners, all which hee threw from an high rocke holding them, it seemes, rather as Traytors, than as iust enemies. This victorie did not seeme to reduce *Edom* vnder the subiection of the crowne of *Iuda*, which might be the cause of that euertie, which was vied to the prisoners; the *Edomites* that had escaped, refusing to buy the liues of their friends and kinsmen at so deare a rate, as the losse of their owne libertie. Some towne in mount *Seir*, *Amazias* tooke, as appears by his carrying away the *Idols* thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another yeare the better haue pursued the conquest of the whole Countrey. How soeuer it were, he got both honor by the iourney, & gaines enough, had he not lost himselfe.

2. Chron. 25. 14.

Among other spoiles of the *Edomites*, were carried away their Gods, which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserue well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise, I know not by what strange witchcraft, so besotted this vnworthe King *Amazias*, that hee *see* them vp to bee his Gods, and worshipped them, and burned incense vnto them.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, hee gaue a churlish and threatening answer; asking the Prophet, who made him a Counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for feare of the world. If either the costly flutes, whereof these *Idols* were made, or the curious workmanhip and beaurie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had ruinated the Kings fancy; me thinks, hee should haue rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as household ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby haue suffered himselfe to be blinded, with such vnreasonable deuotion to wards them. If the superstitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to worke much vpon his imagination; much more should the bad seruice which they had done to their old Clients, haue moued him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it seemes to me, that the same affections caried him from God, vnto the seruice of *Idols*, which afterwards moued him to talke so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. Hee had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such auxiliary forces as he had gathered out of *Israel*, which done it is said that hee was encouraged, and led forth his people, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should haue limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that *Isaiah*, hauing broken the yoke of *Isaiah* from his necke, accordingly as *Isaiah* had foretold, should no more become his seruant. If therefore *Amazias* did hope to reconquer all the Countrey of *Edom*, hee failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might haue well contented him.

2. Chron. 25. 11.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe vnto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to vse their owne industrie, courage, or foresight. Therefore it is commonly seeme that they, who entering into battaile are carefull to pray for aide from Heauen, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giuer of victorie; when the field is wonn, do vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gaue checke to such a battallion; a third, how hee seized on the enemies Canon; euery one striving to magnifie himselfe, whilist all forget God, as one that had not bene present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better successe, than hee did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Authour of his happinesse; so he whose meere wisdom and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly

doubly bound to shew himselfe thankfull, both for the victorie, and for those vertues by which the victorie was gotten. And indeede so farre from weaknesse is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimitie; no vertue being so truly heroicall, as that by which the spirit of a man aduanceth it selfe with confidence of acceptation, vnto the loue of God. In which sense it is a braue speech that *Euander* in *Virgil*, vseth to *Aeneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition,

*Aude hostes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum  
Finge Deo.*

10

With this philosophie *Amazias* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himselfe a better man of warre than any King of *Iuda*, since the time of *Iehosaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should thinke him little inferior to *David*: of which honour hee saw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him loofe a hundred talents, and done him no pleasure, hee having preuailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was distempered with such vaine thoughts at these (besides the witness of his impietie following) *Iosephus* doth testifie; saying, That hee despised God, and that being puffed vp with his good successe, of which neuertheless hee would not acknowledge God to be the Authour, hee commaunded *Isaiah* King of *Israel* to become his subject, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their soveraigne, as they had done his Ancestors King *David* and King *Salomon*. Some thinke that his quarrell to *Isaiah* was rather grounded vpon the iniurie done to him by the *Israelites*, whom he dismissed in the iourney against Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him vp, than the remembrance of an old title, forgotten long since, and by himselfe neglected thirtene or fourteen yeares. Neuertheless it might so be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that so the Kings of *Israel* might, at the least, learne to keepe their subiects from offending *Iuda*, for feare of endangering their owne crownes. Had *Amazias* desired onely recompence for the iniurie done to him, it is not improbable that hee should haue had some reasonable answer from *Isaiah*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Isaiah* returned, likening himselfe to a Cedar, and *Amazias* in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent tearmes, fluted perhaps with such proud comparison of nobilitie, as might be made (according to that which *Iosephus* hath written) betweene a King of Ancient race, and one of lesse nobilitie than vertue.

10. Ant. 19. 6. 10

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Alexander*, that when going to the warre of *Troy*, his Father did bid him to be valiant, and get victorie by Gods assistance, he made answer, that by Gods assistance, a coward could get victorie, but he would get it alone without such helpe: after which proud speech, though hee did manie valiant actes, hee had small thanks, and finally killing himselfe in a madnesse, whereto hee fell vpon disgrace receiued, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazias* did vtter such wordes, I doe not find: but hauing once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such wordes, he was rewarded with successe according. The verie first counsaile wherein this warre was concluded, serues to proue that hee was a wise Prince indeed at *Ierusalem*, among his Parastites; but a foole when hee had to deale with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weakle people, trusting more in the site of their Countrey than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Isaiah*, who from so poore beginnings had raised himselfe to such strength, that he was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained vp, in a long victorious warre. But as *Amazias* discovered much want of judgement, in vndertaking such a match;

*Sophocles in Alexander Com.*

lo in prosecuting the business, when it was set on foote, hee behaued himselfe as a man of little experience, who hauing once onely tried his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in warre there was nothing else to doe, than send a defiance, fight, and winne. *Ios* on the contrarie side, hauing bene accustomed to deale with a stronger enemy than the King of *Iuda*, vied that celeritie, which peraduenture had often stood him in good stead against the *Aramite*. Hee did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in and waited his Countrey, but presented himselfe with an Armie in *Iuda*, ready to bid battaile to *Amazias*, and saue him the labour of a long iourne. This could not but greatly discourage those of *Iuda*; who (besides the impression of feare which an inuasion beates into people, not inured to the like; hauing deuoured, in their greedie hopes, the spoile of *Israel*, fully perswading themselves to get as much, and at as easie a rate, as in the iourne of *Edom*, were so farre disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good lucke, when the olde had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their King that had stomacke enough to challenge the patrimonie of *Sidon*, thought like another *Dani*, to winne it by the sword. The issue of which foolhardinesse might easily be foreseene in humane reason, comparing together, either the two Kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the warre. But meere humane wisdom, howsoever it might foresee much, could not haue prognosticated all the mischief that fell vpon *Amazias*. For as soone as the two Armies came in fight, God, whose helpe this wretched man had despised, did (as *Iosephus* reports it) strike such terror and amazement into the men of *Iuda*, that without one blowe giuen, they fled all away, leauing their King to shift for himselfe, which he did so ill, that his enemy had soone caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abiect basenesse. That the Armie which fled, sustained any other losse than of honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in *Iosephus*; it being likely that the soone beginning of their flight, which made it the more shamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischief that followed this ouerthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazias* himselfe should sustaine the whole disgrace. For *Ios* carried him directly to *Ierusalem*, where he had him procure that the gates might be opened, to let him in and his Armie; threatening him otherwise with present death. So much amazed was the miserable captiue, with these dreadfull wordes, that he durst doe none other, than perswade the Citizens, to yeelde themselves to the mercie of the Conqueror. The Towne, which afterwarde being in weaker state, held out two yeares, against *Nebuchadnezzar*, was vtterly dismayed, when the King, that should haue giuen his life to saue it, vsed all his force of command and intreatie to betray it. So the gates of *Ierusalem* were opened to *Ios*, with which honour (greater than any King of *Israel* had euer obtained) hee could not rest contented, but, the more to despight *Amazias* and his people, hee caused foure hundred cubites of the wall to be throwne downe, and entered the Citie in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him, as in triumph. This done, he sackt the Temple, and the Kings Pallace, and so, taking hostages of *Amazias*, he dismissed the poore creature that was gladd of his life, and returned to *Samarita*.

10f. Am. 9. c. 10

§. IX. 50

## §. IX.

A discourse of the reasons, hindering *Ios* from uniting *Iuda* to the crowne of *Israel*, when he had wonne *Ierusalem*, and held *Amazias* prisoner. The end of *Ios* his raigne.



EE may iustly maruaile how it came to passe, that *Ios*, being thus in possession of *Ierusalem*, hauing the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his owne entire, could bee so contented to depart quietly, with a little spoile, when hee might haue seized vpon the whole Kingdom. The raigne of *Athalia* had giuen him cause to hope, that the issue of *Dauid* might be dispossessed of that crowne, his owne Nobilitie, being the sonne and grand-child of Kings, together with the famous actes that hee had done, were enough to make the people of *Iuda* thinke highly of him; who might also haue preferred his forme of gouernment, before that of their owne Kings, especially at such a time, when a long succession of wicked Princes had smothered the thanks, which were due to the memorie of a few good ones. The commoditie that would haue ensued, vpon the vnion of all the twelue Tribes, vnder one Prince, is so apparent, that I need not to insinuate it. That any message from God forbade the *Israelites* (as afterwarde in the victorie which *Pekah* the sonne of *Romel* got vpon *Amazias*) to turne his present aduantage, to the best vse, wee doe not reade. All this maketh the more difficult to resolve the question, why a Prince so well exercised, as *Ios* had bene, in recouering his owne, and winning from his enemy, should forsake the possession of *Ierusalem*, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the full assurance of so faire a conquest, as the Kingdom of *Iuda*.

But concerning that point, which of all others, had bene most materiall, I meane the desire of the vanquished people to accept the *Israelite* for their King, it is plainely scene, that entring *Ierusalem* in triumphant manner, *Ios* was vnable to concoct his owne prosperitie. For the opening of the gates had bene enough to haue let him not only into the Citie, but into the royall throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by faire intreatie (especially hauing sure meanes of compulsion) hee might haue made his owne, when they saw themselves betrayed, and basely giuen away by him whose they had bene before. The faire mark with this opportunitie presented, he did not aime at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanely buied, in leuelling at the glorie of a triumphant entrie through a breach. Yet this error might afterwards haue bene corrected well enough, if entring as an enemy, and shewing what he could doe, by spending his anger vpon the walles, he had within the Citie done offices of a friend, and laboured to shew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his couetousnesse began, and sought to please it selfe, with that which is commonly most ready to the spoiler, yet should be most forborne. The treasure wherewith *Sefek*, *Uzzabel*, and the *Philistims*, men ignorant of the true God & his religion, had quenched their greedie thirst, ought not to haue tempted the appetite of *Ios*, who though an idolatour, yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at *Ierusalem*. Therefore when the people saw him take his way directly to that holy place, and lay his rauenous hands vpon the consecrated vessels, calling the family of *Obed Edom* (whose children had hereditarie charge of the treasury) to a strict account, as if they had bene Officers of his owne Exchequer, they considered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a Noble Prince, an *Israelite* and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely avoided; by stealing a few apples, hee lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few dayes, might by comparing themselves one to one, perceiue his

1x Chron. 26. §. 9.

Souldiers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of so great a Citie. It is not so easie to hold by force a mightie Towne entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by vnadvised feare. For when the Citizens, not being disarmed, recouer their spirits, and begin to vnderstand their first error; they will thinke vpon euery advantage, of place, of provisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tilletones, and rather chule by desperate resolution, to correct the euils growne out of their former cowardice, than suffer those mischeifes to poyson the bodie, which in such halfe-conquests, are easily talied in the mouth. A more liuely example hereof cannot be desired, than the Citie of Florence, which through the weaknesse of *Peter de Medices*, gouerning therein as a Prince, was reduced into such hard termes, that it opened the gates vnto the French King *Charles* the eight, who not plainly professing himselfe either friend or foe to the Estate, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himselfe and his horse armed, with his lance vpon his thigh. Manie inolenencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred, betweene them and the Towne-men: so farre forth that the *Florentines*, to preserve their libertie, were driuen to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge summes of readie monie, and the absolute Signoric of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But *Peter Caponi*, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secreterie, and tearing them before his face, had him sound his trumpets, and they would ring their bells: which peremptorie wordes made the French bethinke themselves, and come readily to this agreement, that for fortie thousand pounds, and not halfe of that monie to be paid in hand, *Charles* should not onely depart in peace, but restore whatsoeuer he had of their dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seeme for that braue Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of *Naples*, to fight in the streetes, against the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that *Charles* had other businesse (and to perhaps had *Iouis*, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houles, vsually drawes euery Citizen to saue his owne, leauing victorie to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolu'd, women can quench, as fast as the enimie hauing other things to looke vnto, can set on fire. And indeed that Commander is more giuen to anger than regardfull of profit, who vpon the vncertaine hope of destroying a Towne, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. The circutie of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in *Ierusalem*, as we know it was in Florence.

How strongly soeuer *Iouis* might hold himselfe within *Ierusalem*, he could not easily depart, from thence, with his bootie safe, if the Armie of *Inda*, which had bene more terrified than weakened in the late encounter, should reinforce it selfe, and giue him a checke vpon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to take hostages for his better securitie, his Armie being vpon returne, and better laden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more vnapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the Citie and without, seruing to coole the ambition of *Iouis*, and keepe it downe from aspiring to the Crowne of *Inda*; it appeares that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisba* the Prophet: who when this *Iouis* had smitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that he should no oner smite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Israel* had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probability, referred vnto the fifth, sixth and seventh yeares of *Iouis*: after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good successe, ill might the King of *Israel* haue likened himselfe to a stately Cedar, and worse could he haue either lent the *Iudaean* one hundred thousand men, or meete him in battaile, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his owne. Seeing therefore it is made plain by the

the wordes of *Elisba*, that after three victories, *Iouis* should finde some change of fortune, and suffer losse; wee must needs conclude, That the *Aramite* preuailed vpon him this yeare, it being the last of his Raigne. That this was so, and that the *Syrians*, taking aduantage of *Iouis* his absence, gaue such a blow to *Israel*, as the King at his returne was not able to remedie, but rather fell himselfe into new misfortunes, which increased the calamitie, wee may evidently perceiue in that which is spoken of *Ieroboa*m his sonne. For it is said, That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of *Israel*, and that hauing not decreed to put out the name of *Israel* from vnder the heauen, he preserved them by the hand of *Ieroboa*m, the sonne of *Iouis*. This is enough to proue, that the victorious raigne of *Iouis* was concluded with a sad catastrophe; the riches of the Temple hastning his miserie and death, as they had done with *Sesac*, *Abida*, and *Thazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craffus*, and other sacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived against him, by the people of *Ierusalem*, and courage which they tooke to set vpon him within the Walls: or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Countrey, to bid him battaile in open field, and recouer by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought vpon his owne Countrey, by the *Syrian* in his absence, if not by all of these; *Iouis* was driuen to lay aside all thought of winning the Kingdome of *Inda*; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where hee found a sad well-come, and being vtterly forsaken of his wonted prosperitie, forsooke also his life in few moneths after, leauing his Kingdome to *Ieroboa*m the second, his fortunate and valiant Sonne.

## §. X.

## The end of AMAZIA his Raigne and Life.

Any man is able to ghesse how *Amazias* looked, when the enimie had left him. Hee that had vaunted so much of his owne great prowess and skill in armes, threatening to worke wonders, and let vp anew the glorious Empire of *Dauid*, was now vncledd of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had bene painted. Much argument of scolding at him hee had ministred vnto such, as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtlesse, were very many: for the shame that falls vpon an insolent man, seldom failes of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazias* (besides that the multitude are alwaies prone to lay the blame vpon their Gouernours, even of those calamities which happened by their owne default) there was no child in all *Ierusalem*, but knew him to be the roote of all this mischiefe. He had not onely challenged a good man of Warre, being himselfe a Dastard; but when hee was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common Enemie, to haue him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes he might see what spoile there was, and not make a bad bargain by heare-say. The father of this *Amazias*, was a beastly man; yet when the *Aramites* tooke him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his owne life at so deare a rate, as the Citie and Temple of *Ierusalem*. Had he offered; should they haue made his promise good? Surely the hate which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very vnfortunate: for by keeping out the *Israelite* (which was easie enough) any little while, they should haue bene erid of him, seeing that the *Aramites* would haue made him runne home, with greater speede than he came forth. Then also, when hauing troffed vpon his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would haue serued to perfwade him to leaue his loade behinde; had not their good King deliuered vp hostages, to secure his returne, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

2. Chron. 25. 17.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this vnhappie King: it had beene well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his faults vnto God, that had punished him by all this dishonor. But we finde no mention of his amendment. Rather it appeares, that hee continued an Idolator to the very last. For it is said of him, that alter his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treason against him in Ierusalem*; a manifest proofe that he was not reclaimed, vnto his liues end. And certainly, they which tell a man in his aduersitie of his faults passed, shall sooner bee thought to vpbraid him with his fortune, than to seeke his reformation. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that Priests and Prophets were lesse welcome to him, than euer they had beene. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselves might alwaies be Masters, wanted not plausible matter to reuiue him. For hee was not first, nor second, of the Kings of *Iuda*, that had beene ouer-come in battaile. *Dauid* himselfe had abandoned the Citie, leaving it, before the Enemie was in sight, vnto *Abshalem* his rebellious sonne. Many besides him had receiued losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Ias* might so easily haue beene kept out; why did their Ancestors let *Sesac* in? *Asa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands hee emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessity of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes: if so, hee should rather liue to punish them, than die to please them. Though wherein had he giuen them any cause of displeasure? It was hee indeede that commanded to set open the gates to *Ias*; but it was the people that did it. Good seruants ought not to haue obeyed their Masters commandements, to his disadvantage, when they saw him not Master of his owne Person. As his captiuitie did acquite him from blame, of all things that hee did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune it selfe, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his losse. For had hee beene as battie to flie, as others were; hee might haue escaped, as well as others did. But seeking to teach the bafe Multitude courage, by his Royall example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom hee trusted. Vnworthie creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans wordes, being prisoner, he commanded them to yeeld; hauing neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bad them stand to it, and fight like men. The best was that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand liues were saued; the Enemie hauing wisely preferred the surpris of a Lyon that was Captaine, before the chase and slaughter of an Armie of stags, that followed him.

These or the like wordes comforting *Amazias*, were able to perswade him, that it was euen so indeede. And such excuses might haue serued well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But hee that was vnwilling to ascribe vnto God the good successe foretold by a Prophet; could easily finde how to impute this late disaster, vnto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seemes that he meant to keepe himselfe safe from her, by sitting still; for in fiftene yeares following (so long hee out-liued his honor) we finde not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his gouernement, yet we may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred, to his owne ruine. He that suspecteth his owne worth, or other mens opinions, thinking that lesse regard is had of his person, than he beleueeth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authority, in purchasing the name of a seuerer man. For the affected sowerness of a vaine fellow, doth many times resemble the grauitie of one that is wise: and the feare wherein they liue, which are subject vnto oppression, carries a shew of reuerence, to him that does the wrong; at least it serues to dazle the eies of vnderlings, keeping them from prying into the weakness of such as haue iurisdiction ouer them. Thus the time, wherein, by well vsing it, men might attaine to be such as they ought, they doe vniuallly mispend, in seeking to appeare such as they are not. This is a vaine and decci-

deceivable course; procuring, instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequences; especially when an vnstable spirit, being ouerparted with high authority, is too passionate in the execution of such an Office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazias* thought by extreme rigour to hold vp his reputation, what did hee else than strue to make the people thinke he hated them, when of themselves they were apt enough to beleuee, that he did not loue them? The best was that he had, by reuenging his fathers death, provided well enough for his owne securitie: but who should take vengeance, (or vpon whom?) of such a murder, wherein euery one had a part? Surely God himselfe, who had not giuen commandement or leaue vnto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in smething the blood of his anointed. Yet as *Amazias*, carelesse of God, was carried headlong by his owne affections; so his subjects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged vnto their duties, rose vp against him, with such headlong furie, that being vnabie to defend himselfe in *Ierusalem*, he was driuen to forsake the Citie, and flie to *Lachis*, for safegard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceiued against him, and so general, that neither his absence could alliaie the rage of it in the Capitall Citie, nor his presence in the Countie abroad procure friends, to defend his life. Questionlesse, he chose the Towne of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found hee there none other fauour, than that the people did not kill him with their owne hands: for when the Conspiratours (who troubled not themselves about raising an armie for the matter) sent pursuers after him, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the vmoit Citie of his Lominion Westward, standing somewhat without the border of *Iuda*; so that hee might haue made an easie escape (if hee durst aduenture) into the Territorie of the *Philistims*, or the Kingdome of *Israel*. Therefore it may seeme that he was detained there, where certaine it is that he found no kind of fauour: for had not the people of this Towne, added their owne treason to the general insurrection; the murderers could not at so good leisure as they did, haue carried away his bodie to *Ierusalem*, where they gaue him buriall with his fathers.

## §. XI.

Of the Interregnum, or vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of *Iuda*, after the death of *Amazias*.

It hath already beene shewed, that the raignes of the Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel* were sometimes to be measured by compleat yeares; otherwhiles, by yeares current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last yeares of his fathers Raigne, or the foremost of his Sonnes. But we are now arrived at a meere vacation, wherein the Crowne of *Iuda* laie void eleuen whole yeares: a thing not plainly set downe in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *Iosephus*, and therefore hard to be beleued, were it not proued by necessarie consequence.

Twice we finde it written, that *Amazias*, King of *Iuda*, liued after the death of *Iosias*, King of *Israel* fifteen yeares; whereupon it follows, that the death of *Amazias*, was about the end of fiftene yeares compleate, which *Ieroboam* the second (who in the fiftenth yeare of *Amazias* made King ouer *Israel*) had raigned in *Samarita*. But the succession of *Uzzias*, who is also called *Azarias*, vnto his father in the Kingdome of *Iuda*, was eleuen yeares later than the sixteenth of *Ieroboam*: for it is exprest, that *Azarias* began to Raigne in the tenth and twentieth yeare of *Ieroboam*; the sixteenth yeare of his life, being ioyned with the first of two and thirtie that hee Raigned. So the Interregnum of eleuen yeares cannot be diuided, without some hard meanes vsed, of interpreting the text otherwise than the letter soundes.

Yet

Yet some coniectures there are made, which tend to keepe all euen, without acknowledging any voided time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the seuen and twentieth year of *Ieroboam*, we should perhaps vnderstand the seuen and twentieth year of his life; or else (because the like wordes are no where else interpreted in the like sence) that *Azaria* was cleauen yeares vnder age, that is five yeares old, when his father died; and so his sixteenth year might concur with the seuen and twentieth of *Ieroboam*; or that the text it selfe may haue suffered some wrong, by miswriting twentie seuen for fouteene yeares, and so, by making the sixteenth year of *Ieroboam* to be newly begun, all may be salued. These are the coniectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which, it may suffice, that the author himselfe doth easily let it passe, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that vpon euerie doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that *Azaria* began his reigne being five yeares old; but then must we adde those eleauen yeares, which passed in his minority, to the two and fiftie that followed his sixteenth year, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an *interregnum*.

But why should we be so carefull to auoide an *interregnum* in *Iuda*, seeing that the like necessitie hath enforced all good writers, to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeares, in the Kingdome of *Israel*? The space of time betweene *Ieroboams* death, and the beginning of *Zacharias* Reigne, and such another gap found betweene the death of *Pekia*, and the beginning of *Hosea*, haue made it easily to be admitted in *Samarita*, which the consideration of things as they stood in *Iuda*, when *Amazias* was slaine, doth make more probable to haue happened there, yea although the necessitie of computation were not so apparant.

For the publique furie, hauing so farre extended it selfe, as vnto the destruction of the Kings owne person, was not like to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redresse of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extremitie. We need not therefore wonder how it came to passe, that they which already had throwne themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the crowne from a Prince of that age, which being invested in all ornaments of regalitie, is neuertheless exposed to many iniuries, proceeding from headstrong and forgetfull subiects.

As for their coniecture, who make *Azaria* to haue bene King but one and fortie yeares, after he came out of his nonage; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too hardly with the text. The best opinion were that, which giues vnto *Ieroboam* eleauen yeares of reigne with his father, before hee beganne to raigne single in the fifteenth of *Amazias*; did it not swallow vp almost the whole reigne of *Iosias*, and extending the yeares of those which reigned in *Israel* (by making such of them compleat, as were only current) and take at the shortest the Reignes of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: euery man may follow his owne opinion, and see mine more plainly in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for these purposes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporarie with *AMAZIA*, and more particularly of *SARDANAPALVS*.

**T**He Princes liuing with *Amazias*, and in the eleuen yeares that followed his death, were *Iosias* and *Ieroboam* in *Israel*; *Cepheus* and *Astynermus* in *Egypt*; *Sylusius Atladius*; and *Sylusius Auentinus* in *Albia*; *Agememon* in *Corinth*; *Diogenes Phereus*; and *Aripbron* in *Athenis*; in *Iudea* *Simon Thelecius*, in whose time the *Spartans* wan from the *Acadians*, *Geranthia*, *Amycia*, and some other townes.

But

But more notable than all these, was *Assyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazias* succeeding his father *Oeraspes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned twentie yeares, and was slaine the last of the eleuen void yeares which forewent the Reigne of *Azaria*. In him ended (as most agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thousand two hundred and fortie yeares. A most luxurious and effeminate Palliard hee was, passing away his time among trumpets, whom hee imitated both in apparell and behauiour.

In these voluptuous courses hee liued an vnhappie life, knowing himselfe to bee so vile, that he durst not let any man haue a sight of him; yet sene hee was at length, and the sight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who gouerned *Media* vnder him, finding means to behold the person of his King, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, and struing to counterfeite an harlot, that hee thought it great shame to liue vnder the command of so vnworthy a creature. Purposing therefore to free himselfe and others from so balefull subiection, hee was much encouraged by the prediction of *Beleus* or *Belusius a Chaldean*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleased with this prophesie, did promise vnto *Beleus* himselfe the gouernment of *Babylon*; and so concluding how to handle the busines, one of them stirred vp the *Medes*, and alured the *Perians* into the quarrell, the other perswaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themselves in the same cause. These foure Nations armed fortie thousand men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himselfe, but gathering such forces as hee could, out of other Nations, encountered the rebels, as one that would by deedes refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, answer to the manner of his reticdnesse. For in three battailes hee carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearful termes, that had not *Beleus* promised them constantly some vnexpected succours, they would forthwith haue broken vp their Campe. About the same time, an Armie out of *Bactria* was coming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountering it vpon the way, perswaded it strongly by promise of libertie, that those forces ioynd themselves with his. The sodaine departure of the enimie seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feast his Armie, triumphing before victorie. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came vpon him by night, and forced his Campe, which through ouer great securitie, was vnprepared for resistance.

This ouerthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leauing his wiues brother *Salmenus* to keepe the field, he withdrew himselfe into the Citie of *Ninus*, which, till new aides that he sent for should come, hee thought easily to defend; it hauing bene prophesied, that *Ninus* should neuer be taken, till the Riuer were enimie to the towne. Of the greatnesse and strenght of *Ninus*, enough hath bene spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so well victualled, that *Arbaces* (hauing in two battailes ouerthrowne the Kings Armie, and slaine *Salmenus*) was faine to lie two whole yeares before it, in hope to winne it by famine; whereof yet hee saw no appearance. It seemed that hee wanted Engines and skill to force those walles, which were a hundred foot high, and thicke enough for three Chariots in front to passe vpon the rampire. But that which hee could not doe in two yeares, the Riuer of *Tigris* did in the third: for being high swolne with raines, it not only drowned a part of the Citie through which it ranne, but threw downe twentie furlongs of the wall, and made a faire breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

*Sardanapalus*, either terrified with the accomplishment of the olde Oracle, or seeing no means of resistance left, shutting vp himselfe into his Pallace, with his wiues, Eunuches and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, where with hee and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speaks of a monument of his, that was in *Strabologia*; *Anchale* a Citie of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that hee built that Citie and *Tharsus* vpon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men care and

and drinke, and make merrie, encouraging other, with verses well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example, to witte that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any vertue becoming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that *Arbece*, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that sodainly hee slew him with a dagger. But the more generall consent of writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a Greeke writer, that lived in the Court of *Persia*, where the truth might best be knowne.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Assyria*, from the time of *Senniramus*, vnto *Sardanapalus*, though I beleene that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Ctesias* hath it, incessantly) buied, in offensive or else defensive armes: yet for the most part of them I doe better trust *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith that their names were overpassed by *Ctesius*; because they did nothing wortheie of memorie. Whatsoever they did; that which *Theophrastus Antichienus* hath said of them is verie true; *Silence and oblivion hath oppressed them*.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

## Of VZZIA.

## § I.

The prosperitie of VZZIA, and of IEROBOAM the second, who reigned with him in Israel. Of the Anarchie that was in the tenne Tribes after the death of IEROBOAM. Of ZACHARIA, SAL-

LVM, MENAHEM and PEKACHIA.



VZZIA, who is also called *Azaria* the sonne of *Iotham*, was made King of *Juda*, when he was sixteen years old, in the seuen and twentieth yere of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Iois* King of *Israel*. Hee serued the God of his father *Dauid*, and had therefore good successe in all his enterprises. Hee built *Elath*, a Towne that stood neare to the Red Sea, and restored it to *Juda*. Hee overcame the *Philistims*, of whose Townes hee dismantled some, and built others in sundrie partes of their Territories. Also hee got the matrike ouer some partes of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites*

to pay him tribute. Such were the fruites of his prosperous warres, wherein (as *Iosephus* rehearseth his acts) hee beganne with the *Philistims*, and then proceeded vnto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Armie consisted of three hundred and seuen thousand men of warre, ouer which were appointed two thousand six hundred Captaines. For all this multitude the King prepared shields, and speeres, and helmes, and other Armes requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite vnto that which some of his late predecessors had held, who thought it better policie to vse the seruice of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre the Princes and all the Chariots.

As the victories of *Vzzia* were farre more important, than the atchieuements of

of all that had reigned in *Juda*, since the time of *Dauid*; so were his riches and magnificent workes, equall, if not superior to any of theirs that had been Kings betweene him and *Solomon*. For besides that great conquests are wont to repay the charges of warre with triple interest, hee had the skill to vse, as well as the happinesse to get. Hee turned his lands to the best vse, keeping Ploughmen and Dresseers of Vines, in grounds conuenient to such husbandrie. In other places hee had cattell feeding, whereof he might well keepe great store, hauing wonne so much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waste ground fruing for pasture. For defence of his cattell and Heardsmen, hee built Townes in the wilderness. He also digged many cisternes or ponds. *Iosephus* calls them water-courses; but in such drie grounds, it was enough that hee found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Townes hee so commanded the water, that none could without his consent, releue themselves therewith; questionlesse hee tooke the onely course, by which hee might securely hold the Lordship ouer all the wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme droughth, when the few springs therein found, are left free to the vse of trauiilers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Elath* by the Red Sea, and of sundrie Townes among the *Philistims*; hee repaired the wall of *Ierusalem*, which *Iozab* had broken downe, and fortified it with Towers, whereof some were an hundred and fiftie Cubites high.

The State of *Israel* did neuer so flourish, as at this time, since the diuision of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdomes. For as *Vzzia* prevailed in the South, so (if not more) *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Iois*, King of the tenne Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories, against the *Syrrians*, hee wanne the Royall Citie of *Damascus*, and hee wanne *Hamath*, with all the Countrie thereabout from the entring of *Hamath*, vnto the Sea of the Wilderness, that is (as the most expound it) vnto the vast deserts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was vndiscovered. So the bounds of *Israel* in those parts, were in the time of this *Ieroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had bene in the raigne of *Dauid*.

But it was not for the pietie of *Ieroboam*, that hee thrived so well; for hee was an Idolater: it was only the compassion which the Lord had on *Israel*, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which caused him to alter the successe of warre, and to throw the victorious *Aramites*, vnder the feet of those, whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Iehu*, to which God had promised the Kingdome of *Israel* vnto the fourth generation, was now not farre from the end; and now againe it was invited vnto repentance, by new benefites, as it had bene at the beginning. But the sinne of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Zebai*, was held so precious, that neither the Kingdome it selfe giuen to him by God, was able to draw *Iehu* from that politike idolatrie; nor the miserie falling vpon him and his posteritie, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperitie, of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Iois*, to make him render the honour that was due, to the onely giuer of victorie. Wherefore the promise of God, made vnto *Iehu*, that his sonnes, vnto the fourth generation, should sit on the throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gaue warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that wee, who find no particulars recorded, can hardly gesse at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Iois*, after a victorious raigne of one and fortie yeres, had ended his life, it seemes in all reason that *Zacharia* his Son, should forthwith haue bene admitted, to reigne in his stead; the Nobilitie of that race hauing gotten such a lustre, by the immediate succession of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the crowne passed by election, must needs haue appeared base; and the vertue of the last King, hauing bene so great, as might well serue to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the alreadie confirmed right of a familie so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twentie

yeares did passe before *Zacharia* the Sonne of *Ieroboam* was, by vnitorne consent, receiued as King. The true originall causes hereof were to be found at *Dauid* and *Beihel*, where the golden Calues did stand: yet second instruments of this disturbance, are likely not to haue beene wanting, vpon which, the wisdome of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is that the Captaines of the Armie (who afterwards slew one another, so fast, that in fourteene yeares there reigned fise Kinges) did now by headstrong violence, rent the Kingdome asunder, holding each what he could, and either despising or hating some qualities in *Zacharia*; vntill, after many yeares, wearied with dissention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yield all quietly to the sonne of *Ieroboam*. That this *Anarchie* lasted almost three and twentie yeares, we find by the difference of time, betweene the fifteenth yeare of *Vzzia*, which was the last of *Ieroboam* his one and fortieth (his leuen and twentieth concurring with the first of *Vzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the same *Vzzia* in the last fixe moneths whereof, *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are foueindeed that by supposing *Ieroboam* to haue reigned with his father cleauen yeares, doe cut off the *interregnum* in *Iuda* (before mentioned) and by the same reason, alledge this *Anarchie*, that was before the reigne of *Zacharia* in *Israel*. Yet they leaue twelve yeares long: which is time sufficient to proue that the Kingdome of the ten Tribes, was no lesse distempred, than as is already noted. But I choote rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the world, than this doubtfull coniecture, that giues to *Ieroboam* two and fittie yeares, by adding three quarters of his fathers reigne vnto his owne, which was it selfe indeed so long, that hee may well seeme to haue begun it very yong: for I doe not thinke, that God blessed this Idolater, both with a longer reigne, and with a longer life, than he did his seruant *Dauid*.

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the throne of *Israel* was voide, before the reigne of *Zacharia*, little may suffice to be said of his Reigne it selfe, which lasted but a little while. Sixe moneths onely was he King; in which time he declared himselfe a worshipper of the golden Calues; which was enough to iustifie the iudgement of God, whereby hee was slaine. He was the last of *Iehu*'s house, being (inclusiuely) the first of that line; which may haue bene some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession: the prophetic hauing determined that race in the fourth generation. But (besides that Gods promise was extended vnto the vtmost) there was no warrant giuen to *Sallum* or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had bene giuen to *Iehu*, for the slaughter of *Ieroboam*, and for the eradication of *Ahabs* house.

*Zacharia* hauing bene fixe moneths a King, was then slaine by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, the space of a moneth in *Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I doe not finde; saue onely that he was a Traitor, and the sonne of one *Iehoshaphat*, whereby his father got no honour. It seemes that hee was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himselfe; and now, when all other Competitors were sitten downe, thought easily to preuaile against that King, in whose person the race of *Iehu* was to faile. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong partie: for *Tijshab* or *Thapsa*, and the coast thereof euen from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem*, his enemy and supplanter, then lay, refused to admit, as King in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* receiued the reward of his treason, and was slaine by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

*Menahem* the sonne of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* tenne yeares. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane, For he not onely destroyed *Tijshab*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ript vp all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty bene vied in reuenge of *Zacharia*'s death, it is like that he would haue bene as earnest, in procuring vnto him his fathers crowne when it was first due. But in performing that

office, there was vied such long deliberation, that we may plainly discouer Ambition, Disdaine, and other priuate passions, to haue bene the causes of this beaulty outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it seemes) in the beginning of his reigne; *Pul*, King of *Assyria*, came against the Land of *Israel*; whom this new King appealed, with a thousand talents of siluer, leaued vpon all the substantiall men in his Countie. With this monie the *Israhelites* purchased, not only the peace of his Kingdome, but his owne establishment therein: some factious man (belike) hauing either inuited *Pul* thither, or (if he came vncalled) fought to vie his helpe, in deposing this ill beloued King. *Iosephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his reigne was no milder than his entrance. But after ten yeares, his tyrannie ended with his life: and *Pekahias*, his Sonne, occupied his roome.

Of this *Pekahias* the storie is short: for hee reigned only two yeares; at the end whereof, he was slaine by *Pekah*, the Sonne of *Remah*, whose treason was rewarded with the crowne of *Israel*, as, in time coming, another mans treason against himselfe shall be. There needes no more, to be said of *Menahem*, and his Sonne, saue that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the Sonne (as we finde in *Iosephus*) like to his Father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Assyrian* King, who first opened vnto those Northerne Nations the way into *Palestina*; it will shortly follow in order of the storie, to deliuer our opinion: whether he were that *Belshazzar* (called also *Belsazar*, and by some, *Belus Belochus*) who ioyned with *Arbaces* the *Median*, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of *Vzzia*'s life, who out-lived the happinesse wherein we left him.

## P. II.

The end of *VZZIA* his reigne and life.



S the zeale of *Iehoiada*, that godly Priest, was the meane, to prefrue the lineage of *Dauid*, in the person of *Ioua*; so it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Vzzia*, to bring him vp, and aduance him to the crowne of *Iuda*, when the hatred borne to his Father *Azarias*, had endangered his succession. For it is said of *Vzzia*, That he sought God in the daies of *Zacharia* (which vnderstand the visions of God) and when he was young, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the Lord his God: and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incense, upon the Altar of incense. T thus he thought to enlarge his owne authority, by meddling in the Priests office, whose power had in euery extremitie bene so helpfull to the Kings of *Iuda*, that meere gratitude, and ciuill policie, should haue heid back *Vzzia* from inroaching thereupon; yea, though the law of God had bene silent in this case, and not forbidden it. Howsoeuer the King forgot his dutie, the Priests remembered theirs; and God forgate not to assist them. *Azarias* the high Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gaue him to vnderstand, how little to his honor it would proue, that he tooke vpon him the office of the Sonnes of *Aaron*. There were with *Azarias* fourescore other Priests, valiant men, but their valour was shewed, onely in assisting the high Priest, when (according to his dutie) hee reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, the rest God himselfe performed. We finde in *Iosephus*, that the King had appalled himselfe in Priestly habit, and that hee sought *Azarias* and his Companions, to punish them with death, vnlesse they would be quiet. *Iosephus*, indeede, enlargeth the storie, by inserting a great earthquake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled foure furlongs till it rested against another Hill, stopping vp the high waies, and spoiling the Kings Garden in the passage. With this earthquake, hee faith, that the roote of the Temple did cleaue,

cleave, and that a Sunne beame did light vpon the Kings face, which was presently infected with leprosie. All this may haue beene true; and some there are who thinke that this earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*, wherein they doe much misse- reckon the times. For the earth-quake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the daies of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*, who died seuen and thirtie yeares before *Vzzias*, so that *Iotham* the Sonne of *Vzzias*, which supplied his Fathers place in gouernement of the Land, should, by this account, haue beene then vnborne: for he was but liue and twentie yeares old, when hee beganne to raigne as King. Therefore, thus farre only we haue assurance; that while *Vzzias* was *trist with the Priests*, *he leprosie rose vpon him*, before the Priests. Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to liue in a house by himselfe, vntill he died; the ruler ouer the Kings house, and ouer all the Land, being committed to *Iotham*, his Sonne, and Successor. *Iotham* tooke not vpon himselfe the stile of King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred, yet in a Monument a part from the rest, because he was a Leaper.

s. Chron. 26. 10.

## §. III.

Of the Prophets which liued in the time of *Vzzias*; and of Princes then ruling in *Aegypt*, and in some other Countreies.

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**I**N the time of *Vzzias* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hosea*, *Ied*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, and *Ionas*. It is not indeede set downe, when *Ied*, or *Obadiah*, did prophesie: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to be ranged (according to *S. Hieromes* rule) with the next before them; then must these two bee judged contemporarie with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who liued vnder King *Vzzias*. To enquire which of these fue was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* liued, hath so painfully bene sought, without reprehension; how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquitie of these holie Prophets? It seemes to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet *Ionas*; who foretold the great victories of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; and therefore is like to haue prophesied in the daies of *Ionas*, whilst the affliction of *Israel* was exceeding bitter; the Text it selfe intimating no lesse: by which consequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose workes are now extant. But his prophecies, that concerned the Kingdome of *Israel*, are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seemes, not without reason, vnto some very learned, to haue belonged vnto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose daies *Ninine* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the rest are found expresse promises of the Messiah.

s. Chron. 2. 14. vsq. 26.

Aug. de Ciu. Dei. lib. 6. 29.

Hier. in prof. per Ezechiam.

In the raigne of *Vzzias* likewise it was, that *Esaï*, the first of the foure great Prophets, beganne to see his visions. This difference of greater and lesser Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they haue left written (as *S. Augustin* giues reason of the distinction) because the greater haue written larger Bookes. The Prophet *Esaï* was great indeede, not only in regard of his much writing; or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who thinke him to haue beene the sonne of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he liued; but for the excellencie, both of his stile, and argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole historie of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentils, that he might so well be called an Euangelist, as a Prophet; hauing written in such wise, that (as *Hierome* saith) one would thinke he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an Historie of matters already past.

*Bocchoris* was King of *Aegypt*, and the ninth yeare of his raigne, by our computa-

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tion (whereof in due place we will giue reason) was current, when *Vzzias* tooke possession of the Kingdome of *Iuda*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Ashchis* followed in the Kingdome of *Aegypt*, vnto him succeeded *Anylis*; and these two occupied that crowne lixe yeares. Then *Sabac*, an *Ethiopian*, became King of *Aegypt*, and held it fiftie yeares, whereof the ten first ranne along with the last of *Vzzias* his raigne and life. Of these and other *Aegyptian* Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affaires shall come to be intermeddled with the businesse of *Iuda*.

In *Achens*, the two last yeares of *Ariphron* his twentie, the senen and twentieth of *Thespis*, the twentieth of *Agamnestor*, and three the first of *Aeschylus* his three and twentie, made euen with the two and fiftie of *Vzzias*: as likewise did in *Alia* the last seuen of *Siluius Auentinus* his seuen and thirtie, together with the three and twentie of *Siluius Probus*, and two and twentie the first of *Siluius Anulius*. In *Media* *Arbaces* beganne his new Kingdome, in the first of *Vzzias*, wherein, after eight and twentie yeares, his Sonne *Sosarmus* succeeded him, and raigned thirtie yeares. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diuision of the *Assyrian* Empire, between him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it conuenient to vñ more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great vncertaintie in the storie of the *Assyrian* Kings, who haue already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

## §. IIII.

Of the *Assyrian* Kings, descending from *Phul*: and whether *Phul* and *Belosys* were one person; or heads of sundrie Families, that raigned a-part in *Ninine* and *Babylon*.

**B**Y that which hath formerly bene shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparent that the chiefe therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not only submit themselves in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authoritic sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited liues. The first example of this his power, was shewen vpon *Belosus* the *Babylonian*, by whose especial aduise and helpe, *Arbaces* himselfe was become so great. Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannical manner, as might giue offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generalitie of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belosus*, he vñed the counsaile of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne Grace; allowing him to hold, not only the Citie and Prouince of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embezzeling whereof his life had bene endangered.

In like manner, he giue rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Prouinces; retaining (as it appears) only the Soueraigntie to himselfe, which to vse immoderately he did naturally abhorre. He is said, indeede, to haue excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding vnto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, hee destroyed the Citie of *Ninine*; permitting the Citizens neuertheless to take and carrie away euerie one his owne goods. The other Nations that ioyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his side, by the allurements of libertie; which he himselfe so greatly loued, that by slackning too much the reins of his owne Soueraigntie, hee did more harme to the generall estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enioyed, could recompence. For both the Territorie of that Countreie was pared narrower by *Selmansar* (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom wee finde, in the Scriptures, to haue held some Townes of the

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2 Medes;

*Meues*; and the civill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deuces*, the filth of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that government, by reducing them into stricter termes of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such, as might in foure score yeares, if not sooner, both extend it selfe vnto the conquest of *Israel*, and teare away some part of *Meues*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of *Nimue*, and subuersion of the *Assyrian* Kingdome, whereof the *Assyrians*, vnder *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may seeme at that time to haue kept the *Assyrians* vnder their subiection, when the rest of the Prouinces were set at libertie; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nimue*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their historie is made vncertaine.

I will first therefore deliuer the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it; I will compare together the determination of that wortheie man *Ioseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the iudgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or haue followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set downe a part the severall authorities and arguments of sundrie men, adding somewhat of weight or clearness one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without feare to be taxed of partialitie, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of mine owne, but merely led by those reasons, which vpon examination of each part, seemed to me most forcible, though to others they may perhaps appeare weak.

That which, vntill of late, hath passed as current, is this; That *Belofus* was the same King who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an Armie; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annins* his Authors with such as follow them, *Phul Delochus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skillfull Astrologer, subtilie, and ambitious; that hee got *Babylon* by compulsion made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally, that he reigned eight and fortie yeares, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglat phalasar* his Sonne, in whose Posteritie it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annins* his *Metasthenes* were sufficient proofe, could not be gainesaid: for that Author (such as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howsoever *Annins* his Authors deferre to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maintaine this Tradition, iustifie it by diuers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant vnto no Historie at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Isaaias* (which is indeede the foundation whereupon all haue built) that *Arbaces* and *Belofus* were Partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Babylons*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewise other Captaines were with governments: but that any third Person was so eminent, as to haue *Assyria* it selfe, the chiefe Countrey of the Empire, bestowed vpon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any Historie. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Assyrians* should be committed vnto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meete to trust them in their owne walls and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Nimue* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policie, because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept downe, from aspiring to recover the Soueraignetie, which else they would haue thought to belong, as of right, vnto the Seate of the Empire.

Vpon such considerations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage*, and dissolve the Corporation, or Bodie politike, of the Citizens of *Cyprus*; because those two Townes were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed dangerous

dangerous euen to some it selfe, that was Mistris of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or foure yeares had erected their Kingdome anew, vnder one *Pul*? or what must this *Pul* haue bene (Of whose descending, or entangling, or indeede of whose very name, we finde no mention in the Warre against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall part of the Empire fell, either by generall consent in diuision of the Prouinces, or by his owne power and purchase very soone after? Surely he was none other than *Belofus*; who neare Neighbourhood gaue him opportunitie (as he was wise enough to play his owne game) both to get *Assyria* to himselfe, and to empeach any other man, that should haue attempted to ere vpon it. The Prouince of *Babylon*, which *Belofus* held, being (as *Herodotus* Headline reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a businesse: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and silver that had bene in the Palace of *Nimue*. And questionlesse to restore such a Citie as *Nimue*, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as *Belofus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Belofus*, is likely to haue wanted.

Besides all this, had *Pul* bene a distinct person from *Belofus*, and Lord of *Assyria*, which lay beyond the Countreies of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not haue bene an ealie matter for him, to passe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Armie, seeking bootie a farre off in *Israel*: the only action by which the name of *Phul* is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers haue called *Belofus*, *Beleses*, and *Belefish*, (in like manner as *Iosephus* acknowledgeth, that hee, whom the Scriptures called neuer otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the Sonne of *Astages*, and called of the *Greekes* by another name, that is, *Cyrus*) then is this scruple vtterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border vpon *Syria* and *Palestina*: so that *Belofus*, hauing led his affaires in *Assyria* towards the East and North, might with good leisure encroach vpon the Countreies that lay on the other side of his Kingdome, to the South and West. He that looks into all particulars, may finde euery one circumstance concurring, to proue that *Phul* who invaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belofus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was ouerthrowne, did enter into that action, merely for the loue of *Belofus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of maine importance, to those that were to passe our *Euphrates* with an Armie into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belofus*, that held good correspondence with them; and whose most fruitfull Prouince, adjoining to their barraine quarters, might yearly doe them inestimable pleasures; was not only like to haue quiet passage through their borders, but their utmost assistance; yea, it stands with good reason that they, who loved not *Israel*, should for their owne behoofe haue giuen him intelligence, of the destruction and ciuill broiles among the ten Tribes; whereby, as this *Pul* got a thousand talents, so it seemes that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heauie Neighbour of *Ieroboam*, recovered their owne, setting vp a new King in *Damisco*, and clearing the coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wilderness to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations diuided by *Euphrates* hold together in so good termes of friendship: it was ancient consanguinitie, the memorie whereof was available to the *Syrians*, in the time of *Dauid*, when the *Aramites* beyond the River came out willingly, to the succour of *Helezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belofus* had good reason to looke in to those parts; what a King reigning so farre off as *Nimue*, should haue to doe in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palestina*, it may be doubted, least it should seeme to haue ill coherence with that which hath bene said of the long Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes.

For if the Crowne of *Iſrael* were worne by no man in three and twentie yeares, then is it likely that *Belſhus* was either unwilling to ſurre, or vnable to take the advantage when it was faire, and ſhould diſcoured. This might haue compelled thoſe, who alone were not ſtrong enough, to ſeeke after helpe from ſome Prince that lay further off; and for the opinion of thoſe that diſtinguiſh *Phul* from *Belſhus*, would be ſomewhat confirmed. On the other ſide, if we lay, that *Belſhus* did paſſe the River of *Euphrates*, as ſoone as hee found likelihood of making a proſperous journey, then may it ſeeme that the *inter-regnum* in *Iſrael* was not ſo long as we haue made it; for three and twentie yeares leiſure would haue afforded better opportunities, which ouer not to haue bene loſt.

For if we hereunto, we are to consider; what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Lisaces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an error of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldeans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Assyres*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* doe concur, that the authoritie of *Arbaces* did retainne the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull only of it selfe. Now, though some have conjectured that all *Assyria* was given to *Belusius* (as an overplus, belides the Province of *Babylon*, which was his by plain bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deservings, yet the opinion more commonly received is, that hee did only encroach vpon that Province by little and little, whilst *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly got it all himselfe. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelue yeares betweene the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Nabuchodonosors* raigne; manifest it is, that the conquest of *Assyria*, and setting of that Countrey, was worke enough to hold *Belusius* occupied, belides the retournation of *Ninive*, which alone was able to take vpon all the time remaining of his raigne, if perhaps hee lusted to see it finished in his owne daies. So that this argument may rather serve to prove that *Phul* and *Belusius* were one person; forasmuch as the journey of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made vntill *Belusius* could finde leisure; and the time of advantage which *Belusius* did let slip, argued his businesse in some other quarter, namely in that Province of which *Phul* is called King. Briefly, it may be said, that he who conquered *Assyria*, and performed somewhat vpon a Countrey so farre distant as *Assyria*, was likeli to have bene, at least, named in some historie, or, if not himselfe, yet his Countrey to have bene spoken of for those victories: but we neither heare of *Phul*, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or Acts whatsoever of the *Assyrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belusius*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, wee finde good record.

Surely, that great slaughter of so many thousand *Affrians*, in the quarrell of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and vntunefull warre, which ouerwhelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine and vtter desolation of *Nimue*, must needs have so weakened the state of *Affrya*, that it could not in thirtie yeares space be able to innade *Palastina*, which the ancient King *Sennacherib*, reigning in *Nimue*, had, in all their greatnesse, forborne to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did helpe to enable *Belsus* to subdue it; who hauing once extended his dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interposition of that Countrey, secure of the *Scythians*, and other warlike Nations on that side, might very well turne Southward, and trie his fortune in those Kingdomes, whereinto ciuile dissention of the inhabitants, and the bordering enuie of the *Arabians* and *Armenians* about *Danabes*, friends and coulins to the *Chaldeans* and *Mesopotamians*, did inuite him. For these, and the other before alledged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of *Pal* in the Scriptures, ought to be vnderstood of *Belsus*; euen as by the names of *Achab*

ne, *Arctas*, the *Cyclops*, *Arctophila*, and *Arctophila*, with the like, are thought, or known, to be meant the same, whom prophane Historians, by names better known in their owne Countries, haue called *Nepolydes*, *Cyclopes*, and *Arctas*: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath bene written of old, nor neede to trouble our felues and others with framing new coniectures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly receiued.

Now this being once graunted, other things, of more importance, will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Phul* were *Israels*, or some other man: the whole race of these *African* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found those famous Princes, *Nabonassar*, *Marodoncampadius*, and *Nabodonassar* (famous for the Astronomical obseruations recorded during their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Belsus* or *Beldis* were that *Phul* which invaded *Israels*; if he and his posterity reigned both in *Astine* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Asar*, from whence *Salmanassar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Asorhaddon* descended; then is it manifest, that we must take *Nabonassar*, the *Babylonian* King, among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other then *Salmanassar*, who is knowne to haue reigned in those yeares, which *Protonius* the Mathematician hath assigned vnto *Nabonassar*. As for *Menech*, who (supplanted *Asorhaddon*, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all this difputation.

But they that maintaine the contrarie part, will not be satisfied with such conie-  
 dures. They lay hold vpon the conclusion, and by shaking that into peeces, hope  
 to ouerthrow all the premisses, vpon which it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabon-  
 asar*, that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those other *Assyrian*  
 Kings, then it is manifest, that the races were distinct, and that *Phul* and *Belusur* were  
 several Kings. This consequence is so plaine, that it needs no confirmation. To  
 proue that *Nabonassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought such argu-  
 30 ments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrarie.  
 For first, *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Assyria*. This is proued  
 by his name, which is merely *Chaldean*, whereas *Samus*, the first part of *Salmanas-  
 sar* name, is proper to the *Assyrians*. It is likewise proued by the Astronomical ob-  
 servations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Assyrians*, doe  
 shew, that *Nabonassar*, from whom *Ptolemy* draws that *Ephemeris* or account of time,  
 was a *Babylonian*, and not *Assyrian*. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed  
 by the successer of *Nabonassar*, which was *Mordochapinus*, called in his owne language  
*Mero-dach-ban-pa*, but more briefly in *Esay* his prophetic, *Meredach*, by the former  
 part of his name; or *Mordach Beladan*, the sonne of *Beladan*. Now if *Meredach*, the  
 40 sonne of *Beladan*, King of *Babel*, were the sonne of *Nabonassar*, then was *Nabanassar*  
 none other then *Beladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* King of *Assyria*.

What can be plain? As for the cadence of these two names, *Salmassar* and *Salmassar*, which in *Greek* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, were as taught by *Scylax*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the paces of *Babylonia*, wherein *Salmassar* carried captive some part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the *Proxime* of *Babylon Salmassar* had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it selfe. To conclude, *Mevlach* becomme hisraigne over *Babylon* in the sixt year of *Hezechai*; at which time *Salmassar* tooke *Samaris*; therefore, if *Salmassar* were King of *Babylon* then 50 must we say that he and *Mevlach*, yea and *Salmassar*, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Nephes Baruch*; who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawne his proofes from matter of more necessarie inference.

Touching all that was said before of *Phil Be'lofus*, for the proving that *Phil* and *Be'lofus*

*Belus* were not sundrie Kings; *Ioseph Scaliger* pitties their ignorance, that haue spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painfull men be confelseth that they were, who by their diligence might haue wonne the good liking of their Readers, had they not by mentioning *Annus* his Authors given such offence, that men refused therupon to reade their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine owne part, howeouer I beleue nothing that *Annus* his *Berosus*, *Metasthenes*, and others of that stampe affirme, in respect of their bare authoritie; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digeit a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of these good fellows alleged in it; I haue (somewhat peradventure too often) already spoken my minde of *Annus* his Authors; neuerthelesse, I may say here againe, that where other Histories are silent, or speake not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we finde, and seruethe to expaine or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeede are those honest and painfull men (as *Scaliger* termes them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good filly fellows) who set downe the *Assyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belus*, and *Sardanassus* for *Nabonassar*, such Writers as a man should be ashamed or vnwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annus*, though disliking him ingenerall) *Gerard Mercator* is not so slight a Chronologer, that hee should bee laughed out of doores, with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons betwene *Scaliger* and *Mercator*, they were both of them men notably learned: let vs examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force, as cannot either be refuted or auoided. It will easily be granted, that *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Assyria*, some men doubt whether *Scaliger*'s reasons be enough to proue. For though *Nabonassar* be a *Chaldean* name, and *Sardanassus* an *Assyrian*; yet what binders vs from beleeuing, that one man in two languages might bee called by two severall names? That *Astronomie* flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to proue *Nabonassar* either an *Astrologer*, or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himselfe calls them, *prophetis nescio quos, qui Nabonassarum Astronomum fuisse in somnis viderunt; Propheti I know not who, that in their sleepe haue dreamt of Nabonassar that hee was an Astrologer*.

Whether *Nabonassar* were an *Astrologer* or no I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the negative. But as his being Lord ouer the *Chaldeans*, doth not proue him to haue beene learned in their sciences; so doth it not proue him, not to haue bene also King of *Assyria*. The Emperor *Charles* the first, who was borne in *Germany*, and *Philip* his Sonne, King of *Spaine*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men farre more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks; among their Subjects of the Low Countries, then were any that I read of then liuing in *Spaine*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I thinke, Posteritie will not vse this as an argument, to proue that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Sardanassus* for or *Nabonassar*, did vse the *Assyrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Scholars: but it seemes, that he and his posteritie, by giuing themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued; as likewise King *Philip* lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two vnsauerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* termes them, being me thinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alleged on the contrarie side) one of them which is drawn from the like found and writing of those names, *Sardanassus* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likeliesse of sound, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that *Sardanassus* might be Lord of some places in the Prouince of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it selfe: this indeede might bee so, and it might bee otherwise.

Hitherto

Hitherto there is nothing false conjecture against conjecture. But in that which is alleged out of the Prophet *Esaie*, concerning *Merodach* the Sonne of *Babylon*; and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, or *Mardochapadus*, his being the Successor of *Nabonassar*, and his beginning to raigne in the sixt yeare of *Heceta*, I finde matter of more difficultie, then can be answered in hatt. I will therefore deferre the handling of these objections, untill I meete with their subject in his proper place, which will be when we come to the time of *Heceta*, wherein *Merodach* liued and was King. Yet that I may not leaue too great a scruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre will I here fauour him; that how strongeouer this argument may seeme, *Scaliger* himselfe did liue to retract it, ingenuously confelting, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the Sonne of *Nabonassar*, he had beene deceived.

Now therefore let vs consider, in what sort they haue fashioned their storie, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belus* or *Belesus*, haue in like sort, as was needfulle, distinguished their offspring, making that of *Pul* to faile in *Sardanassus*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I must first confesse mine owne want of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that haue gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present vnto vs the bodie of this Historie, in one view. Diuers, indeede, there are, whom I haue seene, that since *Ioseph Scaliger* delivered his opinion, haue written in fauour of some one or other point thereof:

22 But *Seimus Calvisius* himselfe, who hath abridged *Scaliger*'s learned Worke, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not bene carefull to giue vs notice, how long *Belesus*, *Baldan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Palassar*, did raigne, (perhaps because he found it not expresse in *Scaliger*); but is content to set downe *Baldan*, for the same person with *Nabonassar*, which *Scaliger* himselfe reuoked. In this case the more I must lay downe the plot of these diuided Kingdomes, in such sort as I finde it contriued by *Angelus Tornielus*; who only of all that I haue seene, sets downe the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that raigned in *Assyria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belus*, and his Posteritie, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Tornielus* is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of *S. Paul*, whose Annals were printed the last yeare; he appears to me a man of curious indutrie, sound iudgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those Protestant Writers, by whose Bookes hee hath receiued good information, and enriched his workes by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this businesse he hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose helpe, without wrong or dishonour to himselfe, he hath both vsed and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not spare to doe right vnto *Tornielus*; but confesse my selfe to haue receiued benefit by his writing; and wish that his Annals had sooner come to light; for that as hee hath much confirmed mee in some things, so would hee haue instructed and emboldened mee, to write more fully and lesse timorously in other things, 49 which now I haue not leisure to reuise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly deliuered, and yet feared least it had ouer hastily palled out of my hand, and beene exposed to other mens constructions) of the foure Kings that invaded the Vallie of *Araxes*, and were slaine by *Abraham*, I finde him aduenturing, as I haue done, to say, that they may probably be thought to haue bene some pettie Lords; the contrarie opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let vs consider how he hath ordered these last *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings.

After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Araxes* being the most mightie, sought to gett all to himselfe, but was opposed by *Belus*, in which contention, one *Phid*, a powerfull man in *Assyria*, sided with *Belus*, and they two preuailed so farre, that finally *Araxes* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a diuision thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire, betwene *Octavian*, *Anthony*, and *Leptinus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Tornielus* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of conjecture) that *Araxes* made himselfe Soueraigne Lord of all, and placed the seat of

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of his Empire in *Assyria*, appointing *Belofus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Assyria*. But in short space, that is, in foure yeares, it came to passe, by the iust judgement of God, that *Phul* and *Belofus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*, and in stead of being his Viceroyes, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this later opinion *Tornellius* himselfe leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposition, refusing to hold the later, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guess. Having thus deuided, how *Phul* and *Belofus* might, at the first, attaine to be Kings, hee orders their time, and their successors, in this manner.

Foure yeares after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to raigne, and continues eight and foure yeares. *Theglathphasar* (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I write diuerly, according as the Authors whome I haue in hand are pleased to diuulge them) succeeding vnto *Phul*, raigned three and twentie. *Salmansar* followed him, and raigned tenne. After him *Senacherib* raigned seuen: and when he was illane, *Asahaddon* his sonne tenne yeares; in whome that Line failed.

The same time that *Phul* tooke vpon him as King of *Assyria*, or not long after, (why not rather afore? for so it had bene more likely) *Belofus* usurped the Kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it threecore and eight yeares; at the least threecore and eight yeares did passe, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, whome (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Babaiian*, are assigned fixe and twentie yeares: then, two and fittie to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempden*: foure and twentie to *Ben Merodach*: and lastly, one and twentie to *Nabulassar*, the father of *Nabuchodonosor*, who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the originall of these *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdomes, I may truly say, That the conjectures of other men, who giue all to *Belofus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appeare to me more needrely resembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that *Tornellius* would haue conceiued two different wayes, by which *Phul* might haue gotten *Assyria* (for how *Belofus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plaine enough) if either of them aloue could haue contented him. He adheres to the later of the two, as better agreeing with *Viodore*, and other Historians. But he perceiued, that to make *Phul* on the Iudeiine King of *Assyria*; or to giue him so noble a Prouince, as would, of it selfe, inuite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most unlikely to haue happened, vntill his deserts (whereof wee finde no mention) had bene proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) he deuided the meanes, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, VVhy this *Phul*, being one of the three that diuided all betweene them, was vtterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this Diuision it selfe, and the ciuile Warres that caused it, were neuer heard of. Questionlesse, the intruding of some Treasures by *Belofus*, with his Iudgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconueniences can this way be auoided; but that either we must confesse, the Dominion giuen to *Phul* to haue bene exceeding his merits, or els his merits, and name withall, to haue bene strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make vs thinke, that rather the conjecture, inferring such a sequele, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul* and *Belofus* against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Assyrians* to recouer such strength in foure yeares, as might serue to hold out in rebellion: for *Belofus*, it was needlesse to rebell, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seeke to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an extraordinary fauourer of libertie) euen the *Medes*, that were vnder his owne Government, to doe what they listed.

But it is now fit that wee peruse the Catalogue of these Kings: not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their owne times) but

speaking of their order and time in generall. It it bee so vniuersall to thinke, that some of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may bee true, especially such, as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparant likelihood, why then is it said, that *Phul* did raigne in *Assyria* eight and fortie yeares? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true, that painefull and judicious Writers haue found this number of yeares, to agree vnto with the course of things in Historie: yet all of them tooke it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius* his forgerie (as questionlesse he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probable, he be not beleeued for his owne sake; though for our owne sakes we make vse of his boldnesse, taking his wordes for good, whereas (nothing els being offered) wee are vnwilling our selues to be Authors, of new, though not vnprobable conjectures. Herein we shall haue this commoditie, that wee may without burling alter a litle, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame vpon *Annius*, against whome we shall bee sure to find friends that will take our part.

The raignes of *Theglathphasar* and *Salmansar* did reach, by *Annius* his measure, to the length of nine and twentie yeares the one, and seauenteene the other; *To. medus* hath cut off two from the former, and seuen from the later of them, to fit (as it thinketh) his owne computation; vnto the libertie wherof I spake last: for that any Author, saue our good *Metaphrastes*, or those that borrow of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did raigne, it is more then I haue yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Asahaddon*, *Tornellius* giues the same length of raigne, which is found in *Metaphrastes*. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate so much vnto themselves, as may well be allowed vnto a man so iudicious as is *Tornellius*: yet could I wish, that he had forborne to condemne the followers of *Annius* in this business, wherein he himselfe hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as els he must haue done, almost nothing.

The like libertie we finde that he hath vsed in measuring the raignes of the *Chaldeans*; fitting vp all the space betweene the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threecore and eight yeares of *Belofus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that hee thought *Belofus* might haue begonne his raigne somewhat later then *Phul*: for threecore and eight yeares would seeme a long time for him to hold a Kingdom, that was no yong man when he tooke possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortning his raigne, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liuer. Indeede, eight and fortie yeares had bene somewhat of the most, considering that hee seemes by the storie to haue bene little lesse, at such time as hee joyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twentie yeares did well deserve that note (which *Tornellius* aduisedly giues) that if his raigne extended any so farre, then the raigne of such as came after him, occupied the middle time, vnto *Nabonassar*.

I neither doe reprehend the boldnesse of *Tornellius*, in conjecturing, nor the modestie of *Scaliger* and *Seibius Caluissius*, in forbearing to set downe as warrantable, such things as depend only vpon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from vs by Antiquitie, must be described in Historie, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery: that is, either by leauing some part blanke, or by inserting the Land of *Pigmes*, Rocks of loadstones, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Riueres, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrarie to truth. Yet indeede the ignorance growing from distance of place, allowes not such libertie to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remediesse obliuion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith;

— Nec, seruidis  
Pars inclufa caluibus  
Asundi, nec Koreæ finitimum latus,  
Duratæq; solæ Nines,  
Stercoratorem abigunt: horrida callidis  
Vincunt æquora Naxitæ.

Nor Southerne heate, nor Northerne snow  
That freezing to the ground doth grow,  
The subject Regions can fence,  
And keepe the greedie Merchant thence.  
The subtil Shipmen way will finde,  
Storme neuer so the Seas with winde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe serue only to misleade such discouersers as rashly belecue them; drawing vpon the publishers, either some angrie curses, or well deserued scorn; but to keepe their owne credit, they cannot serue alwaies. To which purpose I remember a pretie jest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthie Spanish Gentleman, who had bene employed by his King in planting a Colonie vpon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I asked him, being then my Prisoner, some question about an Iland in those streights, which me thought, might haue done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters wines Iland*; saying, That whilest the fellow drew that Mappe, his wife sitting by, desired him to put in one Countrie for her; that free, in imagination, might haue an Iland of her owne. But in filling vp the blankes of old Histories, we neede not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time should runne backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appeare ridiculous: What if some good Copie of an ancient Author could be found, shewing (if wee haue it not already) the perfect truth of these vncertainties? would it be more shame to haue beleued the meane while, *Annius* or *Tornellius*, than to haue beleued nothing. Here I will not say, that the credit, which we giue to *Annius*, may chance otherwise to be giuen to one of those Authors whose names hee pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authoritie, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Tornellius*, than *Annius*; yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seemes to me; it hauing moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meaneely learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as haue once gotten the credit of being generall, so to deale as *Pacumini* 40 *Caput* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senators of the Citie to death. He lockt the Senators vp within the State-houise, and offered their liues to the Peoples mercie; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, untill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthe of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hastie; for as fast as euery name was read, all the Towne cryed, Let him die: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting another, some notorious vice of the Person, or baseness of his condition, or insufficiencie of his qualitie, made each new one that was offered to be rejected: so that finding the worke and lesse choise, the further and the more that they fought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better. 50

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of the Olympiads, and the time when they beganne.



After this diuision of the *Affirrian* Empire, follows the institution of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the raigne of the same King *Vezia*, and in his one and fiftieth year. It is, I know, the generall opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus*, in the first of *Iulian*: yet is not that opinion so generall, but that Authors, weightie enough, haue giuen to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things vnto the sacred Historie, which are found in prophane Authors, we should not bee too carefull of drawing the *Hebrewes* to those workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accompts, we joyne them to matters of *Israell* and *Inda*, where occasion requires.

The *Olympian* games and exercises of actiuitie, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the race by his owne foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules* his bodie. They tooke name, not from the Mountain *Olympus*, but from the Citie *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, neare vnto *Elis*, where also *Iupiter* Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from cuertury fourth year complete, in the plaines of *Elis*, a Citie of *Peloponnesus*, neare the Ruer *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many yeares, till *Iphitus* by aduise from the Oracle of *Apollon*, re-established them, *Lycorgus* the Law-giuer then liuing: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the raigne of *Theodosius* the Emperour, according to *Cædrenus*: other thinke that they were disolued vnder *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Varro* accompted the *Grecian* times, and their stories, to be so certain: but reckoned all before either doubtfull, or fabulous: and yet *Plinie* giues little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the raigne of *Cyrus*, who beganne in the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Eusebius* out of *Liodore*, *Cyslor*, *Polybius*, and others hath gathered, in whose time the seuen wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Selen* had speech with *Craesus*, and *Craesus* was ouerthrowne and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing Braines haue laboured to finde out the certaine beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely to set them in the true yeare of the World, and the raigne of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds yeare, they can hardly iumpe in particulars thereon depending. *Cædrenus* against *Iulian*, and *Didymus*, beginne the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Troas* or *Azuth*.

*Eusebius* who is contrarie to himselfe in this reckoning, accompts with those that find the first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the foure hundredth and sixth yeare after *Troy*, yet he telleth vs that it was in the fiftieth yeare of *Vezia*, which is (as I find it) two yeares later.

*Eusebius* placeth the first *Olympiad* foure hundred and seuen yeares after *Troy*, reckoning the yeares that passed betweene; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Dionidius Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The distance betweene the destruction of *Troy*, and the first *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Erastophilus*. From the taking of *Troy* to the descent of *Hercules* his Posteritie into *Peloponnesus*, were fourescore yeares; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threescore yeares; from that expedition to the time of *Lycorgus* his gouernement in *Sparta*, one hundred fiftie nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight yeares. In this account the first yeare of the first *Olympiad* is not included.

Ddd

Eet

But vaine labour it were, to seeke the beginning of the *Olympiads*, by numbering the yeares from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date farre more vncertaine. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games, to haue bene in the foure hundredth and eight yeare current after *Troy*, wee may reckon back to the taking of that Citie, setting that, and other accidents, which haue reference thereto, in their proper times. The certaintie of things following the *Olympiads*, must teach vs how to finde when they beganne.

To this good vse, we haue the ensuing yeares, vnto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus diuided, by the same *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads*, to the passage of *Alexis* into *Greece*, two hundredth fourescore and seuenteen yeares; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, eight and fortie yeares; forwards to the victorie of *Lysander*, seuen and twentie; to the battaile of *Leuctra*, thirte ioure; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, siue and thirte; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelue. The whole summe ariseth to foure hundred fiftie and three yeares; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth yeare of *Vzziah*, we haue arguments, grounded vpon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his raigne, and the death of *Alexander*; as also vpon the Astronomical calculation of sundrie Eclipses of the Sunne as of that which happened when *Alexes* set out of *Sardis* with his Armie to invade *Greece*; and of diuers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his raigne as King, before hee was Lord of the great Monarchie, began the first yeare of the siue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirte yeares; they who giue him but twentie nine yeares of raigne (following *Herodotus*, rather than *Tullie*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, and others) beginne a yeare later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* let by all good Writers, in the first yeare of the hundredth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This later note of *Alexander's* death, serues well to leade vs back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like observations doe. For if we reckon vpwards from the time of *Alexander*, we shall finde all to agree with the yeares of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* beganne his raigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to signifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first yeare of the siue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, vnto the end of the *Persian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundredth and twelfth *Olympiad*, we finde two hundred and thirte yeares compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchie, which lasted but seuen yeares, we finde compleat two hundred and seuen yeares, which was the continuance of the *Persian* Empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first yeare of *Cyrus* his Monarchie (which was the last of the sixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundredth and fortieth yeare from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*, followed the last of the seuentie yeares, of the captiuitie of *Iuda*, and desolation of the Land of *Israel*; manifest it is, that we must reckon back those seuentie yeares, and one hundred threescore and ten yeares more, the last which passed vnder the Kings of *Iuda*, to finde the first of these *Olympiads*; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Vzziah*, as wee haue already noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serue well to the same purpose. For examples sake, that which was scene when *Alexes* mustered his Armie at *Sardis*, in the two hundredth threescore and seuenth yeare of *Nabonessors*, being the last of the threescore and fourteenth *Olympiad*; leades vs back vnto the beginning of *Alexes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we haue a faire way through the threescore and ten yeares, vnto the destruction of *Ierusalem*; and so vpwards through the raignes of the last Kings of *Iuda*, to the one and fiftieth yeare of *Vzziah*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these *Olympiads* beganne.

To tell the great solemnitie of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say, that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running, Wrestling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Maistrie in those feats, whereof there was good vse, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises, that serued only for ostentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable qualitie, to make triall of their skill. Yeatie very Cryers, which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour, of hauing plaied the best part.

The *Elems* were Presidents of those Games; whose iustice, in pronouncing without partialitie, who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards giuen to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Paime, or Oliue, without any other commoditie following, then the reputation. Indeede there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diagoras* had scene his three Sonnes crowned for their seuerall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morre DIAGORAS, non enim in calum ascensus es; that is, Die DIAGORAS, For thou shalt not clime up to heauen*: as if there could bee no greater happinesse on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like sense *Horace* speaks of these Victors, calling them,

Quos Elae domum reducit  
Palma caelestis.

Horat. Carm. l. 4  
Etc.

Such as like heauenly wights doe come  
With an Eleian Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or the Songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had wonne these *Olympian* prizes; but euen graue Historians thought it a matter worthe of their noting. Such was (as *Tullie* counts it) the vanitie of the *Greekes*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honor, to haue wonne the victorie at Running or Wrestling in those games, as to haue triumphed in *Rome* for some famous victorie, or conquest of a Prouince.

That these *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and vpon the fiftieth day of the Moneth *Hecatombion*, which doth answer to our *Iune*; and what means they vsed to make the Moneth beginne with the new Moone, that the fiftieth day might be the full; I haue shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne vnto the Kings of *Iuda*, and leaue the merrie *Greekes* at their games, whom I shall meeete in more serious employments, when the *Persian* quarrells draw the bodie of this Historie into the coasts of *Ionia* and *Ilellespont*.

¶ VI.  
Of *IOHAM* and his Contemporaries.

**I**OHAM the Sonne of *Vzziah*, when he was siue and twentie yeares old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was annointed King in *Ierusalem*, his Father yet liuing. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple of threescore cubits vpright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides diuers Cities in the Hills of *Iuda*, and in the Forrests, Towers, and Palaces: he enforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundredth talents, and of Wheate and Barly two thousand measures: hee reigned siue and twentie yeares: of whom *Iosephus* giues this testimonie. *Eusebius vero* Princeps

Ddd 2

Tull. de Din. l. 1.  
Iust. l. 1.  
Euseb. de Prep.  
Euseb. l. 10. c. 2.  
E. de dom. l. 2.  
Hanc. l. 18. c. 2.

Tull. in Orat. p.  
Plato.

50

King. 15. 331

Princes his just, yet unalloyed in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pre colunt, hominibus suis adeo in se prestant, ut eos ipsam mente sibi cura esse passus sit, & tunc pere auerit, et uniuersum regnum habilius quicquam minime contemnendum, domesticum autem eius in eis atque ciuibz felix, fasces et fortunatum sua virtute effecerit; This was such a Prince, as a man could find no kinde of vertue wanting in him: he was so religiously, he governed his men so righteously, he was so provident for the Citie, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his vertue and proesse he made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Seruants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happy.

This is all that I finde of *Iotham*: his raigne was not long, but as happy in all things, as he himselfe was deuout and vertuous.

*Auchomenes* about this time succeeded *Pheloxenus* in *Corinth*: after whome, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates, which gouerned from yeare to yeare. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Booke, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, That *Corinth* was gouerned by Kings of the race of the *Esarids*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who droue them out.

*Tiglatphalsar*, or *Tiglathepher*, the sonne of *Plul*, the second of the *Babyloniens* and *Assyrians* that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Iehak* (who murdered his Master *Pekadus*) was King thereof. In which Expedition he tooke most of the Cities of *Neptali* and *Gad*, with those of *Gilead*, ouer *Irach*, and carried the inhabitants captiue. This *Tiglat* reigned fife and twentie yeares, according to *Metathenes*. But *Isentzenius* findes, that with his sonne *Salmassar* he reigned yet two yeares longer: which yeares I would not ascribe to the sonne, because the *era* of *Nabonissar* begins with his single raigne, but reckon them to *Tiglat* *Phalsar* himselfe, who therewith reigned seuen and twentie yeares.

*Aschylus*, the sonne of *Aganestor*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled fife and twentie yeares. *Alcmenes* gouerned *Sparta*: after whome, the Estate changed, according to *Eufebius*: but therein surely *Eufebius* is mistaken. For *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witness the contrarie. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned threethree yeares, and out-lived the *Assyriack* Warre: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the sonne of *Alexander*, his royall companion.

At this time liued *Nabunus* the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the Citie of *Nimue*; which succeeded (sayth *Iosephus*) a hundred and fiftene yeares after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Meditia*, *Salsarius* and *Medicus* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

## §. VII.

Of *Achaz* and his Contemporaries.



2. Kings, 16. 1.  
A. Chron. 32.

**A**S, or *Achaz*, succeeded vnto *Iotham* in the fifteneenth yeere of *Pek*, the sonne of *Remas*: the same being also the last yeare of his fathers raigne, who began in the second of the same *Pek*, and reigned sixteen, but not complete yeares. This *Achaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for *Babilon*, and burnt his sonne for sacrifice before the Idoll *Atach*, or *Saturne*, which was represented by a man-like brazen bodie, bearing the head of a Calf, set vp not farre from *Ierusalem*, in a Valley so shadowed with Woods, called *Gehennom*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is vied for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carcasse of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the sacrificers, with a noyse of Cymbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the end the pitifull cries of the children might

might not be heard: which vnnatural, cruell, and diuillish Oblation, *Ieremie* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which *S. Hierome* vpon the tenth of *Mattheu* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leuiticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible inue was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomie*, it is called an abomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Iudea*, diuers Authors witness: as *Vergil* in the second of his *Aeneids*, — *Sanguine placuisse, &c.* and *Silius*, — *Poscere caele Deos.* *Saturne* is said to haue brought this custome into *Italie*, besides the casting of many soules into the Riuer of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Ereules* commanded that the waxen Images of men should be throwne in and drowned. The *Deuill* also taught the *Carthaginians* this kinde of butcherie, in so much that when their Citie was besieged, and in distresse, the Priest made them beleue, that because they had spared their owne children, and had bought and brought vp others to bee offered, that therefore *Saturne* had stirred vp and strengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their Citie to be slaine, and offered to *Saturne* or *Satan*, to appeale him: who besides these fore-named Nations had instructed the *Rhodiens*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Messina*, of *Galatia*, with the *Masagets*, and others, in these his seruices: Further, as if hee were not content to destroy the soules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, (as *Asella* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the *Deuill* vnder this fearful scrutide, in which he also holdeth the *Floridians* and *Verginians* at this day.

For the wickednesse of this King *Achaz*, God stirred vp *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekab* the Sonne of *Remalah*, King of *Israel* against him, who invaded *Iudea*, and besieged *Ierusalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, posselt himselfe of *Elab* by the Red Sea, and cast the Jew out of it, and *Pekab* slaughtered in one day twelue hundred thousand *Iudeans*, of the ablest of the Kingdome, at which time *Stasferas* the Sonne of *Achanath* was also slaine by *Ziebrhi*, with *Azyrikam* the Gouernour of his house: and *Achanath* the second person vnto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the *Israelites* led away to *Sennaria*: but by the counsell of the Prophet *Osai*, they were returned and deliuered back againe.

As *Israel* and *Aram* vexed *Iuda* on the North; so the *E.ionites* and the *Phalissins*, who euermore attended the ruine of *Iudea*, entred vpon them from the South; and tooke *Bethemes*, *Aidon*, *Gaderoth*, *Sacho*, *Tinnash*, and *Gemoza*, slew many people, and carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* saw himselfe enuironed on all sides, and that his Idolls and dead Gods gaue him no comfort, hee sent to the *Assyrian* *Tiglatphaser*, to desire some aide from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the silver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings Houle.

*Tiglatphaser* wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in *Palsima*. His Father hauing lately made himselfe from a Prouincial Lieutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Iudea*, invited by *Menahem* King of *Israel*. Wherefore now the Sonne willingly hearkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the advantage. As for *Belacius* himselfe, he was content to assigne some other time for going through with this enterprise: because (as I haue said before) he was not firmly settled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But *Tiglat*, hauing now, with the treasures of *Ierusalem*, prepared his Armie, first invaded the Territory of *Damascus*, wanne the Citie, and killed *Rezin*, the last of the race of the *Adads*, who beganne with *Dauid* and ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damascus* *Achaz* met *Tiglat*, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar sent it to *Ysieh* the Priest, commanding the like to be made at *Ierusalem*, whereon at his returne hee burnt Sacrifice to the Gods of the *Syrians*. In the meane while *Tiglat* posselt all *Basan*, and the rest

beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the Tribe of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*. And then passing the River, he mastered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdome of *Israel*, and made them his Vassalls. And notwithstanding that he was invited and wooed by *Achaz*, yet after the spoile of *Israel*, he posset himselfe of the greater part of *Juda*, and as it seemeth enforced *Achaz* to pay him Tribute. For in the second of Kings the eighteenth it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Assur*, or rebelled against him, and therefore was invaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Achaz* had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth year of his raigne hee died: but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Juda*.

With *Achaz* lived *Mediasus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who governed forty years, 10  
saith *Eusebius*: *Diodorus* and *Ctesias* finde *Anticarmus* in stead of this *Mediasus*, to have beene *Sosanus* his Succellour, to whom they giue fiftie yeares.

*Tiglath Phileser* held the Kingdome of *Assyria*, all the raigne of *Achaz*: yet so, that *Salmansassar* his Sonne may seeme to haue raigned with him some part of the time. 10  
For we finde that *Achaz* did send unto the Kings of *Assyria* to helpe him. The *Geneua* note saies, that these Kings of *Assyria* were *Tiglath Phileser*, and those Kings that were vnder his Dominion. But that hee or his Father had hitherto made such conquests, as might giue him the Lordship ouer other Kings, I doe neither finde any Historie, nor circumstance that proueth. Wherefore I thinke that these Kings of *Assyria* were *Tiglath*, and *Salmansassar* his Sonne, who raigned with his Father, as 20  
hath bene said before: though how long hee raigned with his Father, it bee hard to define.

At this time beganne the *Ephori* in *Lacedaemon*, a hundred and thirtie yeares after *Lycurgus*, according to *Plutarch*. *Eusebius* makes their beginning farre later, namely in the fiftenth Olympiad. Of these *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the first, *Theopompus* and *Polydorus*, being then joynt Kings. These *Ephori*, chosen euery yeare, were controuersers, as well of their Senators as of their Kings, nothing being done without their aduise and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their Kings, as the *Roman* Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of *Achaz* died *Aeschylus*, who had ruled in *Athenes* euery since the fiftith yeare of *Vezias*. *Alexandron* the thirteenth of the *Medontide*, or *Gouernours* of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Cadmus*) succeeded his Father *Aeschylus*, and was the last of these *Gouernours*: he ruled only two yeares. For the *Athenians* changed first from Kings (after *Cadmus*) to *Gouernours* for life: which ending in this *Alexandron*, they erected a Magistracie whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of *Burgomaster* or *Gouernor* of their Citie for ten yeares.

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth Booke beginnes in the first year of the eight Olympiad. *Eusebius* and *Hieronymus* in the first of the seventh Olympiad: at which time indeede, *Careus* the first of these, beganne his ten yeares rule.

The Kingdome of the *Latines* gouerned about three hundred yeare by the *Sylluij*, of the race of *Aeneas*, tooke end the same *Achaz* time: the foundation of *Rome* 40  
being layed by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eight yeare of the same King. *Coleman* buildeth the eleuenth of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth as I thinke he should, others somewhat later, and in the raigne of *Ezechia*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third yeare of the sixth Olympiad. But *Hieronymus*, *Solinus*, *Antiochenus*, *Clement*, *Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first yeare of the seventh: who seeme not only to mee, but to many very learned Chronologers, to haue kept herein the best account.

§. 8.  
CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Antiquities of *Italie*, and foundation of *Rome* in the time of *Achaz*.

§. I.

Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of *Italie*.

N here to speake of the more ancient times of *Italie*, and what Nations posselt it before the arriual of *Aeneas*, the place may seeme to inuite vs: the rather because much fabulous matter hath bene mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. *Italie* before the fall of *Troy*, was knowne to the *Greekes* by diuers names: as first *Hesperia*, then *Ausania*, the one name arising of the Seate, the other of the *Ausones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom *Hieronymus* thinks to haue beene the first, that brought a Colonie of *Arcaidians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italie* of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speaks thus.

Est locus Hesperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:  
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque vberis gleba:  
Oenotrij coluere viri, nunc famaminores  
Italiam dixisse, datus de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greekes* *Hesperia* name,  
Ancient, and strong, of much fertilitie.  
*Oenotrians* held it, but we haue by fame,  
That by late ages of Posteritie,  
T is from a Captaines name called *Italus*.

Who this Captaine or King may haue beene, it is very vncertaine. For *Virgil* 40  
speakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long vpon the whole Countrey, and worne out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to finde out the originall of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrey, *Remenius* hath made a very painfull search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds vpon that of *Hieronymus*, 45  
who speaks of a Colonie which the *Eleans* did leade into *Italie*, before the name of *Italie* was giuen to it: Secondly, vpon that of *Isidore*, who saith, that *Brundisium* was a Colonie of the *Aetolians*: Thirdly, vpon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temesa* or *Templa*, a Citie of the *Brutij* in *Italie*: Lastly, vpon the authority of *Plinie*, who shewes that the *Italians* did inhabit only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was deriued ouerall. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Aetolians*, who (as he shewes) had one originall; from them hee brings the name of *Italus*. For the word *Italis*, differs in nothing from *Attolis*, saue that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greeke* word:

Hieronymus, 12.

Isidore, 12.

Strabo, 16.

Plinie, 13. 4.

word is common, and the letter (o) is changed into (a): which change is found in the name of *Attila*, an Island neere *Itale*, peopled by the *Æthiops*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* Dialect, of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Ætolians*, the accent and pronunciation, together with many words, little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach. Hercunto appertaines that of *Iulian* the Apostata, who called the *Greekes* cousins of the *Latines*. Also the common originall of the *Greekes* and *Latines* from *Ianus*; and the Fable of *Ianus*, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and *Itale* lay, and was stamped on Coynes, with a Shippe on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Ianus*, father of the *Greekes* and *Latines*: who sayling over the *Ionian* Sea, that lyes betweene *Ætolia* and the Westerne parts of *Greece* and *Itale*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reynecius* thinks, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applies that of *Hercules*, who called *Cethum*, *Italus*; though it may seeme strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanius*, whilest he abode in *Itale* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproved. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moyses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethum* or *Italus*, then was he the sonne of *Ianus* and nephew of *Ispheth*, the eldest sonne of *Rebus*: which antiquitie farre exceeds the name of *Itale*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanius* his marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Itale*; but calleth *Electra* and her sister *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine *Atlas* in *Æties*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigenes*; which he would not haue done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* bene one person.

As for the authoritie of *Berosus* in this case, we neede the lesse to regard it, for that *Reynecius* himselfe, whose conjectures are more to be valued then the dreames wherewith *Annus* hath filled *Berosus*, holdes it but a figment.

That the name of *Itale* began long after *Atlas*, it appeares by the Verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein hee would not haue said, — *Nunc forma minores Italiam dixisse duces de nomine gentem*, — had that name bene heard of ere *Dardanius* left the Countrey. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few years before the Warre of *Troy*, had left in *Itale* a Colonie of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Itale* began: and seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldnesse to say, that *Italus* was Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not, that I haue read of any such *Greeke* as was named *Italus*, yet the name of *Ætolus*, written in *Greece* *Attilus*, was very famous both among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being sonne of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdome. Neither is it more hard to deriue the name *Italus* from *Ætolus*, then *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgil*s authoritie stand well with the collections of *Reynecius*; the name of *Itale* being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

## §. II.

of the *Aborigenes*, and other Inhabitants of *Latium*, and of the reason of the names of *Latini* and *Latium*.

**I**N *Itale* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were most famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greatest part of it vnder their subjection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicitie of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Itale*, and in few ages whatsoever Nation was knowne in *Europe*: together with all the Westerne parts of *Æs*, and North of *Asick*.

The Region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigenes*, whom *Halicarnassensis*, *Varro*, and *Reynecius* (following them) thinke to haue bene *Arcadians*: and this name of *Aborigenes* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as originall, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the *Arcadians* are knowne in vaunting manner to haue alwaies vsurped, fetching their antiquitie from beyond the Moone; because indeede, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* enforced to forsake their seats so oft as other *Greekes* were, who dwelt without that halfe Island, neither had the *Arcadians* so vnure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Countrey was lesse fruitful in land, mountainous, and hard of access, and they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore hauing occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, stile themselves *Aborigenes*, in that language, which either their new Scate, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might bee that the *Arcadians* who dwell somewhat farre from Sea, and are alwaies noted as vnapt men to proue good Mariners, should haue bene Authors of new discoveries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulness of children, in which those ages abounded, inforceth the superstitious companie to seeke another scate, and that some expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as especially that of *Eumander*, into the same parts of *Itale*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigenes*, were the *Pelasgi*, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gaue name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lack of good records. Neither was their glorie such in *Itale*, as could long sustain the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Ausones*, *Aurunci*, *Ruthi*, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to some ciuilitie; and he therefore canonized as a God.

This *Saturne* S. *Augustine* calleth *Stercor* or *Stercilius*, others terme him *Stercorinus*, and say, that hee taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* tooke his name of *Saturne*, because he did *leuere*, that is he hidde there, when he fled from *Iupiter*, it is questionlesse a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanitie to thinke that any thing could be hidde from God, or that there were many Gods of whom one fled from another; so in the truth of Historie, it is well knowne, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should bee hard to finde one Countrey or an other, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuif. And yet, as most fables and poeticall fictions, were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of speech or some allusion, they did mainly and darkely expresse: (so for they fained a passage ouer a Riuer in Hell, because death is a passage to another life, and because this passage is hatefull, lamentable, and painefull, therefore they named the Riuer *Styx* of Hate, *Cocytus* of Lamentation, and *Acheron* of Pain: so also because men are stonie hearted, and because the *Greeke* *neust* people, and *neust* stones, are neare in found, therefore they fained in the time of *Dedalion* (stones converted into men, as at other times men into stones) in like manner it may



borne before *Tecubus* came into *Italie*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Hieronymus* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by *Vare*, who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might be deriued from the *Grecke* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which significth beloued, or decre, was the name by which the High Priest called euery Virgin, whom he tooke to serue as a Nunne of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easily to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* discoure of her and *Penelia* her sister.

*Lauius*, the daughter of *Latium*, being giuen in marriage to *Æneas*, the Kingdome of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Countrey, was established in that race: wherein it continued vntill it was ouer-grown by the might and greatnesse of the *Romans*.

§. IIII.

Of *Æneas*, and of the Kings and Governours of *Alba*.



*Æneas* himselfe being of the royall blood of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Troians*. By his wife *Cressa*, the daughter of *Tricus*, he had a sonne called *Ascanius*, whose surname was *Iulus*, (as *Virgil* notes) became surname *Iulus*. But when *Æneas* was dead, his wife *Lauius*, the daughter of *Latium*, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fledde into the Woods, where she was deliuered of a sonne, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surname *Posthumus*, because he was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of *Lauius* was so cuill taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her returne, entreated her honourably, and visiting her as a Queene, did foster her young sonne, his halfe-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to auoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leaving to his mother in law the Citie *Lutetia*, which *Æneas* had built, and called after his new wifes name, founded the Citie *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reigne was, according to some, eight and twentie yeares: *Virgil* giues him thirtie; others siue and thirtie, and eight and thirtie. After his deceale, there arose contention betwene *Sylvius*, the sonne of *Æneas*, and *Iulus* the sonne of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of *Lauius*, *Iulus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leauing the Kingdome to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posteritie were afterward called *Sylui*.

The reigne of the *Alban* Kings, with the continuance of each mans reigne, I finde thus set downe.

1. Sylvius Posthumus.	29	
2. Sylvius Æneas.	31	
3. Sylvius Latinius.	30	
4. Sylvius Alba.	39	
5. Sylvius Atis.	26	
6. Sylvius Capys.	28	
7. Sylvius Capetus.	13	yeares.
8. Sylvius Tiberinus.	8	
9. Sylvius Agrippa.	41	
10. Sylvius Aladus.	19	
11. Sylvius Aventinus.	37	
12. Sylvius Procius.	23	
13. Sylvius Amulius.	44	
Sylvius Numitor.		

*Ilia*, called also *Rhea* and *Sylvia*.

*Romulus*. *Remus*.

The

The most of these Kings liued in peace, and did little or nothing worthe of remembrance.

*Latinius* founded many Townes in the borders of *Latium*: who standing much vpon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called *Prisci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some thinke that the Riuer *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albulas*: but *Virgil* giues it that denomination of another called *Tiberis*, before the coming of *Æneas* into *Italie*. The Mountaine *Auentinus* had name (as many write) from *Auentinus* King of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Iulius*, the brother of *Auentinus*, is named by *Eusebius* as father of another *Iulius*, and grandfather of *Iulius Proculus*, who leauing *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*. *Numitor*, the elder sonne of *Procius*, was depriued of the Kingdome by his brother *Amulius*, by whom also his sonne *Aggeus* was slaine, and *Iulia* his daughter made a Nunne of *Vesta*, that thereby the illue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceiued two sonnes, either by her vncl Amulius, as some thinke, or by *Mars*, as the Poets saie; or perhaps by some man of warre: both the children their vncl commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quicke, according to the Law, which so ordained, when the Vestall Virgins brake their chastitie. Whether it was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of *Antiocha*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preserued, who afterward reuenged the crueltie of their vncl, with the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Numitor* their grandfather to the Kingdome: wherein how long he reigned I finde not, neither is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Estates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were presently eclipsed by the swift encrease of *Rome*, vpon which the computation of Time following (as farre as concerns the things of *Italie*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdome of *Alba* ceased; for *Numitor* left no male issue. *Romulus* chose rather to liue in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by Magistrats; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Clulius*, who in the dayes of *Tullius Hostilius*, King of the *Romans*, making Warre vpon *Rome*, died in the Campe; and *Metius Sufestus*, the successor of *Clulius*, who surrendered the Estate of *Alba* vnto the *Romans*, having committed the hazard of both Signories to the successe of three men of each side, who decided the quarrell by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatii*, the Champions of the *Romans*, preuailed against the *Curiatii*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullius Hostilius* with the *Alban* forces against the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leaue the *Romans* to such an ouerthrow, as might make them weake ynough for the *Albanes* to deale with. *Tullius* notwithstanding this falsehood obtaining the victorie, rewarded *Metius* with a cruell death, causing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and so torne in peeces. Then was *Alba* destroyed, and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patriians*; among which were the *Iulij*: of whom *C. Iulius Cesar* being descended, not onely gloried in his auncient, royall, and forgotten pedigree, in full assemblie of the *Romans*, then governed by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industrie, valour, and iudgement obtained the Soueraignetic of the *Roman* Empire, much by him enlarged, to himselfe and his posteritie; whereby the name of *Æneas*, and honor of the *Troian* and *Alban* Race, was so reuiued, that seldom, if euery, any one Familie hath attained to a proportionable height of glorie.

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§. V.

p. V.

of the beginning of Rome, and of ROMULVS birth and death.

**R**ome, which deuoured the *Alban* Kingdome, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat vncertaine) depend much vpon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numerus*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations betweene *Euphrates* and the Ocean were broken in peeces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to be described in one place, hauing bene the worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe handle onely the first, as incident vnto the discourse preceding. *Q. Fabius, Pictor, Portius, Cato, Calpurnius Piso, Semprenius*, and others, seeke to deriue the *Romans* from *Ianus*: but *Herodotus, Marcellus*, and many others of equall credit, giue the *Grecians* for their ancestors; and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth booke, *CAECILIUS rerum Romanorum scriptor eo argumento colligit, Romam à Graecis esse conditam quod Romani Graeco ritu, antiquo instituto HERCVLI rem sacram faciunt, matrem quoque EVANDRI venerantur humani*; *CAECILIUS* (saith he) a *Romane Historiographer*, doth by this argument gather, that *Rome* was built by the *Greekes*, because the *Romans*, after *Greekish fashion*, by ancient Ordinance doe sacrifice to *HERCVLES*: the *Romans* also worship the mother of *EVANDER*.

*Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus* remembers many founders of that Citie: as *Romulus*, the sonne of *Phylus* and *Circe*; *Romus* the sonne of *Enathion*, whome *Dionides* sent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who drave the *Tuscan* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* bestowes the honour of building *Rome* vpon *Euander*, saying, That it was before times called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* giues the denomination to a captiue Ladie, brought thither by the *Grecians*: others say, That it was auiently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februs*, the mother of *Mars*; witnesse *Saint Augustine* in his third Booke de *Ciuitate Dei*. But *Linc* will haue it to be the worke of *Romulus*, euen from the foundation: of whome and his conforts I haue tolde a *Roman* Citizen vaunting of their originall, answered in these Verles:

*Attamen et longe repetas, longeq; reuoluas  
Maiores quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,  
Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

Yet though thou fetch thy pedigree so farre;  
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,  
Some Shepherd was, or else, that Ile forbear,  
meaning either a Shepherd, or a Theefe.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and prefection, it is said, That hee had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* was supposed to be his father; that he was nursed by a Wolfe, found and taken away by *Faustula*, a Shepherds wile. The same vnnatural nursing had *Cyrus*, the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* saith, it is like ynough that *Amulius* came couered with armor to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child; and therein it seemeth to me that he might haue two purposes: the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he iniuriouly held the Kingdome; the other to satisfie his appetite, because shee so was faire and goodly. For shee being made a Nunne of the Goddesse *Vesta*, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. I also finde in *Faustulus* his Antiquities de *Gaule*, that *Aterouus*, King of the *Franks*, was begotten by a monster of the Sea: but *Faustulus* sayes, *Let them beleue it that list; ille error qui vult*.

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also of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio Africanus*, there are poetically inuentions: but to auerue these imaginations in generall, it is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatrie, and when there were as many Gods as there were Kings, or passions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, couer such slips as they made by prostituting to be forced by more then humane power: to did *Oeneas* confesse to *Pallas*, that hee had bene rauished by *Apollo*. And *Andrius* boasted that hee had knowne *Venus*. But *Alex* was made with child by some man of Warre, or other, and therefore called *Alex*, the God of battell, according to the sense of the time. *Oeneas* was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Aterouus* might fancie a Sea Captaine to be gotten with young by such a one: as the Daughter of *Isachus* fancied, according to *Licetio*, *Aeneas* was a ballard and begotten vpon some faire Harlot, called for her beaultie *Pallas*, and was therefore the child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nursed by a Wolfe, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*, for the *Curtians* in those daies were called *Wolues*, *que nunc* (saith *HALICARNASSAEVS*) *honestiori vocabulo antea appellatur; quia nunc* *ly* *abominabili nunciatu* *si* *videtur*. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken vp into heauen, or rather our of the world by his Father *Mars*, in a great forme of thunder, and lightning: so was it said that *Aeneas* vanished away by the River *Acheron*: but the poet *Linc* saith so aketh modestly, for hee reuerenteth the other opinion, that the forme was the furie of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking vp; and many Authors agree that there was an vnnatural darkensse, both at his birth and at his death, and that he might bee slaine by thunder or lightning, it is not vnlike. For the Emperour *Augustus* was slaine with lightning, so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slaine with a thunder-bolt: so *Cassius* the Emperour (who succeeded *Probus*) whilst he lodged with his Armie vpon the River *Tigris*, was there slaine with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same kinde might end him that beganne him; for he was begotten by a man of Warre, and by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which delitie followed most of the *Roman* Emperours) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*; who was but the fourth King after him: who when he had murdered his father in law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (saith he) *Romulus* himselfe dyed and was not buried. But let *Italian* assents end this dispute: whose words are these. They (saith he) who are nearest to the truth, say that he was slaine by his owne Citizens; and that his crueltie in punishments of offenders, together with his arrogancie over the ease of his flatterers. For it is reported that both when his mother was rauished, whether by *Iane* *man*, or by a God, the whole body of the sunne was eclipsed, and all the earth couered with darknesse like unto night, and that the same did happen at his death.

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whose life historified by *Plutarch*, doth containe (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles which had soone bene forgotten, if the *Roman* greatness built vpon that foundation, had not giuen it memorie in all ages following, euen vnto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of body, patient of trauell, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the vse of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition hee knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect reuenge of the death of *Tatius* his companion in the Kingdome, that he himselfe might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned euen and thirtie yeares: first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death single, till he was slaine, as is already shewed: after which time the Soueraignetie fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him vnknowne, and more Priest-like than King-like: wherein *Rome* it selfe in her later times hath somewhat resembled this King. For hauing long bene sole Gouvernesse till *Constantinople* shared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greeke* Emperour was crushed by foraine enemies, and the *Latines* dispoiled of Imperiall power, the fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the

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Sword, and therewith victorious to excellenue magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driuen from luxurie to defensive armes, and therein hauing bene vnfortunate, at length betakes her selfe againe to the Croisiers flathe.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place by occasion of the storie of the times of King *Ahaz*, during whose raigne in Iurie, the foundations of this famous Citie were laied.

## CHAP. XXV.

## Of EZEKIA, and his Contemporaries.

§. I.

Of the beginning of EZEKIAS, and of the agreeing of PTOLOMES, NABONASSAR, NABOPOLASSAR, and MARDOCEM-PADUS, with the Historie of the Bible.



THE first year of *Ahaz* his raigne was confounded with the last of his Father *Iotham*, so was the later end of his sixteene yeares taken vp in the three first of *Ezekias* his Sonne. This appeares by the raigne of *Hosea*, ouer *Israel*, which beganne in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hosea* was the first of *Ezekias*, so it followes, that *Ezekias* beganne to raigne in his Fathers fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Hosea*, the same being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almost spent when *Ezekias* beganne, and so the fifteenth year of *Ahaz* may haue bene concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezekias*.

By supposing that *Hosea* beganne his Kingdome, when the twelfth year of *Ahaz* was almost compleat, some would finde the meanes how to disioyne the first of *Ezekias* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which year, *Ahaz* may perhaps haue liued not many daies. But seeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth yeares of *Ezekias*, may not be remoued out of their places; it is vaine labour to alter the first year.

In the fourteenth of *EZEKIA*, *SENACHERIB* invading *Juda*, and the Countries adioyning, lost his Armie by a miraculous stroke from heauen, fled home, and was slaine. The year following it was that God added fifteene yeares to the life of *Ezekias*, when he had already reigned foureteen of his nine and twentie: and the same year was that miracle scene of the Sunnes going back; of which wonder (as I heare) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Aſtronomie, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered vnto the twentie fifth of *April*, in the *Iulian* year, being then *Thursday*. I haue not scene any workes of *Seniur*; but surely to finde a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessarie that he produce some record of obseruation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth year of *Ezekias* is agreed vpon; and therefore wee may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is vsual in the like cases, that *Ahaz* first with his Father, and *Ezekias* in his Sonne reigned in his stead, it doth no more proue that *Ezekias* reigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth inferre the like at the death of *Iotham*.

figure, and succellion of *Iehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to raigne whilst his Father liued, we haue already said enough.

Of this godly King *Ezekias*, we finde, that his very beginning testified his deuotion and zeale. For whether it were so that his vnfortunate and vngracious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gaue way to his Sonnes proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first year and first month of his raigne, wherein *Ezekias* opened the doores of the Temple, were to be vnderstood as the beginning of his sole gouernement; we plainly finde it to haue bene his first worke, that he opened the doores of the house of the Lord, which *Ahaz* had shut vp, cleaned the Citie and Kingdome of the Idolls, reitorred the Priests to their offices, and estates, commanded the Sacrifices to bee offered which had bene for many yeares neglected, and brake downe the brazen Serpent of *Nefes*, because the people burnt incense before it, and hee called it *Nehushtan*, which signifieth a lump of brasie. He did also celebrate the Passe-ouer with great magnificence, inviting therunto the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes: many there were, euen out of those Tribes, that came vp to *Ierusalem*, to this feast. But the generall multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezekias* to scorne.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memoriall of their deliuerance out of the *Egyptian* seruitude, fell into a new seruitude, out of which they neuer were deliuered. For in the fourth of *Ezekias* his raigne, *Salmansar* the Sonne of *Tiglath*, the Sonne of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hosea* King of *Israel* had prattised with the King of *Egypt*, against him: invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaria*, and in the third year (after the Inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Affyr* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias* and his Sonne of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Ninive*, in whose Seats and Places the *Affyr*ians scut strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Eni*, *Hamab*, and *Sphenon*, besides *Babylonians*: whose Places and Nations I haue formerly described in the Treatise of the holy Land.

The later *Affyr*ian Kings, and the *Persians*, which followed them, are the first, of whom wee finde mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore serue most aptly to ioyn the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets haue written otherwise than labulouly) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of Historie. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we finde in the Bible the same names by which other Authors haue recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmansar*, with other *Affyr*ian, *Chaldean* Kings, diuerſitie of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speake of *Salmansar*, King of *Affur*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz*, and *Ezekias*, Kings of *Juda*, and of *Hosea* King of *Israel*, whom he carried into captiuitie: and whereas *Ptolome* makes mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he liued; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmansar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it bee shewed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that hee was the same, whom *Ptolome* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholerus* hath well collected sufficient prooffe from the exact calculations of sundrie good Mathematicians. For by them it appeares that betwene *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed vnder hundred fortie and sixe yeares: at which distance of time the raigne of *Salmansar* was. One great prooffe herof is this, which the same *Bucholerus* allegeth out of *Erasmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocephadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolome*, speaking of these Eclipses of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent Embassadors to *Hzekias*, King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backwards to the difference of time, betwene *Merodach* and *Salmansar*, we shall finde it the same which is betwene *Mardocephadus* and *Nabonassar*.

*nasir*. Likewise *Funtius* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samsar*, to the deuallation of *Ierusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nabuchadnessar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirtie and three yeares: the selfe same distance of time is found in *Ptolome*, betwene *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For, whereas *Ptolome* seemeth to differ from this account, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and fortie yeares, than the destruction of *Ierusalem*, we are to vnderstand that he took *Samsar* in the eighth yeare of his raigne; so that the seuen foregoing yeares added to these one hundred thirtie and three, make the accomps of the Scriptures fall euen with that of *Ptolome*. *Ptolomes* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar* to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twentie and seuen yeares. Now if we add to these one hundred twentie seuen, the thirtie ensuing of *Nabuchadnessars* yeares, before the Citie and Temple were destroyed, we haue the summe of one hundred and fortie yeares. In so plaine a case more proofes are needlesse, though many are brought, of which this may seruet for all, that *Ptolome* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twentie and two yeares, after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in account of times I hold more free than the authoritie of any Historie; and therefore I thinke it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall obseruations doe so thoroughly concur.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest vnanswered, whereby he proueth *Baldan* the Father of *Merodach*, to haue bene this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to looke a word or two inuinging the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next obseruations of the heauenly Bodies, which *Ptolome* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the raigne of *Mardacempadus*; the second yeare of whose raigne, is, according to *Ptolome* concurrent in part with the twentie seuen of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second yeare of *Mardacempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twentie seuen yeares, seuentene daies, and eleuen houres: the account from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high noone the first day of the *Egyptian* moneth *Thot*, than answering to the twentie sixt of *February*; and this Eclipse being fittie minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time betwene the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardacempadus*, is noted by *Ptolome*, according to the *Egyptian* yeares. But how does this proue, that *Mardacempadus* or *Merodach*, was the Sonne of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it proue, that he was his next Successor, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to falsifie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himselfe did afterwards beleue *Mardacempadus* to haue bene rather the Nephew, than the Sonne of *Baldan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Sonne, he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countre-man *Lydiate* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Tornelius*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Sabius Celsius*, who hath drawne into forme of Chronologie, that learned worke, *De vniuersali Temporum*, doe hold vp the same assertion, confounding *Baldan* with *Nabonassar*: I haue taken the paines to search, as farre as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might proue the Kindred or succession of these two. Yet cannot I finde in the *Almagest* (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or aduersie to *Scaliger*; and other good authoritie, I know none, in this businesse) any sentence more nearly prouing the succession of *Merodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was Father to the other, than (that I may vse a like example) the as neare succession of *William the Conqueror*, declares him, to haue bene Sonne, or Grand-child to *Edward the Confessor*. This considered, we may safely goe on with our account from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Sabonassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will

*Ptolomaeus*, lib. 1. c. 8.

be driuen from our booke, when they finde something in it, agreeing with *Amnius*, inasmuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, raigned in *Babylon*, and *Affrica*, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolome* are assigned to *Belusius*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardacempadus*, and the rest: no good Historie naming any others, that raigned there in those ages, and all Astronomical obseruations, fitly concurring, with the yeares that are attributed to these, or numbered from them.

## ¶ II.

of the danger and deliuerance of *India* from *SENNACHERIB*.



When *Sabonassar* was dead, and his sonne *Sennacherib* in possession of the Empire, in the fourteenth yeare of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him such Tribute as was agreed on at such time as *Tiglat*, the Grand-father of *Sennacherib*, and Father of *Sabonassar*, inuited by *Abaz*, inuaded *Rezen* King of *Damascus*, and deliuered him from the dangerous Warre which *Israel* had vnderaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when *Ezechias* denied, *Sennacherib*, hauing (as it seemes) a purpose to invade *Egypt*, sent one part of his Armie to lie before *Ierusalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (feareing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirtie hundred talents of siluer, and thirtie talents of gold: wherewith he presented *Sennacherib*, now set downe before *Lachis* in *Iudea*, yet vnder the colour of better assurance, and to force the King of *India* to deliuer hostages, the *Affirian* enuironed *Ierusalem* with a grosse Armie, and hauing his Sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his owne conditions.

*Ezechias* directed his three greatest Counsellers, to parlie with *Rabshaces*, ouer the Wall; and to receiue his demands: who vsed three principall arguments to persuade the people to yeld themselues to his Master *Sennacherib*. For though the Chancellor, Steward, and Secretarie, sent by *Ezechias*, desired *Rabshaces* to speake vnto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Ierish*, yet hee with a more loud voice directed his speech to the multitude in their owne language. And for the first, hee made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a short time, bee inforced to eate their owne dung, and drinke their owne vrine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of *Egypt*, from whom the *Iudeans* hoped for succour; and compared him to a broken staffe, on which whose leane pierceeth his owne hand: Thirdly, that the Gods who (should hee them, *Ezechias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brazen Serpent, which had bene preferred euer since *Noses* time: and withall he had them remember the Gods of other Nations: whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and throwne downe; and for God himselfe, in whom they trusted, he perswaded them by no meanes to relie on him; for he would deceiue them. But finding the people silent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while when he had vnderstood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerfull Armie, he himselfe left the *Affirian* forces in charge to others, and fought *Sennacherib* at *Lachis* in *Iudea*, either to informe him of their resolution in *Ierusalem*, or to confire with him concerning the Armie of *Tirhathae* the *Arabian*. Soone vpon this there came letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly aduised, and partly threatened to submit himselfe vnto the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerfull God, as before. But *Ezechias* sending those Counsellers to the Prophet *Esay*, which had lately bene sent to *Rabshaces*, receiued from him comfort and assurance, that this Heathen Idolater should not preuaile; against whom the King also besought aide from almighty God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of *Sennacheribs* letter, before the

Alter

2. Kings 19.

Altar of God in the Temple, confelling this part thereof to be true. *That the King of Assyria had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their Gods, for they were no Gods, but the work of man's hands, even wood and stone, &c.*

Herod. lib. 2. §. 69

The reason that moued *Senacherib* to desire to possesse himselfe in haile of *Ierusalem*, was that he might therein haue retrained his Armie, which was departed, as it seemeth from the siege of *Pelusium* in *Aegypt*, for feare of *Tethia*: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprise (which in these bookes of the Kings, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, I speake but of the affaires of the *Iewes* in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Iosephus*, and *S. Hierome*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Senacherib* King of *Arabia* and *Affria*: which he might justly doe, because *Tiglat* his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* King of *Israel*: as *Gilead* ouer *Jordan*, and the rest of *Arabia* *Petræa* adioyning: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Seihon* King of *Aegypt*, to be *Puleas* Priest, and reporteth that the reason of *Senacherib*'s returne from *Pelusium* in *Aegypt*, which he also beleaged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in funder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoiled the rest of their weapons of that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tethia*, remembered by *Iosephus* and *Berosus*, was the more urgent. *S. Hierome* vpon the fuen and thirte of *Ezay*, out of the same *Berosus*, as soles in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Iosephus* citeth somewhat otherwise than his words, li reports *Senacherib* retreat in these words. *Pugnasse autem SENACHERIB REGEM ASSYRIORUM CONTRA AEGYPTOS, & obsequisse PELUSIUM, tamq. extructis aggeribus, ubi aspicienda, venisse TACHAMACH REGEM ETHIOPIUM IN AUXILIUM, & contra nocte iuxta IERUSALEM CENTUM OCTOGINTA QUING. MILIA EXERCITUS ASSYRII PESTILENTIA CORRUISSE NARRAT HERODOTVS: & plenissime BEROSVS Chaldaice scriptor Historiae, quorum fides de praesentibus petenda est.* That *SENACHERIB* King of the *Assyrians* sought against the *Aegyptians*, and beleaged *Pelusium*, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the Citie, *TACHACHAS* King of the *Ethiopians* came to helpe them, and that in one night neare *Ierusalem* one hundred eighty fne thousand of the *Assyrian* Armie perished by pestilence, of these things (saith *Hierome*) \* *HERODOTVS* reports: and more at large *BEROSVS* a writer of *Chaldaean* storie, whose credit is to be taken from their owne bookes. Out of *Ezay* it is gathered, that this destruction of the *Assyrian* Armie was in this manner. *Then shall be visited of the Lord of Hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noise, a while winde and a tempest, and a flame of denouncing fire.* But *Iosephus* hath it more largely out of the same *Berosus*, an authoritie (because to well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted, *SENACHERIBVS* autem ab *AEGYPTIO* bello reuertens, ostendit sui exercitum, quem sub *RABASACIS* Imperio reliquerat peste diuinitus inmisit deletum, primâ nocte postea quam *Vrbem* oppugnare ceperat, assumptis cum *Eubolis* & *Tribunis*, centum octoginta quing. milibus *Militum*, qua clade territus, & de reliquis copijs sollicitus, maximis timoribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regium qua *Ninus* dicitur. *Plu paulo post per insidias Seniorum, & filijs suis, ADRAMELECHI, & SELENNARI, vitam amisit: occisus in ipso Templo quod dicitur ARASCI; quem precipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ob patricium à popularibus pulsus & in Armeniam fugientibus, ASARACOLAS minor filius in Regnum successit.* *SENACHERIB* (saith *Iosephus*) returning from the *Aegyptian* Warre, found there his Armie, which he had left vnder the command of *RABASACES*, destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begonne to assault the Towne: one hundred fawrescore and fye thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chieftaines and Coronells. With which destruction being terrified, and with all afraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, he made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called *Ninus*, where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sonnes, *ADRAMELECH* and *SELENNAR* or *SHARAZER*, he lost his life in the Temple dedicated to *ARASCES*, or *NESROCH*: whom he especially worshipped. These his sonnes being for their parricide chased away by the people: and flying into *Armenia*, *ASARACOLAS* his younger sonne succeeded.

Ioseph. lib. 1. c. 6.

Hier. Ezech. 25.

\* Tow in part, for Herodotus mentions nothing, neither of Tachach, nor of Ierusalem, nor of the Armie there.

Ezay. 37.

Ezay. 37.

Ioseph. lib. 1. c. 6.

Ioseph. lib. 1. c. 6.

Ioseph. lib. 1. c. 6.

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Ioseph. lib. 1. c. 6.

Ioseph. lib. 1. c. 6.

ed in the Kingdome. Who in the beginning of his raigne sent new troupes out of *Affria* and *Sennia*, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his grandfather *Salmassar*. What this *Nesroch* was, it is vncertaine: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing politically. It is certaine, that *Venus Frania* was worshipped by the *Affrians*; and so was *Ishtar Belus*, as *Dion*, *Ensebius*, and *Cyrius* witness. Many fancies there are, what cause his sonne had to murder him, but the most likely is, that he had formerly disinherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Assurhaddon*. *Tobit* tells vs, That it was fiftie Hue dayes after *Senacherib*'s returne, ere he was murdered by his sonnes; during which time he flew great numbers of the *Israelites* in *Ninive*, till the most iust God turned the Sword against his owne breast.

## §. III.

Of *Ezekias* his sickness and recoverie; and of the *Babylonian* King that congratulated him.



fter this marvellous deliuerie, *Ezekias* sickened, and was told by *Isaiah*, that he must die: but after he had besought God with teares for his deliuerie, *Isaiah* as he was going from him returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recoverie after three dayes, and a prolongation of his life for fiftene yeares. But *Ezekias* somewhat doubtful of this exceeding grace, prayeth a signe to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiah*, the shadow of the Sunne cast it selfe the contrary way, and went backe tenne degrees, vpon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cause that moued *Ezekias* to lament (saith Saint *Hierome*) was, because he had as yet no sonne, and then in despair that the *Messias* should come out of the house of *Dauid*, or at least of his Seede. His disease seemeth to be the Pestilence, by the medicine giuen him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of Figges, layed to the Botch or Soare.

This wonder when the Wise men of *Chaldaea* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the first of that house, he sent to *Ezekias*, to be informed of the cause: at which time *Ezekias* shewed him all the Treasure hee had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Isaiah*, who tolde him; *The dayes are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whattsoever thy fathers haue layed up in store to this day, shall be carried into Babel; nothing shall be left, sayth the Lord.* It may seeme strange, how *Ezekias* should haue got any treasure without the thewing: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the year before. But the spoyle of the same *Senacherib* his Campe repayed all with advantage, and made *Ezekias* richer vpon the suddaine then euer he had bene: which unexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time *Ezekias* had rest, and spending without noyle that addition which God had made vnto his life, hee died, hauing reigned nine and twentie yeares. One onely offense hee made, which was against the *Philistines* with good success. Among his other acts (shortly remembered in *Edesasticus* hee desired to bring water to *Ierusalem*.

In two respects they say that hee offended God: the one, that hee rejoyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemy; the other, that hee too much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moued *Ezekias* (speaking humanely) to entertaine the *Embassadors* of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recoverie of his health; as also in that *Merodach* had weakened the house of *Senacherib*, his fearefull enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant vnder *Senacherib* in *Babylon*, usurped that State himselfe, in the last yeare of that King, and held it by strong hand against his sonne *Assurhaddon*; who was not onely simple, but impaired in strength, by

by the moitication of his brothers. This advantage *Merodach* espied, and remembering, that their ancestor *Phul Belochus* had let his owne maller *Sardanapalus* besides the cushion, thought it as lawfull for himselfe to take the opportunite which this Kings weaknesse did offer, as it had bene for *Belochus* to make vfe of the others wickednesse: and so, finding himselfe bloued of the *Babylonians*, and sufficiently powerful, he did put the matter to hazard, and preuailed. The assertion of this historie is made by the same arguments that were vfed in maintaining the common opinion of Writters, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here againe rehearse. So of this new Race, which cut asunder the Line of *Ainus*, there were onely five Kings

<i>Phul Belochus.</i>	48.
<i>Tiglath Philassar.</i>	27.
<i>Salmansassar.</i>	10.
<i>Senacherib.</i>	7.
<i>Affshadadon.</i>	10.
} who reigned } years.	

But forasmuch as the last year of *Salmansassar* was also the first of *Senacherib* his sonne, we reckon the time wherein the house of *Phul* held the *Assyrian* Kingdome, to haue bene an hundred and one yeares; of which the last five and twentie were spent with *Ezekias*, vnder *Salmansassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Affshadadon*.

## §. IIII.

The Kings that were in *Media* during the raigne of *Ezekias*: Of the Difference found betweene *Iuanbrie* Authors, in rehearsing the *Median* Kings.

Other contemporaries of *Ezekias*: of *CANDAYLES*, *GYGES*, and the Kings descended from *HERCVLES*.

**I**n the time of *Ezekias*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceus*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were so, that variety of names, by which these Kings were called in severall Histories, hath caused them to seeme more than indeede they were; or whether the sonnes reigning with the fathers, haue caused not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they governed *Media*, to exceede the due proportion: or whether the Copies themselves, of *Ctesias* and *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, haue bene faultie, as neither of these two Authors is over-highly commended of trustinesse: so it is, that the names, number, and length of raigne, are all very diuersly reported of these *Median* Kings, that followed *Arbaces*: Therefore it neede not seeme strange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceus* as contemporaries with *Ezekias*. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those Writters that varie from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare vndertake. I will onely here set downe the roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, according as sundrie Authors haue deliuered it.

*Annius* his *Metasthenes* orders them and their raignes thus:

<i>Arbaces.</i>	28.
<i>Mananes.</i>	50.
<i>Sosarmus.</i>	30.
<i>Artaxermin.</i>	50.
<i>Arbaces.</i>	22.
<i>Artaxus.</i>	40.
<i>Attines.</i>	22.
<i>Aflybarus</i> , with his sonne <i>Avan</i> li.	20.
<i>Apania</i> alone.	30.
<i>Darius</i> with <i>Cyrus</i> .	36.
} who reigned } years.	

Diodorus

*Diodorus Siculus* following *Ctesias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metasthenes* follow *Diodore*, with some little variation, that he might not seeme a borrower) placeth them thus.

<i>Arbaces.</i>	28.
<i>Mananes.</i>	50.
<i>Sosarmus.</i>	30.
<i>Artaxei.</i>	50.
<i>Arbaces.</i>	22.
<i>Artaxus.</i>	40.
<i>Artynes.</i>	22.
<i>Artabanus.</i>	40.
} who reigned } yeares.	

*Aflybara.* } the continuance of these two he doth not mention.  
*Aflyages.*

*Nicerator* hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seemes to me an impossible matter, to attaine vnto the truth of these forgotten times, by conjectures founded vpon *Ctesias* and *Metasthenes*, I will lay the burthen vpon *Eusebius*, who liued in an age better furnished than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I haue reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekias*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceus*, are found in *Eusebius*: for whether *Cardiceus* were *Diodorus* his *Arbaces*, I will not stay to search. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Eusebius*, reigned in this order.

<i>Arbaces.</i>	28.
<i>Sosarmus.</i>	30.
<i>Medidus.</i>	40.
<i>Cardiceus.</i>	15.
<i>Deioes.</i>	54.
<i>Phraortes.</i>	24.
<i>Cyaxares.</i>	32.
<i>Aflyages.</i>	38.
} reigned } yeares.	

These names, and this course of succession I retaine; but adde vnto these, *Cyaxares* the sonne of *Aflyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and sometimes follow *Hierodotus*, in setting downe the length of a Kings raigne, otherwise than *Eusebius* hath it: of 40 which variations, I will render my reasons in due place.

The twentie nine yeares of *Ezekias* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the foure first that were chosen *Gouernours* of *Athenis* for ten yeares; that is, of *Charops*, *Asimedes*, *Elisicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the first of these I heare nothing, save that *Rome* was built in his first yeare; of which perhaps himselfe did not heare. Of the second and third I finde only the names. The fourth made himselfe knowne by a strange example of justice, or rather of cruelty, that hee shewed vpon his owne Daughter. For he finding that shee had offended in vnchastitie, caused her to bee lockt vp with an Horse, giuing to neither of them any foode: so the Horse, constrained by hunger, deuoured the vnhappie Woman.

In *Rome*, the first King, and Founder of that Citie *Romulus*, did raigne both before, and somewhat after *Ezekias*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the last King, ruled in the same age.

This

This Region was first called *Lydia*, the sonne of *Atry* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we beleue prophane authoritie. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred vpon *Argen*, who came of *Alceus* the sonne of *Hercules* by *Iardana*, a bond-woman. The race of these *Heraclidae* continued reigning fiftie five yeares (in which two and twentie Generations passed) the sonne continually succeeding the father. *Candaules* the sonne of *Mysfus* was the last of this race, who doated so much vpon the beautie of his owne Wife, that hee could not bee content to enjoy her, but would needes enforce one *Gyges*, the sonne of *Dajeylus*, to behold her naked bodie; and placed the vnwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so clofly carried, but that the Queene perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and understanding the matter tooke it in such high disdain, that hee forced him the next day to requite the Kings follie with treason. So *Gyges*, being brought againe into the same chamber by the Queene, slew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of *Lydia*. He reigned thirtie eight yeares, beginning in the last of *Ezechias*, one yeare before the death of *Romulus*.

*Hierome,  
Ambros.  
Clement. Alex.  
Eusebion.*

After *Gyges*, his sonne *Aryds* reigned nine and fortie yeares; then *Sadyattes*, twelue; *Halyattes*, fiftie seuen; and finally *Craesus*, the sonne of *Halyattes*, fourtene yeares: who lost the Kingdome, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Persia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* Kings, whom *Craesus* his Progenitor dispossest, are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Hercules* there sprang many other Kings, which gouerned severall Countries very long; as in *Asia*, the *Mysians*; in Greece, the *Lacedaemonians*; *Messenians*; *Rhodians*; *Corinthians*; and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*; as likewise from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracusians*: besides many great and famous, though priuate, Families.

But of the *Heraclidae* that reigned in *Lydia*, I haue not troubled my selfe to take notice in the times of their severall reignes: for little is found of them, beside the bare names, and the follie of this last

King *Candaules*.

(\*)

## CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in *Egypt*, betweene the deliuerance of *ISRAEL* from thence, and the raigne of *EZEKIA* in *Iuda*, when *Egypt* and *Iuda* made a league against the *Assyrians*.

§. I.

That many names of *Egyptian* Kings, found in Historie, are like to haue belonged only to Viceroyes. An example prouing this out of *WILLIAM* of *Tyre* his Historie of the holy Warre.



HE emulation and quarrells arising in these times, betweene the mightie Kingdomes of *Egypt* and *Assyria*, doe require our paines, in collecting the most memorablie things in *Egypt*, and setting downe briefly the state of that Countrey, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Assyria* for the Maritime. Of *Cham*, the sonne of *Noah*, who first planted that Countrey, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, until the *Israelites* were thence deliuered, more hath bene said already than

I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to faile in such conjectures. That which I haue deliuered, in speaking mine opinion of the *Egyptian* Dynasties, must here againe helpe me. For it may truly bee affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are said to haue reigned in *Egypt*, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, such as *Ioseph* was, and such as were the *Soldanes* in later ages. Therefore, I will not only forbear to secke after those, whom *Heraclotus* and *Diodorus* haue reckoned vp, from the mouthes of *Egyptian* Priests, deliuering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will leaue the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the yeares of their reignes, and other circumstances, prouing them to haue bene Kings in deede, being not recorded.

But that I may not seeme before hand, to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amisse, to giue vnto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of Historie doth afford. First therefore, wee ought not to beleue those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests haue reckoned vp, to magnifie their Antiquities. For wee know, that from *Abraham*, our Saviour Christ was removed only fortie two descents, which makes it euident, that in farre shorter time, namely before the *Persian* Empire, there could not haue passed away twice as many successions in *Egypt*: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, haue reigned longer than fortie yeares. It followes that we should square the number of the *Egyptian* Kings, in some euen proportion, to those which did beare rule in other Countreies. As for the rest, whose names wee finde scattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to reade the nineteenth booke of the holy Warre, written by *William* Archbilhop of *Tyre*, may easily perswade himselfe, that it is not hard to find names enough, of such as might be thought to haue reigned in *Egypt*, being none other

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than

than Regents or Viceroies. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose, for the pleasure and information of such, as will not trouble themselves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elhadeth* the *Caliph* ruled in *Aegypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerful and a subtle man, made himselfe *Soldan*, by force and cunning, chaling away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was *Soldan* before and after him. This *Dargan* ministred matter of quarrell to *Amalricke* King of *Ierusalem*; and sustained, with little losse, an invasion, which *Amalricke* made vpon *Aegypt*. Hereupon hee grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former *Soldan* hoped to make his partie good against him, if hee could get any forces wherewith to enter *Aegypt*. Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Norichar*, King of *Damasco*, for aide, who sends an Armie of his *Turkes*, vnder the command of *Syracoon*, against the *Soldan* *Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The Victorie was *Dargan*'s; but he enjoyed it not: for in few dayes after, he was slain by treason, whereby *Sanar* did recover his Dignitie: which to establish he slew all the Kindred and Friends of *Dargan*, that he could finde in the great Citie of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the *Caliph* *Elhadeth* gaue little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them liued, and had the administration of the Kingdome, whilst hee might haue the profit of it, and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would thinke) doe neere touch the *Caliph* himselfe. *Syracoon* with his *Turkes*, whom *Sanar* hath gotten to come into *Aegypt*, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly goe their way home. They fixe vpon the Towne of *Beluers*, which they tortie, and there attend the arrival of more Companie from *Damasco*, for the conquest of all *Aegypt*. The *Soldan* perceiues their intent, and finds himselfe not strong enough to expell them; much lesse to repell the *Turkish* Armie, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends Messengers to King *Amalricke* of *Ierusalem*, whom with large promises, hee gets to bring him aide, and so driues out the *Turkes*. Of all this trouble, the great *Caliph* heares nothing, or not so much, as should make him looke to the playing of his owne game.

A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the *Caliph* *Elhadeth* particularly, in his owne Title. *Syracoon*, Captain of the *Turkes*, that had bene in *Aegypt*, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldash* (who was opposite to him of *Aegypt*; each of them claiming as heire to *Abraham*, that false Prophet, the Soueraignetie ouer all that were of the *Syracoon* Line) and tells him the weaknesse of the *Aegyptian*, with his owne abilitie of doing seruice in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Aegypt*, with the Westerne parts, vnder the subiection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Easterne Provinces are vpin Armes; and *Syracoon*, with a mightie power, descendeth into *Aegypt*. The noise of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Amalricke*, that with all his forces hee halseth into *Aegypt*: well knowing how nearely it concerned him and his Kingdome of *Ierusalem*, to keep the *Syracoon* from joyning all vnder one head. *Sanar* the *Soldan* perceiuing the faithfull care of the *Christians* his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giuing them all manner of content, as it behoued him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drave the enemies out of the Countrie. But this victorie was not so soone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, seems to know nothing. May we not thinke him to haue bene King in title only, who medled so little in the Government? The *Soldan*, finding that the *Christians* (without whose helpe, all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required; makes large offers to King *Amalricke*, vpon condition, that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great Tribute (*William of Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the *Syracoon*, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of *Ierusalem* should receiue out of *Aegypt*, for this behouefull assistance. But the *Christians* vnderstanding that the *Soldan* (how much sooner he tooke vpon him) was subiect to an higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance, with any other than the

the *Caliph* himselfe. Hereupon *Hugh* Earle of *Cesarea*, and a Knight of the *Templars*, are sent vnto *Elhadeth*, to ratifie the covenants. Now shall wee see the greatness of the *Caliph* and his estate.

These Embassadors were conueighed by the *Soldan* to *Cairo*; where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The first entrance was through darke Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Aethiopians*, which, with all diligence, did reverence vnto the *Soldan*, as he passed along. Through these brights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beautie and riches, that they could not retaine the grauitie of Embassadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they saw goodly marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all wrought ouer with embossed works, curious pauements, fountains of marble with cleare waters, and many sorts of strange Birds, yknowne in these parts of the world, as comming perhaps from the East *Indies*, which then were vndiscovered. The further they went the greater was the magnificence; for the *Caliph* his *Eunuches* conueighed them into other Courts within these; as farre exceeding the former, as the former did surpass ordinary houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse, how the further they entred, the more high place they found, and cause of merruile; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was neuer held a vaine Author. Finally, they were brought into the *Caliph* owne lodgings, which were yet more stately, and better guarded, where entering the Presence, the *Soldan*, hauing twice prostrated himselfe, did the third time call off his Sword, that he ware about his neck, and throw himselfe on the ground, before the curtain, behind which the *Caliph* sat. Presently the traueise, wrought with gold and pearles, was opened, and the *Caliph* himselfe discovered, sitting with great Majesty on a throne of gold, hauing very few of his most inward seruants and *Eunuches* about him. When the *Soldan* had humbly kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his comming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made vnto King *Amalricke*, desiring the *Caliph* himselfe to ratifie them, in presence of the Embassadors. The *Caliph* answered, That he would thoroughly performe all which was promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They would haue him to giue his hand vpon the bargain; which the *Aegyptians*, that stood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatnesse condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the *Soldan*, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of *Cesarea* saw that the *Caliph* gaue his hand, neither willingly nor bare, hee told him roundly thus much in effect. Sir, Truth seekes no holes to hide it selfe; Princes, that will hold covenant, must disclose openly, nakedly, and sincerely; Giue vs therefore your bare hand, if you meane that we shall trust you: for we will make no bargaines with your Gloue. Much adoe there was about this: for it seemed against the Majesty of such a Prince to yeeld so farre. But, when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling cheare (though to the great griefe of his Seruants) hee vouchsafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the covenants word by word, as the Earle spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors, with such rewards as testified his Greatnesse.

In this *Caliph* and his *Sultan*, wee may discern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his *Viceroy*: we see a Prince of great estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himselfe with the great preparations made against him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: we see his Viceroy, in the meane season, vnging all Roiall power, making warre and peace, entertaining, and expelling Armies of strangers; yea, making the Land of *Aegypt* tributarie to a forraigne Prince. What greater authoritie was giuen to *Ioseph*, when *Pharaoh* said vnto him, *Thou shalt be ouer mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the Kings Throne will I be above thee, Behold, I have set thee ouer all the Land of Aegypt*?

I doe not commend this forme of Government; neither can I approoue the conjecture of mine Author, where hee thinks, that the *Aegyptians*, euer since

*Iosephs* time, haue felt the burthen of that seruitude, which he brought vpon them, when he bought them, and their Lands for *Pharaoh*. Herein I finde his judgement good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, in taking their care, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customes, practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we finde, that euen the *Ptolemies* (excepting *Ptolemaeus Lagi*, and his sonne *Phadelpus*, founder and establisher of that race) were giuen, all of them, wholly to please their owne appetites, leauing the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuchs, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Countie afforded, were indeed sufficient, to inuite the Kings thereof vnto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their Princes, gaue them securitie, whereby they might the better truit their Officers, with so ample Commission. But of this matter I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to haue shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroyes gouerning *Egypt*, is set downe by *Moses*, and that a liuely example of the same is found in *William of Tyre*, who liued in the same age; was, in few yeares after, Chancellor of the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*; and had full discourse with *Hugh Earle of Cesarea*, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that wee bee not carried away with a vaine opinion, to beleue that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians*, haue honored with that stile; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as wee finde by circumstance, likely to haue reigned in that Countie; after to whom it folloes that we should make enquire.

## §. II.

of *ACHERRES*; whether he were *VCHOREVS* that was the eighth from *OSYMANDYAS*. Of *OSYMANDYAS* and his Tombe.

**I**N this businesse I hold it vaine to be too curious. For who can hope to attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius*, from both of them; and late Writers, that haue sought to gather the truth out of these and others, find no one with whom they can agree. In this case *Aemius* would doe good service, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to bee beholding to him, when others doe either say nothing, or that which may iustly bee suspected. I will therefore hold my selfe contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Ihs*, *Orus*, and those antiquities remoued so farr out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, it shall suffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*, haue not bene silent, and that *Reinceus* hath taken paines, to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or found scattering in others.

From the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, vnto the raigne of *Thorus* (who is generally taken to be the same that the *Greekes* call *Proteus*) there is little or no disagreement about the *Egyptian* Kings. Wherefore I set downe the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and giue to every one the same length of raigne.

*Acherres* was the first of these, who succeeded vnto *Chenches*, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seems to *Reinceus* to bee the same whom *Diodorus* calls *Vchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King, named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Vchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timas* (as *Reinceus* conjectures) was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Vchoreus*: for the distance betwene them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* judgeth *Osymandyas* to haue bene the husband of *Asencheres*, *Orus* the second his Daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited

(cited by *Iosephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his wiues, into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wiues right. As for *Thoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to finde him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Osiris*, not to signifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that *Greek* word else doth) the eighth, but to be an *Egyptian* name, belonging also to *Vchoreus*, who might haue had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my braines in the vnprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Osymandyas*, was wrought vpon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I thinke the *Egyptians* did fabulously expound. For whereas there was portrayed a great Armie, with the siege of a Towne, the captiuitie of the People, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the *Egyptians* said to denote the conquest of *Bactria* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly peece of worke, which *Diodore* so particularly describes, to haue bene erected for a common place of buriall, to the ancient Kings and Queenes of *Egypt*, and to their Viceroyes; whilst yet they were not so ambitious, as euerie one to haue his owne particular monument, strutting therein to exceede all others. This appeares by the many statues, therein placed, by the Warres, the judgement Seate, the receiving of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the accompt of Reuenues, and plenty of all Cattail and Foode; all which were there curiously wrought, the shewing the fullall Offices of a Gouernour. On the Tombe of *Osymandyas* was this inscription. I AM *OSYMANDYAS* King of Kings; If any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceede some of my workes. Let them, that hope to exceede his workes, labour to know what he was. But since by those wordes, Or where I lie, it should seeme that hee lay not there interred, wee may lawfully suspect that it was *Ioseph*, whose bodie was preferred among the *Iebrewes*, to bee buried in the Land of *Canaan*, and this empty Monument might King *Orus*, who out-liued him, erect in honor of his high deserts, among the royall Sepulchers. To which purpose, the plenty of Cattail, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name *Osymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; seeing *Ioseph* had one new name giuen to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dream, and might, vpon further occasions, haue another, to his encrease of honor. As for that stile, King of Kings, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkish* *Bassies* are called, that is, Great about the Great.

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, betwene the times of *Ioseph* and *Acherres*, (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose Viceroy *Ioseph* was) yet will I hereby seeke, neither to fortifie mine owne conjecture, as touching *Ioseph*, nor to inferre any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Vchoreus*. For it might well bee, that *Memphis* was built by some such King as was *Gehor*, Lieutenant vnto the *Caliph Eleam*, who hauing to his Masters

40 vic, conquered *Egypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not farr from old *Memphis*, the great Citie of *Cairo* (corruptly so pronounced) naming it *El Calira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mistresse, though hee himselfe were a *Dalmatian* slaue.

John Leo Hist. Africae. c. 14.

## §. III.

OF *CHERRES*, *ARMEVS*, *RAMESSES*, and *AMENOPHIS*. OF *MYRIS*,  
and the Lake that beares his name.

**W**Hen *Acherres* had reigned eight yeares, *Cherres* succeeded, and held the Kingdome fiftene yeares: then reigned *Armeus* five yeares, and after him *Rameſſes*, threſcore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Rameſſes* is that Hiſtorie underſtood by *Eufebius*, which is common among the *Greekes*, vnder the names of *Danaus* and *Aegyptus*. For it is ſaid that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Aegypt* by his Brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdome of *Argos*: that he had ſittie Daughters, whom vpon ſeeming reconciliation, hee gaue in marriage to his Brothers ſittie Sonnes, but commanded euery one of them to kill her husband the firſt night; that only *Hyperminſtra*, one of his Daughters, did ſue her husband *Lyncus*, and ſuffered him to eſcape, finally, That for this faſt, all the bloudie ſiſters, when they died, were enioyned this fooliſh puniſhment in Hell, to fill a leaking Veſſell with water.

The raigne of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeede in this age; but that *Armeus* was *Danaus*; and *Rameſſes*, *Aegyptus*, is more then *Armenecus* belueues: hee rather takes *Armeus* to haue bene *Myris*, or *Miris*, who cauſed the great Lake to be made which beares his name. For my owne part, as I can eaſily beleuee, that he which fled out of *Aegypt* into *Greece*, was a man of ſuch qualitie as the *Soldan* *Sanar*, of whom wee ſpake before; ſo doe I not finde how in ſo ſhort a raigne, as five yeares, a worke of that labour could be finiſhed, which was required vnto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his owne Sepulchre and his Wiues being ſome part, it is maniſeſt that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whoſe age is vncertaine, and of whoſe raignes we haue no aſſurance, I may truly ſay, that their great workes are not enough to proue them of the houſe of *Pharaoh*, ſeeing that greater deedes, or more abſolute, then were thoſe of *Iſoph*, who bought all the people of *Aegypt* as bond-men, and all their Land for bread; of *Gebeur*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Countrie Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It ſhall therefore be enough to ſet downe the length of their raignes, whom we finde to haue followed one another in order of ſucceſſion: but in rehearling the great acts which were performed, I will not ſtand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris* is, by the report of *Diadore* and *Herodotus*, three thouſand five hundred furlongs in compaſſe, and fittie fadomes deepe. It ſerued to receiue the waters of *Nilus*, when the ouer-flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Countrie, and to ſupply the deſect, by letting out the waters of the Lake, when the Riuer did not riſe high enough. In opening the fluces of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were ſpent ſittie talents; but the Lake it ſelfe deſtroyed that coſt, ſeeing the tribute impoſed vpon Fiſh taken therein, was euery day one talent, which *Myris* gaue to his Wiſe to buy fineſt ointments, and other ornaments for her bodie. In the middelt of it was left an Iſland, wherein were the Sepulchers of *Myris* and his Wiſe, and ouer each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fittie paces high; hauing on the tops their ſtatues, ſitting in Thrones. I finde not the deſcription of this Lake in Maps, anſwerable to the report of Hiſtorians: yet is it very great. The yeares of *Armeus* are by *Manetho* diuided, by inſerring one *Armeſſes* (whom *Eufebius* omits) that ſhould haue reigned one yeare and odder moneths of the time; but I hold not this difference worthe of examination.

After *Rameſſes*, his ſonne *Amenophis* held the Kingdome fortie yeares. Some giue him only nineteene yeares; and *Herodotus* thinks him to haue bene the King

King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I haue alreadie ſpoken in the firſt Booke.

## §. IIIL.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynaſtie of the *Larthes*.

**S**ETHOSIS, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, ſittie five yeares. To him are aſcribed the famous acts of that ancient *Seſoſtris*. But the ſtate of the World was not ſuch in theſe times, that ſo great an expedition, as the old *Seſoſtris* made, could haue bene either eaſily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he paſſed, had it now bene performed, as any man will perceiue if hee looke vpon my Chronologicall Table, and conſider who liued with this *Zethus*. With this King beganne the Dynaſtie of the *Larthes*; which *Reinccus* coniectures to haue had the ſame ſignification, wherein the old Kings of *ſicilia*, were called *Lartes*, (the *ſicilians* being iſſued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Aegypt*) and to haue ſignified as much as *Imperator* or *General*. The Warres in which theſe Kings were Generals, I take to haue bene againſt the *Aethiopians*: for ſure I am, that they troubled not the Countrie of *Palaeſtina*, that lay next vnto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they trauielled ouer the deſert ſands, on the other hand; to ſeeke matter of conqueſt, in the poore Countries of *Africa*. But theſe Generals (if the *Larthes* were ſuch) were not many. Five only had that title; and the laſt of theſe tooke it, perhaps, as hereditarie from the firſt; in ſuch fort as the *Roman* Emperors were proud for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the moſt vnfurtable conditions of *Helioabalus*, made his Succeſſors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the *Dynaſties* (as appears by this particular) tooke name from the Kings, that the Kings alſo did adminiſter the gouernement themſelues; and that therefore I am decciued in aſcribing ſo much vnto the Viceroyes. But it is to be conſidered, that what is ſaid of theſe *Larthes*, depends only vpon coniecture, and that the authoritie of the Regents, or Viceroyes, might bee great enough, though ſome few Kings tooke the conduct of Armies into their owne hands. For ſo we finde in *Iohn Leo*, that the *Soldan* of *Aegypt* (after ſuch time as the *Soldan Saladin*, murdering the *Cadiſh*, got the Soueraignie to himſelfe) had vnder him a Viceroy, ſitled *Edaquadare*, who had authoritie to place, or diſplace, any Magiſtrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almoſt as great, as the *Soldans* owne. Yet was there alſo the *Amir Cadir*, or Lord General of the *Soldans* forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as be thought good ſpend of the *Soldans* treaſure. So might the Office of the Viceroyes continue, though the Kings themſelues, taking the charge, or title of Generals vpon them, did ſomewhat abridge the greatneſſe of that ſecond place. As for the names of the *Dynaſties*, it ſkills not whence they were drawne; whether from their Countrie, as thoſe of the *Thebans* and *Diopolitans*, or from ſome eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time, as many thinke, that the ſeuenteenth *Dynaſtie* was called of the Sheep-heads, becauſe *Iuſeph* gouerned in part thereof; or from the Kings themſelues that reigned; as this was ſaid to be of the *Larthes* or Generals. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Armenius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes* or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, ſo far as much as *Paphos*, and *Seſae*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let vs

now returne to the buſineſſe which we left.

*Rameſſes* was King after *Zethus*, or *Seſoſtris*, threſcore and ſixe yeares. He is miſtaken for that ſecond *Seſoſtris*, of whom I haue ſpoken in the firſt Booke. I finde nothing worth rehearſall of this *Rameſſes*, or of *Amenophis*, and *Armenius*; that followed him in order, the former of which reigned fortie, the later ſixe and twentie yeares.

yeares. Wherefore it may well bee, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditarie.

*Thauris*, the last of the *Larthes*, reigned only seven yeares; yet is hee thought to have bene that *Proetus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, That he tooke *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the sack of *Troy*, restored her to *Athenians*. I neede say no more in refutation of this, then that the time of *Thauris* his reigne, lasted not so long as from the Rape of *Helena* to her restitution.

This *Proetus* or *Ceter* (as he is named by some) together with *Then*, and others, mentioned by *Greek* Writers in this bulinesse, or in other such matters, may seeme to be vnder-Officers: for such only are like to haue had their residence about *Pharos*, and the Sea coast, where *Mendau* arrived.

Of *Proetus*, who detained *Helena*, it is said, That he could foretell things to come, and that hee could change himselfe into all shapcs: whereby is signified his craftie head, for which he is growne into a Prouerbe. The Poets fained him a Sea God, and keeper of *Neptunes* Scale-fishes, for belike he was some vnder-Officer to the Admiral, hauing charge of the Fishing about the Isle of *Pharos*, as was said before.

*Remphes*, the Sonne of *Proetus*, is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramsphutis*, and tells a long tale, fit to please children, of his couetousnesse, and how his treasure-houle was robbed by a cunning Thiefe, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may belecue what he list. How so long this King reigned I know not, nor thinke that either hee, or his Father, did reign at all.

## §. V.

Of Egyptian Kings whose names are found scattered in sundrie Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of Egypt, according to CEDRENS, OF VAPHRES and SESAC.

Any other names of Egyptian Kings, are found scattered here and there; as *Tenepheris*, of whom *Suidas* deliueis only the bare name and titles *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Metastasis*, who perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Serues*, or *Euenes*, noted by occasion of a great Philition that liued vnder him; *Bachynis*, recorded by the same *Suidas*, for his great iustice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gaue name to the Isle of *Thule*, which some take to be *Island*; and that he consulted with the Deuil, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, desiring to know, who before him had bene, or after him should be so mightie as himselfe. The answer or confession of the Deuil was remarkable; which I finde Englished in the translation of *Plethys* his works, of the true esse of Christian Religion. The *Greek* Verles are somewhat otherwise, and more imperfect in those Copies that I haue of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one; which is this:

First GOD, and next THE WORD, and then THE SPIRIT,  
Which three be ONE, and joyne in ONE all three:  
Whose force is endless. Get thee hence fraile wight,  
The Man of Life vnknowne excelleth thee.

I should haue thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas*, than *Cedrenus* hath heretofore; as the forme of inuocation which *Thulis* vsed, and that clause, of his giuing name to the *Island*: though in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as also *Cedrenus* is, or (at least) seems to

to me, in giuing to this King such profound antiquitie of reigne. Indeede the very name of that Booke, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breede suspicion of some imposture: but the Frierly fluffe that hee alledgeth out of it, is such as would serue to discredit himselfe, were it not otherwise apparant, that he was a man both deuout, and of good iudgement, in matters that fell within his compasse. I will here set downe the List of olde Egyptian Kings deliuered by him, and leaue the censure to others.

The first King of Egypt that he sets downe is *Misraim*, the sonne of *Chan*. After him hee findes many of a new race, deniuing their pedigree thus: *Nimrod*, the sonne of *Chus*, was also called *Orion*; and further, tooke vpon him the name of the Planet *Saturne*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his owne Linage, and by her three sonnes, *Picus*, surnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chasing his father out of *Assyria* into *Italie*, reigned in his stead thirtie yeares, and then gaue vp that Kingdome to *Ino*, his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his sonne: after which *Belus*, who reigned onely two yeares, *Ninus* had the Kingdome, and married his owne mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italie*, to visite his olde father *Saturne*, *Saturne* forthwith reigned the Kingdome to him. *Picus* *Jupiter* reigned in *Italie* threecore and two yeares, had threecore and tenne Wiues or Concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lyes buried in the Isle of *Crete*. The principall of *Jupiter* sonnes were *Fannus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Fennus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercurie*: hee reigned in *Italie*, after his father, fue and thirtie yeares: and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into Egypt, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of *Misraim*, hee got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirtie yeares. After *Mercurie*, *Vulcan* reigned in Egypt foure yeares and a halfe. Then *Sol*, the sonne of *Vulcan*, reigned twentie yeares and a halfe. There followed in order *Sofis*, *Ofiris*, *Orus*, and *Thules*, of whome we spake before: the length of their seuerall reignes is not set downe. After *Thules*, was the great *Sesoftris* King twentie yeares. His successor was *Pharao*, called *Narecho*, that held the Crowne fiftie yeares, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharao*, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set downe as I finde them: let their credit rest vpon the Author.

Others yet we finde, that are said to haue reigned in Egypt, without any certaine note, when, or how long: about whome I will not labour, as fearing more to be comprehended of some curiositie, in the search made after these already rehearsed, then of negligence, in omitting such as might haue bene added.

*Vaphres*, the father in law to *Salomon*; and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Reheboam*, leade vs againe into faire way, but not farre. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clement Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* for it. These giue vs not the length of his reignes; but we know, that he liued in the times of *Dauid* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Armie, tooke *Gesar* from the *Canaanites*, and gaue it to his daughter, *Salomons* wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his sonne did fauour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept so many Wiues and Concubines, besides this Egyptian Princeesse. In the life of *Reheboam* all hath bene written that I finde of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his reigne, which must haue bene sixe and twentie yeares, if he were that *Sennedis* with whome *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth Dynastie.

Now forasmuch as it would serue to no great purpose, that wee knew the length of *Sesac* his reigne, and of theirs that followed him, vnlesse therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, vpon which the rest haue dependance, this course I take. From the fourth year of *Iehoonkam*, King of *Inda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was slaine, I reckon vpwards the yeares of the same *Neco*, and of his predecessors, vnto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which accompt, the first year of *Sesac* is found, concurrent with

clon. Strom. l. i.  
Euseb. de Prep. Evangel. c. 4.  
1. King. 9. 16. &  
11. 18. 19. & c.

with the twentieth of *Salomons* raigne, and the twentieth sixt of *Sesac* with the sixt of *Belshazzar*: wherein *Sesac* spoyled the Temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer; then *Isa* the *Isradite* and *Cressus* the *Romane* did; who, after him, spoyled the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

To fill up the time between *Sesac* and *Neco*, I have rather taken those Kings that I finde in the *Greeke* Historians, than them which are in *Ensebius* his Catalogue. For of these that are delisted by *Ensebius*, wee finde no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, save only of *Bachoris*, who is remembered by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appeare to have bene a King. Hereunto I may adde, that the succession is often interrupted in *Ensebius* by *Aethiopi*ans, which got the Kingdom often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appeares by the Prophet *Esaie*, that the Councillors of *Pharao* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, in so much, that they said of *Pharao*, *I am the Sonne of the Wise, I am the Sonne of the ancient King*. But that which overthrowes the reckoning of *Ensebius*, is, the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it please him well to see how the reigns of *Isa* and *Reco* meet by his computation, yet this indeede makes all; the reigns of *Isa* being misplaced. This error grows from his omitting to compare the reigns of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion, *Isa*, King of *Israel*, is made to raigne three yeares after *Abasas* of *Juda*; *Sennasir* was taken by *Salmansasar* before *Hezekias* was King: and in a word, all, or most of the Kings, have their beginnings placed in some other yeare of their collateralis than the Scriptures have determined.

## §. VI.

Of *CHEMMIS*, *CHEOPS*, *CEPHRENES*, and other Kings recited by  
HERODOTUS and DIODORUS SICULUS, which  
reigned between the times of *REXO*-  
BOAN and *EZEKIA*.

**F**ollowing therefore the *Greeke* Historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chumis*, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. He reigned fiftie yeares, and built the greatest of the three *Pyramides*, which was accounted one of this worlds Wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottom vpwards, narrower and narrower to the toppe. This of *Chemmis* being foure-square, had a Bise of seven akers every way, and was about six akers high. It was of a very hard and durable Stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand yeares, without complaining of any injury that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the raigne of *Chemmis*, vnto the age of *Augustus Caesar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeede a thousand yeares; which giues the better likelihood vnto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other *Pyramides*, late Writers testifie, that they haue bene them yet standing.

After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and inclining rather to the opinion, that his sonne *Chabres* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might bee *Chabres*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to haue bene brethren: but the length of their reignes may argue the later to haue bene sonne to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fiftie yeares, *Cephrenes* fiftie six. These were, as *Chemmis* had bene, builders of *Pyramides*, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who alreadie had ouerlaboured themselves in erecting the first. These *Pyramides* were ordained to be Tombs; for those that raised them;

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but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to haue cast out their bodies; and to haue called their Monuments by the name of an *Enchanment*, that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entitling a poore fellow to their workes, was held to be the casting out of their bodies: other wise, it is hard to conceiue, how it might bee, that they, who had not power to auoid the like flauerie, laid vpon them by the yonger brother, or sonne, should haue power or leisure to take such reuenge vpon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale deuised against *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father, wanting monie, did prostitute her; and that shee, getting of euery man that accompanied her, one stone, did build with them a fourth *Pyramis*, that stood in the middle of the other three. Belike shee was an insolent Ladie, and made them follow their drudgerie, for her sake, longer a while than they thought to haue done, in raising a Monument, with the superfluitie of her Fathers prouisions.

*Necurus*, the sonne of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his Father sixe yeares. He would haue built as his foregoers did, but prevented by death, finished not what hee had begunne. The people thought him a good King, for that he did open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatned him with a short life of sixe yeares only, because of this his deuotion; For (saide the Oracle) *Egypt should haue bene afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeares, which by Predecessors know, and performed for their parts, but thou hast relapsed, therefore shalt thou live but fise yeares*. Its very strange, that the Gods should be offended with a King for his pietie; or that they should decree to make a Countrie impious, when the people were desirous to serue them; or that they hauing so decreed, it should lie in the power of a King, to alter delictie, and make the ordinance of the Gods to faile in taking full effect. But these were *Egyptian* Gods. The true God was, doubtlesse, more offended with the restitution of such Idolatrie, than with the interruption. And who knowes, whether *Chemmis* did not learne somewhat at *Ierusalem*, in the last yeare of his Father *Sesac*, that made him percieue, and deliuer to those that followed him, the vanitie of his *Egyptian* superstition? Sure it is that his raigne, and the reignes of *Cheops*, and *Cephrenes*, were more long and more happie, than that of *Necurus*, who, to delude the Oracle, reuelled away both daies and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, hee had changed his nights into daies, and so doubled the time appointed: a seruice more pleasing to the Deuill, than the restitution of Idolatrie durst then seeme, when it could speede no better. I finde in *Reinecius* fiftie yeares assigned to this King; which I verily beleue to haue bene some error of the print, though I finde it not corrected among other such our-lights: for I know no Author that giues him so many yeares, and *Reinecius* himselfe takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned *Necurus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

*Bachoris* is placed next vnto *Necurus*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him 40 than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his Predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by diuers Authors, as one that loued iustice; and may be taken for that *Bachoris*, whom *Suidas* commendeth in that kinde: *Ensebius* reckons foure and forty yeares of his raigne.

After *Bachoris*, one *Sabacus* an *Aethiopian* followes, in the Catalogue of *Diodore*, but certaine ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bachoris*, hath *Apschis*; who made a sharpe law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paid. This *Apschis* made a *Pyramis* of brick, more costly and faire, in his owne judgement, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Apschis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Amphis*, 50 an blinde man, before the *Aethiopian*. The reignes of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted betweene *Bachoris* and him that followed them. But all this could make but sixe yeares; and so long doth *Funiculus*, so long doth *Reinecius* hold, that these two Kings, betweene them both, did gouerne. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it vnpro-  
bable,

¶ 19. 11.

Diodor. l. 1.  
Herod. l. 2.

babie, that the reignes of two Kings should have bene so soone spent; he may doe it by taking some yeares from *Seton* or *Panmeticus*, and adding them to either of theſe. To adde vnto theſe, without ſubtracting from ſome other, would breed a manifeſt inconuenience: forasmuch as part of *Seſe*'s his raigne, muſt haue bene in the ſite of *R H O R O A N*; as also the laſt of *Pharao Neo* was the fourth of *Ierodotus*, and the firſt of *Achabadeszar*. For mine owne part I like it better to allow fixe yeares only to theſe two Kings, than to looſe the witneſſe of *Ierodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth ſpeake of *Senacherib*'s warre: at which time *Seton* was King of *Aegypt*. I will not therefore adde yeares vnto theſe obſcure names; for by adding vnto theſe men three yeares, wee ſhall thruſt the beginning of *Seton* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Senacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Ierodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Aegyptian* Kings. Otherwiſe it were a matter of no great enuie, to leaue both *Aſychu* and *Anſis* out of the roll; which were eaſily done, by placing *Seſe* lower, and extending his life yet fixe yeares further, or more, (if the like abridgement ſhall be required of *Panmeticus* his raigne) into the yeares of *Reheboam*.

Of *Sabieu* the *Aethiopian*, who tooke the Kingdome from *Anſis*, it is agreed by the moſt, that he raigned fixe yeares. He was a mercifull Prince, not puniſhing all capitall offences with death, but impoſing bondage and bodily labour vpon malefactors; by whole toyle hee both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out their ſeruire to hire, and performed many workes, of more vſe than pompe, to the ſingular benefit of the Countrey. *Zanuiſ* calls this King *Sna*, the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hoſes*, the laſt King of *Iſrael*, made a League with him againſt *Sihannanſar*, little to his good: for the *Aegyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendſhip could not preſerue the *Iſraelite* from deſtruction.

It ſeemes, that the encroaching power of the *Aſſyrian*, grew terrible to *Aegypt* about theſe times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulaſſar*, and *Salmaneſſar*, having eaten ſo farre into *Syria*, in the raigne of theſe one King *So* or *Sabieu*. Yea, perhaps it was in his daies (for his raigne beganne in the fourth of *Menſem*) that *Phul* himſelfe did make the firſt entrance into *Paleſtina*. This cauſed *So* to animate the halfe ſubdued people, againſt their Conquerours; but the helpe which he and his Succellor gaue them was ſo faint, that *Senacherib*'s Embaſſador compared the *Aegyptian* ſuccour to a broken ſtaffe of Reede. Such indeede had *Hoſes* found it, and ſuch *Ezekia* might haue found it, had hee not bene ſupported by the ſtronger ſtaffe of Him, that rules all Nations with a rod of yron. It appeares by the words of *Iſaiah*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Aegyptian* forces, for *Charrets* and *Hoſemen*, but this power, whatſoeuer it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of *Aegypt* it ſelfe, which *So* left vnto *Seton* his Succellor, hauing now fulfilled the ſittie yeares of his raigne. *Ierodotus* and *Diodorus* haue both one tale, from the relation of *Aegyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King; ſaying, that he left the Countrey, and willingly retired into *Aethiopia*, becauſe it was often ſignified vnto him in his dreames, by the God which was worſhipped at *Thebes*, that his raigne ſhould be neither long nor prosperous, vnleſſe he ſlew all the Priests in *Aegypt*, which rather than to doe, he reſigned his Kingdome. Surely, theſe *Aegyptian* Gods were of a ſtrange quality, that ſo ill rewarded their Seruants, and invited Kings to doe them wrong. Well might the *Aegyptians* (as they likewiſe did) worſhip Dogs as Gods, when their chiefe Gods had the proprietie of Dogs, which loue their Maſters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests ſhould haue ſuined this tale, I cannot tell, and therefore I thinke that it might be ſome deuile, of the fearful old man, who ſeeing his R calme in danger of an inuaſion, fought an honeſt excuſe for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himſelfe into *Aethiopia*, where he had bene bred in his youth. What if one ſhould ſay, that the *Aethiops* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tubake* the King (perhappes at the inſtigation of this man) raiſed an Armie againſt *Senacherib*, when hee meant

meant to inuade *Aegypt*, within two or three yeares after? But I will not trouble my ſelfe with ſuch enquire. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabieu*, was not indeede an *Aethiopian* (for in his time liued the Prophet *Eſay*, who mentioneth the antiquitie of *Pharaoh*'s houſe) but only ſo furnamed for his education, and becauſe ſituing from thence, he got the Kingdome from *Anſis*, who was his oppoſite. The quiet and milde forme of his Government; his holding the Kingdome ſo long without an Armie; and many other circumſtances argue no iuſtice. But whether finally hee betooke to a priuate life, or whether hee fore-went his Life and Kingdome at once, being now very old, it is time that we leaue him, and ſpeake of *Seton* his next Succellor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembered by *Ierodotus*, by a ſure token of his hauing bene King.

## §. VII.

Of *SEYTON* who raigned with *Ezekia*, and ſided with him againſt *SENACHERIB*.

THE firſt yeare of *Seton*'s raigne falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, which was the ſitt of *Senacherib*. It was a troubleſome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdomes of *Aſſyria* and *Aegypt*, being then engaged in a Warre, the iſſue whereof was to determine, whether of them ſhould rule or ſerue. The *Aſſyrian* had the better men of warre; the *Aegyptian*, better prouiſion of neceſſaries: the *Aſſyrian*, more Subjects; the *Aegyptian*, more Friends; and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of *Aſſyria*, manie that were *Aegyptian* in heart, though *Aſſyrian* in outward ſiew.

Of this laſt ſort were *Ezekia*, and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them againſt his owne great Enemy, preferred the friendſhip of ſo neare and mightie a Neighbour, before the ſeruire of a terrible, yet ſame remoued King. But herein was great difference, betwene *Ezekia* and his Subjects, For the good King, fixing his eſpeciall confidence in God, held that courſe of policy, which hee thought moſt likely to turne to the benefit of his Countrey: the multitude of *Juda*, looking into the faire hopes which this *Aegyptian* league promiſed, were pulled vp with vaine conceits, thinking that all was late, and that now they ſhould not neede to feare any more of thoſe injuries, which they had ſuſtained by the *Aſſyrians*, and ſo became forgetfull of God, taking counſaile but not of him. The Prophet *Eſay* complained much of this preſumption; giuing the people of *Juda* to vnderſtand, That the *Aegyptians* were men, and not God, and their Horſes fleſh, and not Spirit; that God himſelfe ſhould defend *Iſrael* vpon repentance, and that *Aſſyria* ſhould fall by the ſword, but not of man. As for the *Aegyptians* (ſaid the Prophet) they are vanitiſe, and they ſhall helpe in vaine, their ſtrength is to ſit ſtill.

According to the Prophets words it came to paſſe. For in the treatie of Confederacie that was held at *Zaan*, all manner of contentment and aſſurance was giuen to the *Jewes*, by *Seton*, or his Agents, who filled them with ſuch reports, of Horſes and Charrets, that they did not looke (as *Eſay* ſaith) vnto the holy one of *Iſrael*, nor ſeek vnto the Lord. But he yet is wiſe.

After a while came *Senacherib* with his Armie, and wakened them out of theſe dreames, for *Seton* their good Neighbour, as neare as he was, did ſeeme farre off, being vnreadie, when his helpe was moſt needfull. It may ſeeme that he purpoſed, rather to make *Paleſtina* than *Aegypt* the ſtage, whereon this great Warre ſhould be aded, and was not without hope, that the *Aſſyrians* and *Jewes*, weakening one another, ſhould yeeld vnto him a faire aduantage ouer both. Yet he fought with menie; for he ſent Horſes and Camells laden with treaſure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom

1. 3. 30. 8. *Ejy* calleth a people that cannot profit. These *Arabians* did not profit indeed; for (besides that it seemes by the same place of *Ejy*, that the rich treasures mislarded, and fell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from *Tirhaca*.) all the strong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Senacherib*, except *Lubna*, *Lachis*, and *Ierusalem* it selfe, which were in fore disire, till the sword of God, and not of Man, defeated the *Assyrian*, who did goe for *Isaie*, to his Tower, that is, he fled to *Ninne*, wherhe was hisane.

7. 23. 9. Concerning this expedition of *Senacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against *Egypt*, where the men of warre, being offended with *Seton* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refused to beare armes in defence of him and the Countrey; that *Seton* being *Pulean* Priest, bemoaned himselfe to his God, who by dreame promised to send him helpers; that hereupon *Seton*, with such as would follow him, (which were crafts-men, shop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Pelusium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entering the Campe of *Senacherib* by night, did so know the bowes, quivers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were faine the next day to flee away in all haste, finding themselves disarmed. In memorie hereof (saith *Herodotus*) the statue of this King is set up in the Temple of *Pulean*, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this inscription. Let him, that beholds me, feare God. Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Priests, wherein how faine they swarred from the truth, being desirous to magnifie their owne King, it may easily be perceived. It seemes that this Image of *Seton* was fallen downe, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbear to tell him (which caused him to omit it) for that the Nation of the *Tenes* was then well knowne to the world, whereof euery child could haue told, how much fallshood had beene mingled with the truth.

We finde this historie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That *Senacherib* King of the *Assyrians*, and *Arabians*, (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians* or peraduenture some borderers vpon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) liued in this age, made Warre vpon *Egypt*, and was miraculously driuen home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that *Pulean* did vnto his Priest; happy it was (if *Seton* were a Priest) that he tooke his God now in so good a mood. For within three or foure yeares before this, all the Priests in *Egypt* should haue bene slaine, if a mercifull King had not spared their liues, as it were halfe against the Gods will. Therefore this last good turne was not enough to serue as an example, that might stirre vp the *Egyptians* to pietie, seeing that their deuotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did represent *Senacherib* himselfe, and that the Mouse in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expressing things) the shamefull issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Armie, by means which came no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed vpon this vngodly King, was indeede a very good motiue to pietie. But the embleme, together with the Temple of *Pulean* (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) might giue occasion to such a fable; the Deuill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Deuill, I hold it very likely, that *Seton*, finding himselfe in danger, did call vpon his Gods, that is, vpon *Pulean*, *Seraph*, or any to whom he had most deuotion. But so had other of his Predecessors done in the like neede: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the *Tenes* (euen such of them as most were giuen to Idolatrie) would haue bene alhamed of the confidence which they reposed, in the Charvers of *Egypt*, because they were many, and in the Horse-men, because they were very strong; had it bene told them, that *Seton*, in stead of sending those Horse-men and Charretts, was beseeching *Pulean*, to send him and them good luck, or else (for these also were *Egyptian* Gods) addressing his prayers to some Onyon or Cat. How soeuer it was, doubt-  
less.

1. 4. 31. 1.

less the prophetic of *Ejy* tooke effect, which said, They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor helpe, nor doe them good, but shall be a shame and also a reproch. Such is commonly the issue of humane wisdom, when relying secure vpon prouision that it selfe hath made, it will no longer seeme to stand in neede of God.

Some there are who take *Seton* to haue bene set downe by *Eusebius*, vnder the name of *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian*, and therefore the twentie yeares which are giuen to *Tarachus*, they allow to the raigne of *Seton*. These haue well obserued, that *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Countrey, or at least an enemy to *Senacherib*, in the warre last spoken of: the *Ethiopians* (as they are englished) ouer which hee raigned, being indeede *Chusites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they thinke, that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaca*, is placed in the roome of *Seton*, and therefore giue to *Seton* the twentie yeares of *Tarachus*, I hold them to haue erred on the other hand. For this *Ethiopian* (as he is called) beganne his raigne ouer *Egypt*, by *Eusebius* his account, after the death of *Senacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the first yeare of *Manasses* King of *Juda*. Therefore he, or his yeares, haue no reuerence to *Seton*.

*Herodotus* forgets to tell how long *Seton* raigned; *Functius* peremptorily citing no Author, nor alleging reason for it, sets him downe thirtie three yeares; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not careful to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded vnto my selfe at the first, for measuring the raignes of these *Egyptian* Kings. The yeares which passed from the first of *Rehoobam*, vnto the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, I so diuide among the *Egyptians*, that giuing to euery one the proportion allowed vnto him by the Author in whom hee is found, the rest is to bee conserued vpon him whose length of raigne is vncertaine; that is vpon this *Seton*. By this account I finde the thirtie three yeares, that are set downe by *Functius*, to agree very nearely, if not precisely, with the time of *Seton* his raigne; therefore I conforme my owne reckoning to his, though I could

be content to haue it one yeare lesse. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Psummetichus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and wherinto the course of this Historie will shortly bring me; the *Egyptian* affaires growing now to bee entangled with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meete that I returne.

## CHAP. XXVII.

## Of MANASSE and his Contemporaries.

## §. I.

The wickednesse of MANASSE. His imprisonment, Repentance, and Death.



MANASSE, the Sonne of *Ezechias*, forgetting the pietie of his Father, and the prosperitie which followed him, set vp, repaired, adorned, and furnished, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Idoll was by the *Heathen* worshipped. Besides, hee himselfe esteemed the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the host of Heauen, as Gods, and worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his Sonne, for a Sacrifice to the Devill *Moloch*, or *Melch*, in the Valley of *Thinnon*, or *Benhennon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Devills.

He also gave himselfe to all kinde of Witch-craft and Sorcerie, accompanied and maintayned those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent blood, as *Ierusalem* was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reuerent Prophet *Esay* (who was also of the Kings race, and as the *Iewes* attribute, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet neare unto the Foundation of *Sion* to be sawne in sunder, with a wooden saw, in the eightieth yeare of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous then hath beene heard of. The Scriptures indeede are silent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Eusebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captaines of the Host of the Kings of *Assyria*, which took MANASSE, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel: Where after he had lien twentie yeares as a captive, and disposed of all honour and hope; yet to his heartie repentance and continuall prayer, the God of infinite mercie had respect, and moued the *Assyrians* heart to deliuer him.

It is so likely that *Merodach*, because he loued his father *Ezechias*, was the easilier perswaded to restore *Manasse* to his libertie & estate. After which and when he was againe established, remembering the miseries which followed his wickednesse, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, detested his former foolish and deuillish Idolatrie, and cast downe the Idolls of his owne erection prepared the Altar of God, and sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Ierusalem*: and dyed after the long raigne of fiftie five yeares. *Gleazar* and *Sidus* report, that *Manasse* was held in a cask of yron by the *Assyrians*: and therein sedde with bread of branne and water, which men may beleeue as it shall please their fancies.

1. *Isid. Marit.*  
2. *cod. vatic. 91.*  
3. *Chas. pag. 275.*  
4. *Tostall. de Pat.*

5. *Chron. 33. 11.*

## §. II.

of troubles in Egypt following the death of *SETHON*. The raigne of *PSAMMETICVS*.

THAT the wickednesse of King *Manasse* was the cause of the euill, which fell vpon his Kingdome and Perion, any Christian must needs beleeue: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things, in those parts of the World, such, at that time, as would haue inuited any Prince (and did perhaps inuite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, vpon respect borne to his owne ends) desirous of enlarging his Empire, to make attempt vpon *Iuda*. For the Kingdome of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar, whereon the state of *Iuda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with ciuill dissention, and after two yeares, ill amended by a diuision of the government betweene twelue Princes. After some good agreement betweene these, election of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himselfe absolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or meere Anarchie, that was in *Egypt*, with the diuision of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Dioderus*, who omitteth *Setson*, betweene the raignes of *Sabacus*, and *Psammeticus*: but *Herodotus* doth set the *Anisioeratis*, or twelue Gouvernours, immediately before *Psammeticus*, who was one of them, and after *Setson*.

The occasion of this dissention seemes to haue bene the vncertaine of title to that Kingdome (for that the Crowne of *Egypt* passed by succession of blood, I haue often shewed) which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelue, though things were not settled, untill one had obtained the Soueraigntie.

These twelue Rulers gouerned fifteene yeares, in good seeming agreement, which to preserve, they made strait couenants and alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drink offering, in *Ptolemys* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilst this vnicie lasted, they joyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built neare vnto the Lake of *Marus*, a worke to admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beheld it, affirms) no wordes could giue it commendation, and workeable to the latelinitie of the worke it selfe. I will not here set downe that vnperfect description, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but thinke enough to say, that he preserues it first before the Pyramids, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest workes in *Greece*. *Dioderus* reports this Labyrinth to haue beene the worke of *Marus*, or *Menides*, a King which liued five generations before *Ptolemys*, that is, before the Warre of *Troy*, and from this Labyrinth (saith he) *Dadalus* took the pattern of that which he made for *Minos* in *Creece*. Who this *Marus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to haue bene *Amennones*, which reigned immediately before *Tharvis*. But this agrees not with *Dioderus*: for *Dadalus* and *Minos* were both dead long before *Amennones* was King. Belike *Reineccius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Nanethon*, *Charmen*, and others, that are found in *Iosephus*, touching *Amennophis* and his children, to the storie of *Amasis*, and *Alisifanes* the *Ethiopian*, mentioned by *Dioderus*; held it consequent, after he had conjectured *Nanethon* *Amennophis*, to be *Thodon* his *Amasis*, that *Setson* should be *Alisifanes*, and that *Amennones* should be *Marus*. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture; the times which we now handle, are those, about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making search; *Amasis* was *Anysis*; *Alisifanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of these twelue Princes, to whom *Herodotus* giues the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Alisifanes* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Amasis*, *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Anysis*; *Alisifanes* gouerned well, and was milde in punishing offenders,

offendors; so likewise was *Sabacus*; & *Alaric* the next King after *Attilius* built this Labyrinth; and the next (sauiing *Setlon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as hauiing not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same worke, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to heare the truth, as liuing nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The varietie of names, and difference of times, wherein *Diodore* beleueed the Priests, might be a part of the *Aegyptian* vanitie, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their Kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelue great Halls, Parlours, and other circumstances remembered by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building, doe helpe to proue, that it was the worke of these twelue Princes. But I haisten to their end.

At a solemne feast in *Pileas* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings, the Priest, forgetting himselfe, brought forth no more than eleuen Cups. Hereupon *Psammiticus*, who standing last, had not a Cup, tooke off his brazen Helmet, and therewith supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traitor: yet, when they found that it was not done by him vpon set purpose, or ill intent, they forbore to kill him, but, being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the euent, is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I beleuee to haue bene none other: In the rest *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying, that *Psammiticus* byred Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Jonis*, by whose aide he vanquished his Companions, and so made himselfe sole King.

The yeares of his raigne, according to *Herodotus*, were fiftie foure; according to *Eusebius*, fortie foure; *Alexander*, to reconcile these two, giues foure foure yeares to his single raigne, and ten to his ruling, joyntlie with the Princes before spoken of. Indeece, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for hee cannot in reason bee supposed to haue bene then a yong fellow) into the number of the twelue Gouernours, must be thought to haue liued vnto extreme old age, if hee ruled partly with others, partly alone, threcore and nine yeares. I therefore yeeld rather to *Eusebius*, but will not aduenture to cut fife yeares from the *Arifloerale*: though peraduenture *Psammiticus* was not at first one of the twelue, but succeeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of some Prince that dyed, and was ten yeares companion in that gouernment.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeares of these *Aegyptians*, as we finde them set downe, are more by one, than true to fill vp the time, betwene the fift of *Belshazzar*, and the fourth of *Iehoiachim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one yeare from *Setlon*'s raigne; that was of vncertaine length; or else (which I had rather doe; because *Eusebius* may haue followed better authoritie than I know, or than himselfe altogether, in giuing to *Setlon* a time so nearely agreeing with the truth) wee must confound the last yeare of one raigne, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent, for no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set downe in Chronological tables, raigned precisely for many yeares as are ascribed vnto them, without any frictions: it is enough to thinke, that the surplusage of one mans time, supplied the deficit of anothers. Wherefore I confound the last yeare of those fiftene, wherein the twelue Princes ruled, with the first of *Psammiticus*; who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himselfe Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Aegypt*, who entertained any frait amitie with the *Greekes*; that he retayned in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Jonis*, and *Arabis*, to whom hee gaue large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Aegyptian* Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whilst his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honorable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Vpon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsooke their natural

Countrie

Countrie of *Aegypt*, and went into *Arthopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be reuoked by kinde Messages, nor by the King himselfe, who ouer-tooke them on the way; but when hee told them of their Countrie, their Wiues, and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Countrie, and that nature had enabled them to get other wiues and children.

It is also reported of him, That he caued two Infants to bee brought vp in such sort as they might not heare any word spoken; by which meanes, he hoped to find out, what Nation or Language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speake that language, which men spake at the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cried, *Becus*, *Becus*, which word being found to signifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, serued greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquitie. *Geropius Becanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low Dutch*; in which the word *Becker*, signifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne ouer any part of *Geropius* his works, may finde enough of this kinde, to perswade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarchs, vied none other tongue than the *Low Dutch*, before the confusion of languages at *Babel*; the name it selfe of *Babel*, being also *Dutch*, and giuen by occasion of this confusion; for that theretoe they beganne to bable, and talke, one knew not what.

But I will not insilt vpon all that is written of *Psammiticus*. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palestina*, about which hee spent nine and twentie yeares. Neuer haue we heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any Citie endured for so long a siege as this; yet *Psammiticus* carried it at the last. This Towne of *Azotus* had bene wonne by *Tartan*, a Captaine of *Senscherib*, and was now, as it seemeth releued, but in vaine, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out so well.

### §. III.

30 What reference these *Aegyptian* matters might haue to the imprisonment and enlargement of *MANASSES*. In what part of his raigne *MANASSES* was taken prisoner.

30 **W**ere it certainly knowne, in what yeare of his raigne *Manasse* was taken prisoner, and how long it was before hee obtained libertie; I thinke wee should finde these *Aegyptian* troubles to haue bene no small occasion, both of his captiuitie and enlargement: God so disposing of humane actions, that euen they, who intended only their owne buisinesse, fulfilled only his high pleasure. For either the ciuill warres in *Aegypt* that followed vpon the death of *Setlon*; or the renting of the Kingdome, as it were into twelue peeces; or the warre betwene *Psammiticus* and his Collegues; or the expedition of *Psammiticus* into *Syria*, and the siege of *Azotus*, might minister vnto the *Babylonian*, either such cause of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts, or such necessitie of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him, to make sure worke with the King of *Ida*. The same occasions sufficed also, to procure the deliuerie of *Manasse*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Iosephus* hath it) by subtiltie, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, winne his Countrie, but only wait. So that the *Hebrei*, hauing learned wit, by the ill successe of their folly, in redeeming *Amaziah*, were like to be more circumspect, in making their bargain vpon such another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Aegyptian* matters presented more weightie arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of *Ida* could afford, had no reason, to spend his forces, in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficultie as a greater, whereby hee should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement;

ment; when by quitting his present advantage ouer the *Leues*, hee might make his way the laier into *Aegypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manasses* his reigne, wherein hee was taken prisoner; or concerning his captiuitie it selfe, how long it lasted; the Scriptures are silent, and *Iosephus* giues no information. Yet I finde cited by *Tornelius* three opinions; the one of *Belarmine*, who thinks that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth year of his reigne; the other of the Author of the greater *Iebrey Chronologie*, who affirms, that it was in his twentie seuenth year; the third, of *Rabbi Kimhi* vpon *Ezekiel*, who saith, that he was forty yeares an Idolator, and liued fiftene yeares after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is vpheld by *Tornelius*, who rejects the second, as more vnprobable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons alleged by *Tornelius* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather proue him to fauour the *Cardinell*, as farre as he may, (for where need requires, hee doth freely dissent from him) than to haue vsed his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gaue his judgement. Two arguments he brings to maintain the opinion of *Belarmine*: the one, that *Ammon* the Sonne of *Manasses*, is said by *Iosephus*, to haue followed the workes of his Fathers youth; the other, that had *Manasses* growne old in his sinnes, it is not like that hee shoud haue continued, as hee did, in his amendment vnto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason, why the sinnes of *Manasses*, might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them workes of his youth, which appeared when he was twelve yeares old; though it were granted that hee continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimhi*) vntill hee was but fiftene yeares from death. Touching the second; how soeuer it be a fearefull thing, to call off vnto the last those good motions vnto repentance, which we know not whether euer God will offer vnto vs againe; yet were it a terrible hearing. That the sinnes, which are not forsaken before the age of two and fiftie yeares, shall bee punished with small impenitencie. But against these two collections of *Tornelius*, I will say two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not vnlikely, That *Manasses* continued longer in this wickednesse, than *Belarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimhi* hath affirmed. In the second Booke of Kings, the euill which *Manasses* did is remembred at large, and his repentance vtterly omitted; so that his amendment may seeme to haue taken vp no great part of his life, the storie of him being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter. Concerning the rest of the acts of *MANASSES*, and all that hee did, and his sinne that hee sinned, are they not written in the booke of the Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda. The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the same Booke, where in rehearsing the calamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of *Iehorakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manasses*, it is said; Surely by the commandment of the Lord came this vpon Iuda, that he might put them out of his sight, for the finnes of *MANASSES*, according to all that hee did, and for the innocent blood that hee shed (for hee filled Ierusalem with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Who so considers well these places, may finde small cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was no earlier than fiftene yeares before his death; or most probable, That when he was twentie seuen yeares old, he repented, and becoming a new man, liued in the feare of God forth yeares after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth can not be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two yeares of ciuill dissension in *Aegypt*, fourteene or fiftene yeares following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened, by partition of the Soueraigntie; the warre of *Phanmites* against his Associates; and foure and twentie yeares, of the nine and twentie, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manasses*, did leaue no one part of his reigne (after the first fiftene yeares) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonian*, whose men of warre had continuall occasions of visiting his Countie. All which I will adde hereto is this; that the fiftenth of

*Manasse*

*Manasse*, was the last year of *Sethon* in *Aegypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Solomon* his reigne, or (accounting from the death of *Asarhaddon*) the twentieth: The seuen and twentieth of *Manasse* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merochab*: his fortieth, was the twentie third of *Phanmites*, and the fift of *Xabulassar*, the sonne of *Merochab* in *Babylon*: but which of these was the year of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbear to throw mine opinion, least I should thereby seeme to draw all matters ouer violently to mine owne computation.

This was the first great miserie that the *Babylonian* had of the Kingdome of *Iuda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmassar*, yet *Ezechias* neuer payed it. True it is, that hee hoped to slay *Sennacherib* enterprised against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of siluer, and thirte of gold, besides the plate which couered the dores and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manasse* being pressed with greater necessitie, could refuse no tollerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impose vpon him; among which it seemes, that this was one, (which was indeede a point of seruitude) that hee might not hold peace with the *Aegyptians*, whilst they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not only by his fortifying with men of warre all the strong Cities of *Iuda* after his returne (which was rather against *Phanmites*, whose partie hee had forsaken, than against the *Babylonian*, with whom hee had thenoreforth no more contentious) but likewise by that opposition, which *Iosiah* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in fauour of *Xabulassar*, which had bene against all reason and policie, if it had not bene his dutie by couenant. Of this I will speake more in conuenient place.

### §. IIII.

Of the first and second Messenian Warres, which were in the reignes of *Ezekias*, and *MANASSES* Kings of *Iuda*.

Now concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of *Manasse*, the most remarkable were the *Messenian* Warres; which happening in this age, and being the greatest action performed in Greece, betweene the *Troian* and *Perjian* Warres, deserue not to be passed ouer with silence.

The first *Messenian* Warre beganne and ended in the daies of *Ezekias*; the second in the reigne of *Manasse*: but to auoide the trouble of interrupting our Historie, I haue thought it best, to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needlesse, than to say, that the posteritie of *Heracles*, during the issue of *Pelops*, and the *Achaean*, out of their feares, diuided their lands betweene themselves, and created the Kingdomes of *Lacedaemon*, *Argos*, *Messene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of Kindred, and fought one anothers ruine with bloudie Warres; whereof these *Messenian* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Messenian* Warre, are scarce worth remembrance; they were so sleight. Ambition was the true cause of it; whereas the *Lacedaemonians* were so transported, that any thing serued them as a colour, to accomplish their greedie desires. Yet other matter was alleaged; namely, that one *Polychares* *Messenian* had slaine many *Lacedaemonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to haue him yielded into their hands, could not obtaine it. The *Messenians* on the other side, excused *Polychares*, for that he was growne frantick, through injuries received from *Euphros* a *Lacedaemonian*. This *Euphros* had bargained to giue a picture to the Cattel of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receiue part of the increase:

but

but not contented with the gaine appointed, hee sold the Cattails, and Slaues that kept them, to Merchants, which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilst the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaues that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedaemonians* being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receive, hee carried the Sonne of *Polycharus* home with him, but hauing him at home, hee villanously slew him. Wherefore, the *Lacedaemonians* hauing refused, after long sute made by the wretched Father, to doe him right against this Theefe and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrell, out of those things, which hee did in that madnesse, wherinto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand vnto the judgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the generall Counsaile of *Greece*, or to any other faire course. But the *Lacedaemonians*, who had a great desire to occupie the faire Countrie of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough, to haue some shew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned vp many old injuries, and so without sending any defiance, secretly tooke an oath, to hold warre with *Messene*, till they had maltreated it: which done, they seized vpon *Amphisa*, a frontier Towne of that Prouince, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercie, very few escaping.

Hereupon the *Messenians* tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemy. A furious battaile was fought betwene them, which ended not vntill darke night, with vncertaine victorie. The *Messenians* did strongly encampe themselves; The *Lacedaemonians*, vnable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre beganne in the second year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the first of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, hauing lasted twentie yeares. The two enemy Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the *Lacedaemonians* waiting the inland parts of *Messene*; and the *Messenians*, the Sea coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to helpe. The *Arcadians*, *Argues*, and *Sicyonians*, tooke part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subjects of their owne, aide from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Greece*. So a second, third, and fourth battaile were fought, with as great obstinacie as the first; saying that, in the fourth battaile, the *Lacedaemonians* were enforced to turne their backs; in the other fights, the victorie was still vncertaine though in one of them the *Messenians* lost *Epulatus* their King, in whose head they chose *Arifolomeneus*.

Many yeares were spent, ere all this blood was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of monie to entertaine Souldiers, caused the Warre to linger. And for the same reasons, did the *Messenians*, forsake all their inland Townes, excepting *Thome*, which was a mountaine with a Towne vpon it, able to endure more, than the enemies were likely to doe. But as some Authors tell vs, the *Lacedaemonians* were so obstinate, in this Warre, because of their vow, that hauing absented themselves ten yeares from *Sparta*, their wives sent them word, that their Citie would grow vncrooked, by reason that no children had bene borne them in all that time: Whereupon they sent back all their ablest young men, promiscuously to accompanie the young women, who got to many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diomedes* refers the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in process of this *Messenian* Warre, when the Devil in an Oracle had aduised the *Messenians* to Sacrifice a Virgin of the flock of *Aegyptus*, that so they might be victorious against the *Lacedaemonians*; the lord falling vpon the Daughter of one *Lysiscus*, *Epibolus* the Priest, willing to saue her, said, shee was only a fostered child, and not borne of the wife of *Lysiscus*: which answer giuing alie to the execution of the Maide, *Lysiscus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Arifolomeneus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his owne Daughter: but a young Noble man, being in loue with the Maide, when otherwise he could not prouaile, said openly that shee was no Virgin, but that he had begot

Strabo, l. 8.  
Oros. l. 5. c. 15.

Diod. l. 5.

\* This *Aegyptus* was the youngest Sonne of *Crochus* by *Meropis*, the daughter of *Cypselus*, King of *Aegina*: of which *Crochus* the chiefe nobilitie of the *Aegians* were propagated.

floured her, and got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped vp his innocent Daughters belly, to disproue the Lovers slander: at the graue of which Daughter of his, afterward falling, by other superstitions, into despair of preuailling against the *Lacedaemonians*, he slew himselfe, to the great hurt of his Countrie, which hee loued most dearly. For after his death the *Messenians* lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craved peace; which they obtained vnder most rigorous conditions. Halfe the yearly fruits of their Land they were bound to send vnto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wiues, to make solemne lamentations, at the death of euery *Spartan* King: they were also sworne to lue in true subjection to the *Lacedaemonians*; and part of their Territorie was taken from them, which was giuen to the *Afinas*, and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this Warre.

This peace being made vpon so vneuen termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirtie yeares it continued (the *Messenians* not finding how to help themselves) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre, than the former. The able young men, that were growne vp in the roome of those *Messenians*, whom the former Warre had consumed, beganne to consider their owne strength and multitude, thinking themselves equall to the *Lacedaemonians*, and therefore learning to serue such Matters, as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chiefe of these was *Arifolomeneus*, a noble Gentleman, of the house of *Aegyptus*; who perceiving the vniforme desires of his Countrie men, aduentured to become their Leader. He therefore founding the affections of the *Argues*, and *Arcadians*, which he found thoroughly answerable to his purpose, beganne open warre vpon the State of *Lacedaemon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedaemonians*, halied to quench the fire before it shuld grow too hot with such forces as they could raise of their own, without troubling their Friends, mening to deale with their Enemies, ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battaile was fought betwene them, and a doubtfull, save that the *Messenians* were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to thinke them their equalls. Particularly, the valour of *Arifolomeneus* appeared such in this fight, that his people would haue made him their King: but he, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeare another battaile was fought, wherunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedaemonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other friends to helpe: the *Messenians* had the *Argues*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloodie fight; but *Arifolomeneus* did so beaue himselfe, that finally hee made the Enemies runne for their liues. Of such importance was this victorie, that the *Lacedaemonians* beganne to bethinke themselves, of making some good agreement. But one *Tyrtaeus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, reinforced their Spirits with his Verses. After this, *Arifolomeneus* tooke by surpris a Towne in *Laconia*, and vanquished in fight *Amazander* King of *Sparta*, who did set vpon him, in hope to haue recovered the bootie.

But all these victories of *Arifolomeneus* perished in the losse of one battaile, wherof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell vnto the *Lacedaemonians*, through the treason of *Arifolocrates*, King of *Acadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with monie, fled away, and left the *Messenians* exposed to a cruell butcherie. The losse was so great, that together with *Andania* their principal Citie, all the towns in *Messene*, standing too farre from the Sea, were abandoned, for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not bee safe abroad, was conueied, as into a place of safetie. Here the *Lacedaemonians* found a tedious worke, that held them eleven yeares. For besides that *Era* it selfe was a strong peece, *Arifolomeneus* with three hundred foot Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindered their attendance on the siege. He wasted all the fields of *Messene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Lacomis*, taking

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king away Corne, Wine, Cattail, and all prouisions, necessarie for his owne people; the Slaues and houlhold stuite he changed into monie, suitring the owners to redeeme them. To remedie this mischiefe the *Lacedemonians* made an Edict, that neither *Messene*, nor the adjoining parts of their owne Countrey, should be killed or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among priuate men, that were almost vndone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtius* appeald this vproare with pleasing Songs. But *Aristomenes* grew so bold, that hee not only ranged ouer all the fields, but aduentured vpon the Townes, surpris'd, and sackt *Amycle*, and finally caus'd the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other seruices, thrice *Aristomenes* was taken prisoner, yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserves to bee remembred, as a thing very strange and meruailous. Hee had with too much courage aduentured to set vpon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and killed to the ground, was taken vp senselesse, and carried away prisoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deepe naturall Caue into which the *Spartans* fled to cast head-long, such as were condemned to die for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Aristomenes* and his Companions adjudged. All the rest of these poore men dyed with their fallis; *Aristomenes* (howsoeuer it came to passe) took no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be imprisoned in a deepe Dungeon, among 20 dead carcases, where hee was like to perish through hunger and flench. But after a while hee perceived by some faint glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the toppe) a Foxe that was gnawing vpon a dead bodie. Hereupon hee bethought himselfe, that this beast must needs know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold vpon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, saued him selfe from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, vntill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Foxe being loose, ranne through an hole, at which came in a little light; and there did *Aristomenes* delue so long with his nailes, that at last he clawed out his passage. 30 When some fugitives of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Aristomenes* was returned home, their tale founde alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was returned. But when the *Corinthian* forces, that came to helpe the *Lacedemonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in peeces, their Captaines slaine, and their Campe taken; then was it easily beleued, that *Aristomenes* was aliue indeede.

Thus eleuen yeares passed whilst the enemies hounding about *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Aristomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slave, that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdnesse the wife of a *Messenian*, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a raie-winter-night, that the husband came home vnlookt for, whilst the Adulter was within. The Woman hidde her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him, by what good fortune he was returned so soone. He told her, that the storme of foule weather was such, as had made all his fellowes leaue their Stations, and that himselfe had done as the rest did; as for *Aristomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not looke abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stirre, in such a darke-rainie-night, as this was. The slave that heard these tidings, rose vp secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedemonian* Campe with the newes. There hee found *Emperanus* his Master, commanding in the Kings absence. To him he vttered all; and obtaining pardon 50 for his running away, guided the Armie into the Towne. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Alarme was presently taken; and the extreme darkenesse, together with the noise of winde and raine, hindred all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruell fight; one part being incited, by neare hope of

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ending along worke; the other irraged by meere desperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompensed partly by the assistance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of seruitude had taught contempt of death) gaue to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrownesse of the streets and other passages, which admitted not manie hands to fight at once. But the *Messenians* were in continuall toile; their enemies fought in close retching themselves with meat and sleepe, and then returning supplied the places of their wearie fellowes, with fresh Companies. *Aristomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men, for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as hauing bene three 10 dayes, and three nights, vexed with all miseries, of labour, watching, fighting, hunger, and thirst, besides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker fort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to breake out through the midle of the enemies. *Emperanus* General of the *Lacedemonians* was glad of this: and to further their departure, caus'd his Souldiers to giue an open way, leaving a faire passage to these desperate madmen. So they issued forth, and arrived safe in *Arctida*, where they were most lovingly entertained.

Vpon the first bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Aradians* had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Aristocrates* their false hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Aristomenes* had placed his followers in faticke, hee chose 20 out five hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret hast vnto *Sparta*, hoping to find the Towne secure, and ill manured, the people being runne forth to the spoile of *Messene*. In this enterprise, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedemonians* would be glad to recover their owne, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred *Aradians* that offered to ioyne with him; but *Aristocrates* marred all, by sending speedie advertisement hercof, to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epistle which *Anaxander* sent backe to *Aristocrates*, was intercepted, by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falsehood, which being published in open 30 assembly, the *Aradians* stoned him to death, and casting forth his bodie vnburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with anote. That the Periuier cannot deceiue God.

Of *Aristomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his sonne *Gorgus* and other sufficient Gouernours, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolved himselfe to make abode in those parts, hoping to find the *Lacedemonians* worke at home. His daughters hee bestowed honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus* who reigned in the Isle of *Rhodes* tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marrie the daughter of the best man in *Greece*. Finally *Aristomenes* went with his daughter to *Rhodes*, whence he purposed to haue traualled vnto *Arctus* the Son of *Gigas* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but death preuented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Messenians* were inuited by *Anaxilas* (whose great Grandfather was a *Messinian* and went into *Italie* after the former war) being Lord of the *Sicilians* in *Italie*, to take his part against the *Zandacians* in *Sicilie*, on the other side of the straits. They did so; and winning the Towne of *Zancle*, called it *Messene*, which name it keeps to this day.

This second *Messenian* warre ended in the first year of the twentie eight Olympiade. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home serued 50 the *Lacedemonians* found means to rebell; but were soone vanquished, and being driuen to forsake *Peloponnesus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewise, after fewages they were expelled by the *Lacedemonians*, and then followed their ancient Countreimen into *Italie* and *Sicilie*, some of them went into *Africa*, where they chose vnto themselves a seat.

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It is very strange, that during two hundred and fourecore yeares, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customes, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and loue of their forsaken Countrey, with a desire to returne vnto it. In the third yeare of the hundreth and second Olympiad, that great *Epaminondas*, hauing tamed the pride of the *Lacedemonians*, reuoked the *Messenian* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Epaminondas* restore vnto them their old possession, and helpe them in building a faire Citie, which, by the name of the Prouince, was called *Messene*, and was helde by them euer after, in despite of the *Lacedemonians*, of whom they neuer from thence forth stood in feare.

## §. V.

Of the Kings that were in *Lydia* and *Media*, while *MANASSES* Reigned. Whether *DEIOCES* the *Mede* were that *AR-THAXAS* which is mentioned in the Booke of *IUDITH*. Of the historie of *IUDITH*.



**A**RDOYS King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Causanias*, as reigning shortly after the *Messenian* warre. *Ardis* succeeding vnto his father *Gyges*, beganne his raigne of nine and fortie yeares, in the second of the five and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steps of his father, who enchroaching vpon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Ardis* wanne *Priene*, and assailed *Miletus*, but went away without it. In his raigne, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their owne Countrey by the *Scythians*, ouer-ranne a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grand-child, by whom they were driuen out. They had not onely broken into *Lydia*, but wanne the Citie of *Sardes*; though the Citie or Citadell thereof was defended against them, and held still for King *Ardis*, whose long raigne was vnable, by reason of this great storme, to effect much.

*Phraortes* was not King vntill the third yeare of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which was fixe yeares after the *Messenian* warre ended; the same being the last yeare of *Manasses* his raigne ouer *Iuda*.

*Deioces* the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fiftie of these fixe and fiftie yeares in which *Manasses* reigned. This *Deioces* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his predecessors had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had giuen to the people too much licence, as caused euery one to desire the whole some feueritie, of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; heooke vnto him a Guard, for defence of his person; he seldom gaue presence, which also when he did, it was with such austeritie, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies, he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly vpheld the Maiestie, which his Predecessours had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royall Office, hee did vprightly and seuerely administer iustice, keeping secret spies to informe him of all that was done in the Kingdome. Hee cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by enchroaching vpon others; but studied how to gouerne well his owne. The difference found betweene this King, and such as were before him, seemes to haue bred that opinion which *Herodotus* deliueris, that *Deioces* was the first who reigned in *Media*.

This

This was he that built the great Citie of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that King *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the storie of *Iudith*, as also *Ben Alerodach*, by the same accompt, should bee *Nabuchodonosor* the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slaine, and *Holophernes* sent to worke wonders, vpon *Phidand Lud*, and I know not what other Countreies. For I reckon the last yeare of *Deioces* to haue bene the nineteenth of *Ben Alerodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the raigne of *Nabulphasar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In fitting this Booke of *Iudith* to a certaine time, there hath much labour bene spent with ill successe. The raignes of *Cambyses* *Darius* *Hystaspis*, *Xerxes* and *Ochus*, haue bene sought into; but afforded no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times, forgoing the destruction of *Ierusalem*, haue bene thought vpon, and this age that we haue in hand, chosen by *Bellarmino*, as agreeing best with the storie; though others herein cannot (I speake of such as faue would) agree with him. Whilst *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the storie of *Iudith* is found standing and dedicated. The other two Persian Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to haue bene verie fauourable to the *Iewes*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conueniences, aptly fitting this Historie, and about all the opinion of a few Ancient writers (without whose iudgement the authoritie of this Booke were of no value) hauing placed this argument in the Persian Monarchie, inclines the matter to the raigne of this vain-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, verie few, and they faintly, entitle him to the businesse. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this Historie, there must be, a returne from captiuitie lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt: *Iacim* High Priest, and a long peace, of threecore and tenne yeares or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the *Iewes*. Likewise on the other side we must finde a King that reigned in *Media*, eightene yeares at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Iewes* refused to assist; one that sought to bee generally adored as God; and that therefore commanded all temples, of such as were accounted gods to be destroyed; one whose victorie or Captaine Generall knew not the *Iewish* Nation, but was faine to learne what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of *Isaiah*, with a returne from Captiuitie, are found concurring, with either the time of *Citanafts* before the destruction of *Ierusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the raigne of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captiuitie of the *Iewes* and desolation of the Citie. Wherefore the briefe decision of this controuersie is, that the Booke of *Iudith* is not Canonical. Yet hath *Torricellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that vnder *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and redified the Citie of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly bene built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted; hee adds that from the twelfth yeare to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is fixe or fixe yeares, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his *Grecian* expedition (which he supposeth to haue bene so long) might giue occasion vnto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor* hauing vanquished and slaine *Arphaxad*, might then seek to make himselfe Lord of all, by the Armie which he sent forth vnder *Holophernes*. So should the *Iewes* haue done their dutie in adhering to *Xerxes* their Soueraigne Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances, rehearsed before be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of *Iurie* were agreeable to the Historie of *Iudith*; and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough bee ignorant of the *Iewes*, and as proud as we shall need to thinke him. But the Office of all Historie, takes away

H h h 2 belicfe,

believe, from this coniecture: and the supposition it selfe is verie hard, that a rebell, whose King was abroad, with an Arme consisting of fuentene hundred thousand men, should presume so farre, vpon the strength of twelue hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand Archers on horsebacke, as to thinke that he might doe what he list, yea that there was none other God than himselfe. It is indeede easie to find enough that might be said against this deule of *Tornelius*: yet if there were any necesseitie, of holding the Booke of *indul*, to bee Canonically, I would rather chuse to lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some deince vpon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it selfe. That *indul* liued vnder none of the *Persian* Kings, *Bellarmine* (whose workes I haue not read, but find him cited by *Tornelius*) hath proued by many arguments. That the liued not in the Raigne of *Manasses*, *Tornelius* hath proued verie substantially, shewing how the Cardinall is driuen, as it were to breake through a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Asphas* and *Nabach*, *Joseph*, found out by *Tornelius*, are the children of mere fantasie, it is so plaine, that it needs no prooue at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they which haue contended about the time of this Historie, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a storme field) I haue chased *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni solisque vltis*, in an age that neuer was, and in places that were neuer knowne.

*Indul* 62. v. 73.  
p. 15.

Surely to find out the borders of *APHETH*, which were towards the South, and ouer against *Arabis*; or the Countries of *Phud* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I thinke it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not butte my selfe herewith; hauing already so farre digressed, in shewing who liued not with *Manasses*, that I thinke it high time, to returne vnto mine owne worke, and rehearse what others I finde, to haue had their part, in the long time of his Raigne.

### §. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

THE first yeare of *Manasses* was the last of *Romulus*; after whose death, one yeare the Romans wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a Sabine chosen; a peaceable man and seeming verie religious in his kind. Hee brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed onely in warres, to some good ciuillitie, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiaritie with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which he delucred vnto the Romans as things of great importance. But all these deuices of *Numa* were, in his owne iudgement, no better than meer delusions, that serued onely as rudiments, to bring the Saage multitude of thees and out-lawes, gathered into one bodie by *Romulus*, to some forme of milder discipline, than their boytiferous and wilde natures was otherwise apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Bookes that were found in his graue, almost fixe hundred yeares after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himselfe was condemned as vaine. His graue was opened by chance, in digging a peece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffines or Chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in Greeke and Latine letters, which said that *Numa Pompilius* the sonne of *Pompo*, King of the *Romans* lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his bodie being vtterly consumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped

vp

vp in two buncks of wax; of his owne constitutions seuen, and other seuen of Philosophy. They were not onely vncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the Citie desiring to haue a sight of these Bookes, when hee perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliuer them backe to the owner, and offered to take a solemne oath that they were against the Religion then in vfe. Hereupon the Senate, without more ado, commaunded them to bee openly burnt. It seemes that *Numa* did meane to acquite himselfe, vnto wiser ages which he thought would follow, as one that had not bene so foolish as to beleue the Doctrine wherein he instructed his owne barbarous times. But the poyson wherewith hee had infected *Rome*, when hee fat in his Throne, had not left working, when hee committed the Antidote out of his graue. Had these Bookes not come to light, until the dayes of *Tully* and *Cesar*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better dissolued; likely it is that they had not onely escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peradventure generally) effect. Being as it was, they serued as a confusion, without remedie, of Idolatrie that was inueterate.

*Numa* Raigned three and fortie yeares in continuall peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the six and fortieth of *Manasses*, and Raigned two and thirtie yeares, builed, for the most part in warre. Hee quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to feare, that might grow vnto them from the *Trojan*es, caused them to be thinke themselves of a course, whereby without effusion of so much blood, as might make them too weake for a common enemie, it might bee decided, who should command, and who obey.

There were in each Campe three Brethren, T winnes borne at one birth (*Diogenes* sayes that they were Cosen Germans) of equall yeares and strength, who were appointed to fight for their severall Countries. The end was that the *Horatii*, Champions for the *Romans* got the victorie, though two of them first lost their liues. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Liue* tels it) were all aliue, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slaine; but the third *Horatius*, pretending feare, did runne away and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts could not follow him with equall speede, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning vpon them, he slew them, as it had bene in single fight, man after man, ere they could joyne together and set vpon him all at once. *Diogenes* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling verie particularly, what woundes were giuen and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatii* was slaine, then one of the *Curatii*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did comming seuer one from the other as hee was before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the olde *Roman* Historie, both in regard of the action it selfe, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in wager, against *Alba*, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the Citie of *Alba* did immediatly become subiect vnto her owne Colonie, and was shortly after, vpon some treacherous dealing of their Gouvernour, vtterly razed, the people being remooued vnto *Rome*, where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother Citie, had bene chiefe, became ere long dependent vpon *Rome*, though not subiect vnto it, and diuerse petty States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the works of sundrie ages, and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) vntill such time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancie, shall grow to bee the maine subject of this Historie.

The seuenth yeare of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the fift of *Manassa*. Also the three last Gouvernours for tenne yeares, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same Kings time. Of these I find onely the names, *Leocrates*, *Aspander*, and *Ereias*. After *Ereias* yearly Rulers were elected.

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These

These Comarours for tenne yeares, were also of the race of *Medon* and *Cocytus*, but their time of rule was thorned, and from tearme of life reduced vnto tenne yeares; it being thought likely, that they would gouerne the better, when they knew, that they were afterwards to liue priuate men vnder the command of others. I follow *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, in applying their times vnto those yeares of the Olympiad, wherein the Chronological table, following this worke, doth set them. For he not onely professe himselfe to haue taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwayes the yeares of the *Greeks*, how they did answer vnto the thinges of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of his Historie. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first yeare of the seventh Olympiad, and affirms, that the same was the first yeare of *Charops* his government in *Athenis*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who setteth the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner.

Dion. Hal. l. 1.  
fol. 47. & 48.

In the Raigne of *Manasses* it was, that *Midas*, whome the Poets fained to haue had Alkes cares, held the Kingdome of *Phrygia*. Manie fables were deuised of him; especially that hee obtained of *Nechus*, as a great gift, that all thinges which hee should touch, might immediatly be changed into Gold: by which meanes hee had like to haue benee flured (his ment and drinke being subject to the same transformation) had not *Nechus* deliuered him from his miserable facultie, by causing him to wath himselfe in the Riuier *Pactolus*, the streame whereof hath euer since forfoth, abounded in that precious Metall. Finally it is said hee died by drinking Bulls blood; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antinachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) obfcurd the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milefians*, or (as *Eusebius* hath it) the *Athenians*, hauing obtayned some power by Sea, founded *Naxos* a Citie on the coast of *Aegypt*. *Ptolemy* here in seemes to haue assisted them, who vsed all meanes of drawing the *Greekes* into *Aegypt*, accounting them his surft strength. For neither *Miletes*, nor *Athenes*, were now of power sufficient to plant a Colonie in *Aegypt* by force.

Plut. & Euseb.

About this time *Archias* with his companion *Asiellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracuse* in *Sicilie* a Citie in after-times exceeding famous.

\* Whence in  
Strabo the  
four *Athenians*  
a part of  
Propontis where  
this Citie  
founded. Plut. l. 1.  
fol. 15.  
Strabo l. 6.

The Citie of *Nicomedia* sometime \* *Aliseus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age, by *Zipareus* natie of *Thrace*. *Sylla* of *Samus* according to *Pausanias* liud about this time.

About these times also was *Crotan* founded vpon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Micellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuse*; *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient, and so doth *Pausanias*.

Infin. l. 3.  
Paus. l. 10.

About the same time, the *Parthenians*, being of age and banished *Lacedemon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italie*, where it is said they founded *Tarentum*; but *Isidore* and *Pausanias* find it built before, and by them conquered and amplified. Also about the same time, *Manasse* yet liuing, the Citie *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, interwinne in the Region of the *Embrici*, now called *Verban* in *Italie*. About which time also *Choleaden* in *Asia*, ouer against *Bysantium*, (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megareneses*: who therefore were vpbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long worke to rehearse all that is said to haue benee done in the five and fiftie yeares of *Manasses*; that which hath alreadie benee told is enough: the rest, being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, referring onely to *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the businesse that will shortly require more mention of them.

§ 9

## CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

## Of the times from the death of MANASSES to the destruction of Ierusalem.

## §. I.

OF AMMON and IOIAS.



AMMON the sonne of *Manasse*, a man no lesse wicked then was his Father before his conuerſion, reſtored the exerciſe of all ſorts of Idolatry: for which God hardened the heartes of his owne ſeruants againſt him: who ſlew him after he had Raigned two yeares: *Philo*, *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* giue him tenne yeares, following the Septuagint.

2. King. 23.  
2. Chron. 33.

*Ioſias* ſucceeded vnto *Ammon*, being but a child of eight yeares old. Hee beganne to ſeek for the God of *Dauid* his Father; and in his twelfth yeare he purged *Juda* and *Ierusalem* from the high places, and

2. King. 23.  
2. Chron. 34.

the groves, and the carved and molten Images: and they brake downe in his fight the Altars of *Baalim*. He cauſed all the Images, as well thoſe which were grauen, as molten, to be ſtampt to powder, and ſtrewed on their graues that had erected them: and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. Hee alſo ſlew thoſe that ſacrificed to the Sunne and Moone, and cauſed the Chariots and Horſes of the Sunne to be burnt. Of *Ioſias* it was propheſied, in the time of *Iereboam* the firſt, when he erected the Golden Calfe at *Beſhel*, that a child ſhould be borne vnto the houſe of *Dauid*, *Ioſias* by name, and vpon thee (ſaid the Prophet ſpeaking to the Altar) ſhall bee ſacrificed the Priests of the high places, that burne incenſe vpon thee. a prophetic verie remarkable.

2. King. 23.

In the eighteenth yeare of his Raigne, hee rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Heliah* the Prieſt found the Booke of *Moſes*, called *Deuteronomie*, Or, of the Lawe, which hee lent to the King: which when hee had cauſed to bee read before him, and conſidered of the ſeuere commandements therein written, the proſperitie promiſed to thoſe that obſerue them, and the ſorrow and extirpation to the reſt, he rent his garments, and commanded *Heliah*, and others, to aſke counſell of the Prophetſſe *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Booke, who answered the meſſengers in theſe words. Thus ſaith the Lord, behold I will bring ruine vpon this place, and vpon the inhabitants thereof, euen all the curſes that are written in the Booke, which they haue read before the King of *Juda*, becauſe they haue forſaken mee, and burnt incenſe to other Gods. Onely for the King himſelfe, becauſe he was a louer of God and of his Lawes, it was promiſed that this cuill ſhould not fall on *Juda* and *Ierusalem* in his dayes, but that hee himſelfe ſhould inherit his graue in peace.

2. Chron. 34. 24.

2. King. 22. 15.  
2. Chron. 34.

*Ioſias* attended the Elders, cauſed the Booke to bee read vnto them, made a couenant with the Lord, and cauſed all that were found in *Ierusalem* and *Beniamin* to doe the like, promiſing thereby to obſerue the Lawes and commandements in the Booke contained.

The execution done by *Ioſias* vpon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the falſe Prophets, at *Beſhel*, argueth his Dominion to haue extended vnto thoſe Countries,

Countries, that had bene part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any victorie of *Iosias* in warre got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezekias*, after the flight and death of *Sennacherib*, when *Achaz* had opposed himselfe against *Assurbaniden*, did vske the aduantage which the faction in the North presented vnto him, and laid hold vpon so much of the Kingdome of *Israel*, as hee was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himselfe vnable to deale with his libertie as much in *Israel*, as his life could not easily defend. This was a good way to breake the amitie that the Kings of *Juda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by calling a bone betwene them; and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territorie with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeeme the friendship of the *Jewes*, which had bene lost by injuries done, in seeking to bereaue them of their owne. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliuerance from imprisonment, put Captaines of warre in all the strong Cities of *Juda*; it may be that some such bulinesse is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places deliuered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he tooke much paines, in making *Ierusalem* it selfe more defensible, yet I should rather beleue, that he, hauing already compounded with the *Babylonians*, did fortifie himselfe against the *Egyptians*, whose side hee had forsaken, than that hee traueiled in making such prouisions, only for his minds sake. The earnestnesse of *Iosias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made, with that King or his Ancestor, was vpon such friendly termes, as required not only a faithfull obseruation, but a thankfull requitall. For no persuasions could suffice to make *Iosias* sit still, and hold himselfe quiet in good neutralitie, when *Pharao Neco* King of *Egypt* passed along by him, to warre vpon the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*.

The last yeare of *Iosias* his Raigne it was, when as *Neco* the sonne of *Psammetichus*, came with a powerfull Armie towards the border of *Judea*, determining to passe that way being the nearest toward *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that River, about *Cavensis* or *Cereusum*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Diodotus* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to haue done) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it selfe. For it seemeth that the traualle of *Psammetichus* had not bene idly consumed about that one Towne of *Asotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged vnto the *Assirians* Kings of *Danisco*.

Neither was the indolence of *Neco* lesse than his Fathers had bene, in pursuing the warre against *Babel*. In which warre, two things may greatly haue auailed the *Egyptians*, and aduanced their affaires and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenarie *Greekes*, that were farre better Souldiers than *Egypt* could of it selfe afford; and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, who vnder the command of more absolute Princes, began to feele it selfe better; and shew what it could doe. These were great helpes, but of shorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more conuenient shall be noted. At the present it seeme, that either some preparation of the *Chaldeans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did inuite the King of *Egypt*, into the Countries bordering vpon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Neco* ascended with a mightie Armie.

These two great Monarchs, hauing their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Iosias* aduised with himselfe to which of these he might adhere, hauing his Territorie set in the mid way betwene both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessitie tread vpon the verie face and bodie of his Countrey; Now though it were so that *Neco* himselfe desired by his Embassadors, leaue to passe along by *Juda*, protesting that hee

2. Chron. 35.

directed himselfe against the *Assyrians* onely, without all harmefull purpose against *Juda*, yet all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Iosias* the last King of *Israel*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholly trusted to *Sabassus* or *Sais* King of *Egypt*, was vtterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Assyrian*, so rooted vp and tate in peeces, as it could neuer after bee gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell vpon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth yeares of *Ezekias*, witness that good King and his people relied vpon *Sethon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient prooffe, to shew the illaffiance, that was in the helpe of the *Egyptians*, who (neare neighbours though they were) were alwayes vnrerie; when the necessitie of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not lecke, to haue the *Jewes* renew there ancient league with him; but enie craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the paltme betwene him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Arme, as did, soone after this, out-face *Nabulassar*, vpon his owne borders, left vnto the *Jewes*, a lawfull excuse of feare, had they forborne to giue it any checke vpon the way. Wherefore I beleue, that this religious and vertuous Prince *Iosias*, was not stirred vp onely by politick respects, to stop the way of *Neco*; but thought himselfe bound in faith and honour, to doe his best in defence of the *Babylonian* Crowne; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by covenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as hee held in the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both vnto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Egyptians*, what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemie.

Some thinke, that this action of *Iosias*, was contrarie to the aduice of *Ieremie* the Prophet; which I doe not finde in the Prophecie of *Ieremie*, nor can finde reason to beleue. Others hold opinion, that he forgot to aske the counsell of God: and this is verie likely; seeing hee might beleue that an enterprise grounded vpon fidelitie and thankfulness due to the King of *Babel*, could not bee displeasing vnto the Lord. But the wickednesse of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such roote, as all the care of *Iosias* in reforming the Land, could not plucke vp) was questionlesse farre from hearkning how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined, that their good King, whose life stood betwene them and their punishment, should now bee taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should giue entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Iosias* leauing all the strength hee could make, neare vnto *Abgida*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasses*, encountered *Neco*; and there hee receiued the stroke of death, which lingring about him till hee came to *Ierusalem*, brought him to the Sepulchers of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Juda*, especially of *Ieremie* the Prophet: who inserted a sorrowfull remembrance thereof into his booke of Lamentations.

Lament. c. 4. v. 20.

## §. II.

Of PHARAO NECO, that fought with JOSIAS: Of IEHOAKIM  
and IEHOIAKIM Kings of Iuda



These warres, and particularly of this victorie, *Herodotus* hath mentioned, among the acts of *Neco*. He tells vs of this King, that he went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might passe, out of *Nilus* into the Red Sea. It should haue reached aboute hundred miles in length, and bene wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middle of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should haue the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when halfe was done. There were consumed in this toilsome businesse twelue hundred thousand *Egyptians*; a losse great enough to make the King forsake his enterprize, without troubling the Oracle for admonition: How fower it were he was not a man to be idle; therefore hee built a Fleet, and leaued a great Armie, wherewith hee marched against the King of *Babel*. In this expedition he view the seruice, as well of his Nauie, as of his land forces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found recorded, save onely this victorie against *Josias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magedon*, and the *Iewes* *Syrrians*; which is a small error, seeing that *Iudaea* was a Prouince of *Syria*, and *Magedon* or *Magdala* is taken to haue bene the same place (though diuersly named) in which this battaile of fought. After this, *Neco* tooke the Citie of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carbennish*, by *Ephrates*, and made himselfe Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Iosephus* witnesseth.

Id. Ant. Iud. l. 10  
cap. 7.

Herod. l. 4.

Particularly we finde, that the *Phenicians*, one of the most powerful Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Africa*, setting saile from the gulfes of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the Coast, whercon they both landed, as need required, and sowed corne for their sustenance, in that great voyage which lasted three yeares. This was the first navigation about *Africa*, whercon that great Cape now called *Of good hope* was discovered; which after was forgotten, vntill *Vasco de Gama* the Portugall found it out, following a contrarie course to that which the *Phenicians* held; for they, beginning in the East, raune the way of the Sunne, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and freights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the straights of *Gibraltar*, hauing *Africa* still on the right hand: but the *Portingals*, beginning their voyage not farre from the same straights, leaued *Africa* on the Larboard, and bend their course vnto the East. That report of the *Phenicians*, which *Herodotus* durst not beleue, how the Sunne in this iourne was on their right hand, that is, on the Northside of them, is a matter of necessarie truth; and the obseruation then made herof, makes mee the better to beleue, that such a Voyage was indeed performed.

Jer. l. 23. v. 33.

But leauing these discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let vs tell what he did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of *Iuda*, while the *Egyptians* were bulleat *Carchemish*, had made *Iehozabaz* their King, in the roome of his father *Josias*. The Prophet *Ieremie* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short Raigne of *Shallum* King of the tenne Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Israel* Raigned but one moneth, *Iehozabaz* no more than three. Hee was not the eldest sonne of *Josias*; Wherefore it may seme that he was set vp as the best affected vnto the King of *Babel*, the rest of his house being more inclined to the *Egyptians*, as appears by the sequell. An Idolater he was, and thriued accordingly. For when as *Neco* had dispatched his businesse in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affaires of *Iudaea*. This Countrey was now so farre from making any resist, that the King himselfe came to *Riblah* in the Land of *Hamath*, where

2. King. 24. v. 33.

where the matter went so ill on his side, that *Neco* did call him into bonds and carrie him prisoner into *Egypt*, giuing away his Kingdome to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. This Citie of *Riblah*, in after times called *Amocina*, was a place vnhappie to the Kings and Princes of *Iuda*, as may be obserued in diuers examples. Yet here *Iehoiakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdome, an ill gaine, since he could no better vse it. But how euer *Iehoiakim* thriued by the bargaine, *Pharao* sped well, making that Kingdome *Tributarie*, without any stroke stricken, which three moneths before was too floute to giue him peace, when he desired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying vpon his handes, than would permit him to waite his forces vpon *Iudaea*: but now the reputation of his good successe at *Magedon*, and *Carchemish*, together with the dissention of the Princes *Josias* his sonnes (of whom the eldest is probably thought to haue stormed at the preferment of his yonger brother) gaue him power to doe, euen what should please himselfe. Yet hee did forbear to make a conquest of the Land; perhaps vpon the same reason, which had made him so earnest, in seeking to hold peace with it. For the *Iewes* had suffered much, in the *Egyptians* quarrell, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, vnto all extremities, were driuen to forsake that partie, and joyne with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore occasion to reclaime them; seeing they were such a people, as would not vpon euerie occasion shift side, but endure more, than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay vpon them: so good a Patron did hee meane to be vnto them. Nevertheless hee laid vpon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of silver, and one Talent of gold; that so he might both reape at the present, some fruit of his paines taken, and leaue vnto them some document in the future, of greater punishment then verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So hee departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the vnfortunate King *Iehozabaz*, who died in his Captiuitie.

The Raigne of *Iehozabaz* was included in the end of his Fathers last yeare; so therwise it would hardly be found, that *Iehoiakim*, his successeur, did Raigne tenne whole yeares; whereas the Scriptures giue him eleuen, that is current and incomplete. If any man will rather call the three moneths of this short Raigne, into the first yeare of the brother, than into the fathers last; the same arguments that shall maintaine his opinion, will also proue the matter to be vnworthie of disputation; and so I leaue it.

*Iehoiakim* in impietie was like his brother, in faction hee was altogether *Egyptian*, as hauing receiued his Crowne at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickednesse of these last Kings, being exprest in Scriptures none other wise, than by generall wordes, with reference to all the euill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparent, that the poyson wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manasses* had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodnesse of *Josias*, but that it still cleaued vnto the chiefe of the people, yea vnto the chiefe of the Priests also; and therefore it was not strange, that the Kings had their part therein. The Royall authoritie was much abated by the dangers whercon the Countrey stood, in this troublesome age: the Princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the Kings forbear to professe, that they could denie them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Iehoiakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him insolent and cruell; as we find by that example of his dealing with *Vria* the Prophet: though herein also the Princes doe appear to haue bene infligators. This Holy man denounced Gods judgements against the Citie, and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into *Egypt*: but such regard was had vnto *Iehoiakim*, that *Vria* was deliuered vnto his Embassadour, and sent backe to the death; contrarie to the custome vsed, both in those

2. Chron. cap. 36.  
vers. 14.

those dayes and since among all Ciuill Nations of giuing refuge vnto strangers, that are not held guiltie of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind should be exempted from all priuiledge.

It concerned *Pharao* to giue all contentment possible to *Iehoiakim* for the *Assyrian* Lion, that had not liued in manie yeares, beganne about these times, to roare so loud vpon the banes of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard vnto *Nilus*, threatening to make himselfe Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawn the house of *Nerodach*, from opposing the *Egyptians* in his conquest of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place, before we proceed to commit them together at *Charchemish*, where shortly after this, the glorie of *Egypt* is to fall.

§. III.

*Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to passe that the Kings of Babel could not giue attendance on their businesse in Syria; which caused them to loose that Province.*

**M**ERODACH the sonne of *Saladan*, who taking the aduantage that *Senacherib* misadventure and death, together with the disention betweene his children presented, made himselfe King of *Babylon*, was eleven yeares troubled with a powerfull Enemie *Asarhaddon* the sonne of *Senacherib*, Raigning ouer the *Assyrians* in *Ninurie*, from whom whilest he could not any other way diuert his cares, he was faine to omit bulinesse in *Syria*, and (as hath bene formerly shewed) to make ouer vnto *Ezekia*, some part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarhaddon* did not onely set him free, but gaue vnto him some part of *Assyria* if not (as is commonly but lesse probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Assyrians* I wil not here stand to enquire: his long Raigne following, and his little entremedling in matters of *Syria* make it plaine, that he had worke enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. *Iosephus* giues him the honour of hauing wonne *Ninurie* it selfe; which we may beleue; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soone following, that great Citie was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded vpon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subject, when the Kings being of the *Chaldean* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some thinke that this was the *Assyrian* King whose Captaines tooke *Manasses* prisoner; but I rather beleue those that hold the contrarie; for which I haue giuen my reasons in due place. To say truth, I find little cause why *Merodach* should haue looked into those parts, as long as the *Tenues* were his friends, and the *Egyptians*, that maligne the Northern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was vntill the time of *Pasmiticus*, about the end of this Kings Raigne, or the beginning of his sonne.

*Ben Nerodach* the sonne and successeur of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is hee named by good consent of Authours, and that speake little of his doing. The length of his Raigne is gathered by inference to haue bene one and twentie yeares, for somuch remaineth of the time that passed betweene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Raignes (which is a knowne summe) deducting the yeares of his Father, and of his sonne *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* Prisoner and released him. Hee sped ill in *Syria*; where *Pasmiticus*, by the vertue of his Mercinarie *Greekes*, did much preuaile. This may haue bene some cause that he released *Manasses*, and did put into his handes some

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part more of the Kingdome of *Samarita*: which is made probable by circumstances alleged before.

*Nabulassar* that Raigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Nerodach*, had greater busines in his own Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: in somuch as it may bee thought to haue bene a great negligence or ouer-sight of *Pasmiticus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupie some good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* invaded *Assyria*, and besieged *Ninurie*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remoue by the coming of *Scythians*, who in these ages did ouer-flow those parts of the World, laying hold vpon all, that they could matter by strong hand. Of these *Scythians*, and the Lordship that they held in *Asia*, it is conuenient that I speake in this place, shewing briefly afore-hand, how the *Medes*, vpon whom they first fell, were builed in the same times with hopes of conquering *Assyria*.

*Phraortes*, the sonne of *Deioees*, King of the *Medes*, hauing by manie victories enlarged his Dominions, conceiued at length a faire possibilltie of making himselfe Lord of *Ninurie*.

That Citie (as *Herodotus* reports it) hauing bene a Soueraigne Ladie was not Head-liege forsoaken of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of her selfe shee was well enough.

This makes it plaine, that howsoeuer *Merodach* had gotten possession of this imperiall seat, and made it subject as was the rest of the Countrey, yet it found the meanes to set it selfe at libertie: as after this againe it did, when it had bene regained by *Nabulassar* his Grand-child.

Sharpe warre, and the verie noueltie of suddaine violence, vnto to dismay anie State or Countrey, not inured to the like: but custome of danger hardeneth euen those that are vnwarlike. *Ninurie* had bene the Palace of manie valiant Kings lately Raigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted, all the furie, wherewith either Domestical tumults betweene the sonnes of *Senacherib*, or forraigne warre of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the lesse wonderfull, that *Phraortes* did speed so ill in his iourne against it. He and the moit of his Armie perished in that expedition: wherof I find no particular circumstances (perhaps hee vnderuallued their forces, and brought a lesse power than was needfull) It is enough, that we may herein beleue *Herodotus*.

*Cyaxares* the sonne of *Phraortes*, a brauer man of warre then his Father, wanne as much of *Asia* the lesse, as lay Eastward, from the River of *Halys*; hee sought reuenge vpon the *Assyrians* for the death of his Father, and besieged *Ninurie* it selfe, hauing a purpose to destroy it. I rather beleue *Eusebius*, that hee tooke the Citie and iustified his displeasure vpon it, than *Herodotus*, that the *Scythians* came vpon him whilest he lay before it. For where euell authorities are contradictorie (as *Eusebius*, though farre later than *Herodotus*, yet hauing scene other Authours, that are now lost, is to be valued according to his great reading) there doe I hold it best, to yeeld vnto the best likelihoods.

To thinke that the *Scythians* came vpon *Cyaxares*, whilest hee lay before *Ninurie*, were to accuse him of greater improuidence, than ought to bee suspected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to suppose that hee was faine to leaue the Towne, when a warre so dangerous fell vpon his owne Countrey, doth well agree both with the condition of such businesse as that *Scythian* expedition brought into those partes, and with the State of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian* affaires ensuing.

The destruction of this great Citie is both foretold in the Booke of *Tobit*, and there set downe as happening about these times; of which Booke who soeuer was the Authour, hee was ancient enough to know the Storie of those ages, and hath committed no such error in reckoning of times, as should cause vs to distrust him

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in this. As for the Prophecie of *Nabum*, though it be not limited vnto any certaine tearme, yet it appears to haue taken effect, in the final destruction of *Ninive* by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conquest of *Aegypt*, foregoing this calamitie, whereof we will speake in due place. Some that ascribe more authoritie than the reformed Churches yeeld, to the Booke of *Tobit*, are carefull, as in a matter of necessitie, to affirme, that about these times *Ninive* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victorie thereto, to *Ben Merodach* a needlesse conjecture, if the place of *Eusebius* be well considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the sonne of *Ben Merodach* did seize vpon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about such time as the Countrey of *Assyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* waire ouerwhelmed *Media*. For then was the Conquest wrought out ready to his hand; the swelling spirits of the *Minutes* were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* so allwaged, that it might be thought a great fauour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing vnto them a peculiar King, tooke him and them into protection: though afterwards, to their confusion, this vnthankfull people and their King, rebelled againe, as shalbe shewed in the Raigne of *Nabuchodonosor*.

## §. IIII.

The great expedition of the *Scythians*, who ruled in *Asia* eight and twentie yeares.

## †. I.

The time of this expedition.

**N**OW that I haue shewed what impediment was giuen by the *Assyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much disabled to performe any action of worth vpon the *Aegyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I speake of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grievously afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the Countreys adjacent, in such wise that part of the trouble redounded euen to the *Aegyptians* themselves. Of the *Scythian* people in general, *Herodotus* makes verie large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables, of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needlesse to recite them, for they are farr enough distant from the businesse in hand. The computation of times, which by inference out of his relations, may seeme very strange, needeth some answer in this place: least otherwise I should either seeme to make my selfe too bold with an Author, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or else to bee too forgetfull of my selfe, in bringing to act vpon the Stage, those persons, which I had already buried. Eight and twentie yeares he saith that the *Scythians* Raigned in *Asia*, before *Cyaxares* deliuered the Countrey from them. Yet hee reports a warre betwene *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the siege of *Ninive*; the siege of *Ninive* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tels, how the *Scythians*, hauing vanquished the *Medes*, did passe into *Syria*, and were encountered in *Palastina* by *Psammetichus* King of *Aegypt*, who by gifts and entreatie procured them to depart from him. These narrations of *Herodotus* may, euery one of them, bee true though not in such order of time as he hath marshalled them. For *Psammetichus* was dead before *Cyaxares* beganne to Raigne: and *Cyaxares* had spent halfe of his fortie yeares, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*; so that he could not, after those *Ly-*

dian warres, Raigne eight and twentie yeares together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Psammetichus* the sonne of *Pharao Neco*, by the name of *Psammetichus*; and this King *Psammetichus* may, by some strained conjecture, bee thought to haue bene he that met with the *Scythians*: for he liued with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Eusebius* himselfe referres all that businesse of the *Scythian* irruption into *Palastina*, to *Psammetichus* the Father of *Neco*, whom hee leaues dead before the Raigne of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not relie vpon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwise then to belecue him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them downe.

10 It remanes, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I find of this expedition scattered in diuers places: a worke needefull, for that the greatnesse of this action was such, as ought not to bee omitted in a generall Historie; yet not easie, the consent of those that haue written thereof, being nothing neare to vniformitie.

I haue noted before, that in the Raigne of *Ardis* King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* ouer-ran the Kingdom, and were not expelled, vntill *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardis* got the vpper hand of them. In these times therefore of *Ardis*, *Sadyattes*, and *Halyattes*, are wee to find the eight and twentie yeares, wherein the *Scythians* Raigned ouer *Asia*. Now forasmuch as *Psammetichus* the *Aegyptian* had some dealings with the *Scythians*, euen in the height of their prosperitie, wee must needs allow more than one or two of his last yeares, vnto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Raigne in *Lydia*, being three and twentie yeares compleat after the death of *Psammetichus*, leaues the space verie scant, either for the great victories of the *Scythians*, necessarily supposed before they could meet the *Aegyptian* in *Syria*, or for those many losses, which they must haue receiued ere they could bee driuen quite away. To increase this difficultie, the victorious Raigne of *Nabuchodonosor* in *Babylon*, is of no small moment. For how may we thinke it possible, that he should haue aduentured the strength of his Kingdom against the *Aegyptians* and *Senes*, had he stood in daily feare of loosing his owne, to a more mightie Nation, that lay vpon his necke? To speake simply as it appears to me, the victories ascribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* ouer these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole bodie of their Armie, but were the defeates of some troupes, that infested their severall Kingdoms; other Princes, and among these, *Nabulassar* hauing the like successe, when the pleasures of *Asia* had mollified the courages of these hardie Northerne Laddes. Wherefore wee may probably annexe the eight and twentie yeares of the *Scythians* rule, to as manie almost the last of *Nabulassars* Raigne, in compasse whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of the time, wherein *Asia* suffered the violence of these oppressors.

## †. II.

What Nations they were that brake into *Asia*; with the cause of their Iourne.

**T**ouching the expedition it selfe, *Herodotus* tels vs, that the *Cimmerians* being driven out of their Countrey by the *Scythians*, invaded and wasted some part of *Asia*; and that the *Scythians* not contented with hauing wonne the land of the *Cimmerians*, did follow them, I know not why, into farre remoued quarters of the world, so (as it were by chance) falling vpon *Media* and *Aegypt*. In this pursuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*, Herby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and base people; the *Scythians*, as mischieuous and foolish; or else *Herodotus*, and some other of his Countreymen, great slanderers of those, by

whom their Nation had bene beaten, and *Jonia*, more than once, grievously ransack. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is so well knowne, and their manie Conquests so well testified in Histories of diuerse Nations, that the malice of the *Greekes* is insufficient to staine them with the note of Cowards. There were the posteritie of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our Westerne World; and whose reflow did ouerwhelme no small portion of *Greece* and *Asia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we doe now entreat. Her that would more largely informe himselfe of their originall and actions, may peruse *Gorepius* Becanus his *Imazonias* of manie things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is said to haue spoken, of all *Gorepius* his works, that it is easie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them: There wee find it proued, by such arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Seythians*, and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Linage and Nation; howsoever dittinguished in name, by reason of their diuerse Tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. *Homer* indeede hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whose Countrie whether he place in the West, as nere vnto the *Ocean* and boundes of the Earth, Or in the North, as being faire from the Sunne, and covered with eternall darknesse, certaine it is that he would haue them neare neighbours to *Hell*: for hee had the same quarrell to them, which *Heracles* had, and therefore hee would haue made them seeme a kinde of *Goblins*. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to insert into his workes the names of such as liued in his owne times, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himselfe deserued. And for this reason it is proued by *Eusebius*, that the *Cimmerians* were so disgraced by him, because they had walled his Countrie. Perhaps, that inuasion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his discourse with *Helen*, was the verie same, which *Eusebius* noteth to haue happened somewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together invaded *Asia*.

This is certaine, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerii* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often breake into *Greece* and *Asia*; which though it be not in expresse tearmes written, that they did with joynt forces, yet seeing they inuaded the selfe same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One iourne of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned also by *Eusebius*, was by the frights of the *Cimmerians*, as we finde in *Diodore*, who further telleth vs, that the *Seythians* therein gaue them assistance. The same Authour, before his entrie into those discourses of the *Amazons*; which himselfe acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to haue bene Wives of the *Seythians*, and no lesse warlike than their Husbands; alluding the example of that Queene, who is said to haue laine the great *Corsican* *Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carrie their wives along with them to the warres; and how desperate the courage was of those women; the terrible descent of them into *Italie*, when *Minus* the *Roman* ouerthrew them, giues proofe sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the *Amazons*; other place will giue me better leisure to speake of them: but seeing that they are noted by diuerse Historians to haue belonged vnto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Seythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, wee may the better approue *Gorepius* his conclusion. That these three Nations were one, at least that they were neare allies.

Now concerning the expulsion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Seythians*, it appeares to haue bene none other than the sending a Colonie of them forth into *Asia*, with an Armie of *Seythians* to helpe them, in purchasing a new seat, and establishing the plantation.

The *Sarmatians* also were companions in this iourne. For the Citie of *Nero-gadin* *Russia* (which Countrie is the same that was called *Sarmatia*) brood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was vp in Armes: and therefore it is no maruaile though manie Countreies felt the weight of this great inuasion. Such another voiage was that, which the same people made

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five hundred yeares and more after this, when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they issued from the parts about the Lake *Meotis*; they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the *Seythians* their neighbours; they had in their Armie about three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandered ouer manie Countreies, beating all downe before them, and finally, thinking to haue setled themselves in *Italie*, they diuided their companie, for the more easie passage thither and were consumed in three terrible battailes by the *Roman* Consuls. Mere necessitie enforced these poore Nations, to trouble the World, in following such hard adventures. For their Countrie, being more fruitfull of men than of sustenance, and shut vp on the North side with intolerable cold, which denied issue that way to their ouerswelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge vpon the South, and by right or wrong to driue others out of possession, as hauing title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more ciuile people had. Their sturdie bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all sorts of ill, gaue them great advantage ouer such as were accustomed vnto more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore *Minus* they prevailed verie faue; their next neighbours giuing them free passage, that they might the sooner beridge of them; others giuing them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthie places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

### †. III.

#### of the Cimmerians warre in Lydia.

THE first Companie of these, consisting for the most part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* Seas, which they had still on the right hand; leaving on the other side, and behind them, the great Mountaines of *Caucasus*. These hauing passed through the Land of *Colechus*, that is now called *Atengelli*, entered the Countrie of *Pontus*, and being arrived in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the Promontorie whereon *Sinope*, a famous Hauen Towne of the *Greekes*, was situate built. Here it seemes that they bestowed the weakest and most vnerscuable of their traine, together with the heauiest part of their carriages; vnder some good gard: as drawing neere to those Regions, in conquest whereof they were to trie the vtmost hazard. For in like sort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I spake euen now) dispose of their impediments, leaving them in a place of strength, where *Antiochus* now stands, when they drew neere vnto *Gaul*, vpo which they determined to adventure themselves in the purchase. From *Sinope*, the way into *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was fire and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ledge of Mountaines or any deepe Rivers to staie their march: for *Iris* and *Rhydis* they had already passed.

What battailes were fought betwene these inuaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable successe the one or other part waied and lost, I finde not written, nor amable to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Arctus*, the *Cimmerians* got possession of *Sardes* the Capitall Citie of *Lydia*, only the Cattle holding out against them. Further I obserue, that whereas *Herodotus* tels of the acts performed by *Geges* and *Arctus* Kings of *Lydia*, before this inuasion, and by *Halayates* and *Cresus* in the times following: all that *Arctus* did against the *Cimmerians*, and all (saue burning the *Miletian* Corne fields) that was done in twelue yeares by *Sadiattes* his Son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this businesse, that hee could turne them to nothing else) is quite omitted. Hereby it may seeme, that neither of the two did anie thing

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*Plutarch in the life of Marius.*

*Herod. lib. 4.*

*Did. lib. 4. c. 1.*

*Did. lib. 4. c. 1.*

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worthie of remembrance in those warres, but were glad enough that they did not loose all.

Certainly, the miseries of warre are neuer so bitter and manie, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forsaking their owne seates, labours to roote out the established possessor of another Land, making roome for themselves, their wiues and children. They that fight for the matter are pacified with tribute, or with some other seruices and acknowledgements, which had they bene yielded at the first, all had bene quiet, and no sword bloudied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants haue, their Lands and Cattel, their houses and their goods, euen to the cradels of the sucking infants. The mercilesse rearmes of this controuersie arme both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either winne, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or loose their liues without redemption. Most of the Countries in Europe haue felt examples hereof; and the mightie Empire of Rome was ouerthrowne by such inuasions. But our Isle of Brittain can best witness the diuersitie of Conquests; hauing by the happie victorie of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all Ciuile arts, in exchange of libertie, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; whereas the issue of the Saxons and Danish warres, was, as were the causes, quite contrarie. For these did not seeke after the Dominion only, but the entire possition of the Countrie, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible crueltie, eradicating all of the British Race, and defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the Danes (who are also of the Cimmerician blood) found such end of their enterprise, as it may becometh that the Cimmericians in Lydia, and Scythians in the higher Asia, did arrive vnto. So that by considering the processe of the one, we shall the better conceiue the fortune of the other. Manie battailes the Danes wonne; yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Manie the Saxons wonne vpon the Danes, yet not so great, as could driue them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in course of time, the long continuance euen of vicer enmitie, had bred such acquaintance betweene them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant vnto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons, in England, where great slaughter had made large roome; others returning home, found their owne Countrie wide enough to receive them, as hauing disburthened it selfe of manie thousands, that were sent to seeke their graues abroad. And such (as I thinke) was the end of the Cimmerician warre in Lydia; whereunto though some victorie of Halys may haue hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seemed to haue done most in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should feare to adde hereunto my further conjecture; which is, that the matter was so compounded betwene the Cimmericians and Halysates, that the Riuer of Halys should diuide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Easterne side of the Riuer was the Countrie of the Amazons; that is, indeed, of the Cimmericians and other Scythian people; whose wiues and daughters these warlike women are supposed to haue bene.

And hereunto the quarrell ensuing, betwene Halysates and Cyaxares the Mede, hath verie good reference. For Halysates (as is said) fought in defence of certaine Scythians, vpon whom the Medes sought reuenge. And it stands with reason, that the Lydians and Cimmericians, being much weakened with mutuall slaughters, should haue joyined in a league of mutuall defence for their common safetie: though otherwise it had bene dangerous to Halysates, if he had permitted the Medes to extend his Kingdome so farre Westward, whatsoeuer the pretences might bee, of taking reuenge vpon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the warre betwene these two Kings, which Herodotus relates, I find it of little waight,

waight, and lesse probabilitie. He tels of Scythians, that being chased out of their Countrie by faction, came vnto Cyaxares; who committed vnto them certaine Boyes, to be instructed in the Scythian tongue, and feat of Archerie. Now it so fell out (saith he) that these Scythians wing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did neurt the selfe otherwhiles milke of their game, and come home as they went. Hercupon the King being froward and cholericke, bitterly reuiled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes that was vnder their charge, whom dressing like Venison they presented vnto him; which done they fled vnto Halysates. This Herodotus deliuiers, as the ground of a warre that lasted sixe yeares betwene the Medes and Lydians; the one King demanding these Fugitiues to be deliuered into his hand, the other refusing to betraye such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the Scythians, to betraye themselves to either of these Kings, vnto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly they had reason to distrust Cyaxares, for the treacherie that he shewed in the massacring of their Countrie men, that were in his Kingdome; of whom it is now meet that wee should speake.

### †. IIII.

The warre of the Scythians in the higher Asia.

AS the Cimmericians held their course Westerly, along the shores of the Euxine Sea: so the Scythians and Sarmatians took the other way, and hauing the Caspian Sea on their left hand, passed betwene it and Caucasus through Albania, Colchene, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of Seruan and Georgia, and so they entered into Media. The Medes encountered them in Armes; but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to anie agreement with them. This was in the time of Phraortes, whilst Psammiticus Raigned in Egypt. If it were in the sixt yeare of Nabulassars Raigne ouer Babylon (supposing him to haue Raigned five and thirtie; otherwile we must allow to Ben Merodach what we take from him) then doe the eight and twentie yeares of their Dominion end, one yeare before the great Nabuchodonosor was King; so giuing him good leaue to provide securely, for the inuasion of Syria, which expedition he began while his Father yet liued, as Iesephus out of Berofus relates the Historie.

Now the Medes, desirous to saue themselves as well as they might, from this terrible Nation, which when they had no lust to a second triall of the sword, refused not to vndergoe the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serue to remouee these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the Scythians finding still the Countries pleasant and better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselves to bee perswaded, that a little more traualle, would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relied so much vpon their owne valour, that they feared no resistance; and being the brauest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That Phraortes perswaded them into Egypt, I doe not thinke: Babylon was neare enough; whether if hee could send these Locusts to graze, than should not his vnfriendly Neighbours haue cause to laugh at his misfortune. What thist Nabulassar made with them, or that at all he had anie, dealings with them I doe not reade. But it is well knowne, that his Dominions lay in the midst betwene Media and Egypt, as also, that they made all those parts of Asia Tributarie; wherefore we may verie well beleue, that they watered their horses in his Riuer, and that he also was content to giue them prouender.

Psammiticus hearing of their progresse (like the jealous Husband of a faire Wife) tooke

rooke care that they might not looke vpon *Ægypt*; least the sight thereof should more easily detaine them there, than anie force or perswasion, that hee could vie, would send them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, presuming more on the great gifts which he ment to bestow vpon them, than on his Armie that should keepe them backe. *Ægypt* was rich; and halfe the riches thereof had not bene ill spent in fauing all. Yet *Plammenius* tooke the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had bene so oblitmate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For hee lay close vpon the edge of the Wilderness in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southernmost border of *Palestina*: whence hee neuer advanced to meet with the *Syrians*; but gaue them leaue to feele as much of the scalding Sun-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as ni all the length of *Syria* could beat vpon them. When they were come as farre as *Ascalon*, the next Cite to *Gaza*, then did he assaile them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to worke so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heat of a Climate so farre different from their owne. *Plammenius* had at his backe a vail wilderness, ouer the forching sands whereof, the *Syrians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrarie distempers, could ill haue indured to pursue him, through vknowne wayes, had they fought with him and prevailed: especially the Kingdome of *Ægypt* being readie to entertaine him with relief; and them with new trouble at the end of their wearie iourne. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visite their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Ægyptian* King (besides that he preferred his owne Estate from a dangerous adventure, by hyring this great Armie to depart from him) found all his cost well repayed in the proceesse of his was in *Syria*, where the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to molest him, being more then euer troubled themselves, with the returne of their oppressors. For the *Syrians*, resolving now to seeke no further, beganne to demaund more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to lue at discretion vpon the Countrey, taking what they listd from the Owners; and manie times (as it were to saue the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long ved ouer the higher *Asia*, that is, ouer the Countrey lying betwene the *Caspian* and *Red Seas*, and betwene *India* and *Afric* the selfe. Happie it was for the poore people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new comers; otherwise the calamitie that fell, as it were by chance, vpon those priuate men, to whose wealth anie *Syrian* did beare a fancie, would haue lighted in generall vpon all at one clap, leauing few aloue, and none able to relieue their fellowes. Yet it seemes that the heauie burthen lay vpon *Media*; for it was a fruitful Countrey, not farr from their owne home, and lay vnder a Climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies: there also it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their insolent Rule was taken from them.

Hæd. lib. 2.

*Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, who in this extremitie was no better then a Renter-gatherer for the *Syrians*, perceiving that his Land lay vnmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions; and that the matter could not be remedied by open force; resolved to proue what might be done by stratagem. The managing of the businesse is thus deliuered in briefe: That he, and his *Medes*, sought the better part of the *Syrians*; made them drunke; and slew them; recouering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed vpon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was reuenged by their Countermen, with greater cruelties than euer they had practised before. That the *Syrians*, which escaped this bloudie feast, made any stirre in *Media*, I doe not find; neither doe I read that either in reuenge hercof, or vpon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by inuasion from *Syria* in time following.

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This is the more strange, for that the Armie returning home out of *Media* was verie strong, and encountered with opposition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no lesse then it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares* to fire his Countrey, tooke good effect, with lesse bloud-shed than hath bene supposed. For if hee surpris'd all the chiefe of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Manie of them doubtlesse, in eight and twentie yeares, had so well settled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without anie danger, to remaine in the Countrey manie (of whom I shall speake anon) having done what they could in the businesse, for which they came forth, were willing to returne home, with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might goe ioyne with the *Commerians* in *Lydia*, or seeke their fortunes in other prouinces, among their owne Companions. Whereas all the *Families* of the *Nations* are said to haue bene with *Nabuchadnezzar*, it may be vnderstood, that a great part of the *Syrians*, vpon hope of gaine, or desire to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become subject vnto *Nabuchadnezzar*: mens loue of their wealth being most effectuall, in taming the more vnquiet loue of inordinate libertie. This is certaine, that *Nabuchadnezzar*, euer after, so in his first beginning of warre, did beate the *Ægyptians*, who in ages foregoing, had bene accustomed, to deale with the *Babylonians* after another fashion: and this new success: of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to such addition as of these forces.

Of the *Syrian* Armie returning out of *Media*, diuers Authors report a Story, which confirms mee in the opinion, that this Companie went forth to assist their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new seate, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wiues behinde them; a good argument to proue that they meant to come againe. The *Syrian* women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bed-fellowes to their slaues. These got a litle brood of youths, that were loath to be troubled with Fathers in Law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were only the children of slaues; which compounded an Armie (as *Herodotus* would haue it, who tels vs, that the *Syrians* were wont to pull out all their Bond-mens cies) it must needs be that they were verie Boyes, or else that the Women did verie little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather beleue the tale as it is told by the *Russes* themselves, who agreeing in therewith the consent of Historiis, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set downe, as I find it, in *M. Doctor Elerov* his exact discourse of the *Russe* Common-wealth. They vnderstand by the way that their Chaiques, or Bond-slaues whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Townes, Lands, Houses, Wiues, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet displaying the Villanie of their seruants, they made the more speed home: and so not farre from *Novogrod* met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set open them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse-whips (which as their manner is euerie man ride with all) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing a'l together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their Villaines, and stroke such a yease into those of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like slaues before the Driners. In memorie of this victorie, the *Novogrodians* euer since haue stamped their Coat which they call a *Dingoe* *Novogrodskoy* currant through all *Russia* with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. It may seeme, that all the women of that Countrey, haue fared the worse euer since, in regard of this vnuerall fault: for such a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those slaues, curiously wrought by her selfe, is the first present that the *Moscow* Wife, euen in time of wooing, sends to him that shalbe her husband, in token of subjection; being well assured, to seele to often on her own loines. But this was a Document vnto the *Syrians*, or rather *Sarmatians*,

Hæd. lib. 4.

Herod. lib. 9.

Rus. Common-wealth.

*Sarmatians*; (for *Novograd* lands in the Countrey that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of abetting themselves any more to long from their Wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set downe of the *Seythian* expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to have beene a great cause, of the *Ægyptians* prevailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Judea*, which continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

## §. V.

Of Princes lining in diverse Countries, in these ages.



Aving thus farre digressed from the matters of *Juda*, to avoide all further occasion of doing the like, I will here inserte a note of such Kings and men of marke, as were betwene the death of *Alanaxes*, and the ruine of *Jerusalem*. Of the *Ægyptians*, *Babyloniens*, *Alees*, and *Lydians*, I have spoken as much, as I thought needfull. In *Remes*, *Tullus Hostilius* held the Kingdome, vntill the one and twentieth yeare of *Iofias*; at which time *Ancus Marcius* succeeding Raigned Foure and twentie yeares. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new-come stranger, but verie rich, prevailed so far by his graciousnesse among the people, that he got the Kingdome to himselfe, dis-appointing the sonnes of *Ancus*, over whom he was Tutor. He beganne in the fourth yeare of *Zedekia*, and Raigned eight and thirtie yeares. In this time it was, namely in the second yeare of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the *Lacedæmonians*, bethinking them how to bee auenged of the *Arcadians*, who gaue succour to the *Messeniens* against them in the former warre, entred the Territorie, tooke the Citie of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their Garrisons were soone after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the race of the *Bacidae* made himselfe Lord of *Corinth* about these times, and gouerned it in peace thirtie yeares; leauing for succellour his sonne *Periander*, one of the seuen Sages, but a cruell Tyrant: who among other vile acts, slew his owne wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, strippd all the *Corinthian* women sharke naked, burning their appparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceiue that the wisdome of the *Greekes*, was not excellent in those dayes; when such a one as this could bee admired as excellend all the Countrey.

In these times also were *Zaleucus*, and *Dracon*, famous Lawgiuers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italie*, the other in the Citie of *Athens*. The Lawes of *Dracon* were so rigorous, that he was said to haue written them with blood: for hee rewarded euery small offence with death. Wherefore his constitutions were soone abrogated, and power giuen to *Solon*, by the *Athenians*, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of *Zaleucus* were verie milde. He forbad any Gentlewoman to waile abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *vnlesse it were when shee was drunke*; or to goe forth of the Towne by night, *vnlesse it were to some sweet-hearts bed*; or to dresse herselfe vp in immodest brauerie, *vnlesse it were to inuigilate a lover*. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his desire: for none would seeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is reported in this man as a singular example of iustice, that when his owne sonne had committed adulterie, and was therefore to looke both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gaue one eye of his owne to saue the young man (who also lost one) from vtter blindness.

I shall not henceforth need, so farre to wander, as hitherto I often haue done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the Historie, for inserting them in their order of time.

time. The *Chaldeans* will soone fall vnder the *Persians*; the *Persians*, ere long, encounter with the *Greekes*; the *Greekes*, with the *Romans*; the *Romans*, with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successfullie present themselves, in their flourishing Estate it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minoritie. But in the long space of more than thirtie hundred yeares, which passed betwene the ending of *Sennacherib*, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we finde little matter, wherein the Historie of *Israel* had any dealing with other Nations, than the verie nearest borderers. Yet reade we of many Kingdomes, that in these many ages, were erected, and throwne downe; as likewise, many memorable acts were performed in *Greece* and elsewhere, though not following one another at any neare distance, all which must haue bene quite omitted, or else referred vnto a verie vnseasonable rehearfall, had they not bene disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conueniencie, may pardon the necessitie.

## §. VI.

The oppression of *Judea*, and destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*.



OW to returne to the *Jeseph* Storie, from whence wee haue so farre digressed. In the third yeare of *Iehoiakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet liuing, entred *Judea* with a great Armie, who besieging and forcing *Jerusalem*, made *Iehoiakim* his Vassall in despoight of *Neco*, that had established him King, and tooke with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Also he tooke a part of the Church treasures, but staid not to search them thoroughly; for *Neco* halted to the succour of *Iehoiakim*, hoping to finde *Nabuchodonosor* in *Judea*; wherein this great *Babylonian* had no disposition to hazard himselfe and his Armit; it being a Countrey of an euill affection towards him, as also farre off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of *Seythian* horsemen in his Armie; it was the more wisely done of him, to tae backe, out of the rough, mourtainous, and ouer-hot Countrey, into places that were more euen and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father, happening at the same time, gaue him iust occasion to returne home; and take possession of his owne Kingdome, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more vnto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the *Ægyptians* were not readie to follow him so farre and to bid him battaile, vntill the new yeare came in; which was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Neco*. In this yeare the *Babylonian* lying vpon the Banke of *Euphrates* (his owne Territorie bounding it on the North-side) attended the arriuall of *Neco*. There, after a resolute contention for victorie, *Neco* was slaine, and his Armie remaying forced to saue it selfe, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This victorie *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatsoever the *Ægyptians* held out of their proper Territorie towards the North. The *Ægyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Iehoiakim* held himselfe quiet, as being friend in heart vnto the *Ægyptian*, yet hauing made his peace with the *Chaldean* the yeare before; who contented with such profit as hee could then readily make, had iustborne to laie any Tribute vpon *Juda*. But this could be referrednesse of *Iehoiakim*, was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The *Ægyptian* King *Psammetichus*, who succeeded vnto *Neco*, beganne to thinke vpon restoring *Iehoiakim*, taken Prisoner by his father, and setting him vp, as a Domestical Enemy, against his vngatefull brother. Against

Against all such accidents, the *Judeans* had prepared the vsuall remedie, practised by his fore-fathers: for he had made his owne sonne *Iechonia* King with him long before, in the second year of his owne Raigne, when the Boy was but *Eight yeares olde*. As for this rumour of *Iechonahs* returne; the Prophet *Jeremie* toldt, that it should prouide ill, saying: *he shall not returne thither, but hee shall die in the place whither they haue led him captive, and shall see this Land no more*. The *Aegyptians* indeed, hauing spent all their Mercenarie forces, and receiued that heauie blow at *Carchemish*, had not remanuing much proportion of tharpe Steele, as of faire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of *Neco* was not in *Psamme*, *A-pries* who Raigned after *Psamme*, did once aduenture to shew his face in *Syria*; but after a biggellooke, he was glad to retire, without aduenturing the hazard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with braue words, telling such friuolous tales, as men, that meane to doe nothing, vse, of their glorious acts: *re- passed*, against *Iolias* and *Iechonah*. In this case it was ealie for *Iechonah* to gine them satisfaction, by letting them vnderstand, the sinceritie of his affliction towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to worke more roundly. He sent a peremptorie messageto *Iechonah*, willing him not to stand vpon any nice points, but acknowledge himselfe a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearefull threats, as made the poore *Indean* lay aside all thought of

*Jeremie* *Amos* *63*  
104. *109*

*Pharaoh*, and yeeld to doe, as the more mightie would haue him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* for three yeares. At this time *Jeremie* the Prophet cried out against the *Temes*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twentie yeares exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stoppt their eares against him, and the rest of the Prophets, hee now pronounced their captiuitie at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seuentie yeares. The same calamitie hee threatened to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Aegyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomians*, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drinke out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of His furie, whom they had forsaken, and after the seuentie yeares expired, that the *Babylonians* themselves should taste of the same cup, and be vtterly subuerbed by the *Medes*, & the *Judeans* permitted to returne againe into their owne fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Jeremie* seemed to haue beene in the fourth yeare of this *Iechonah*, at which time *Barnah* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom hee sent to reade them vnto the people, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings furie they had first let *Jeremie* at libertie, and aduised him and *Barnah* to hide themselves.

*Iechonah* after hee heard a part of it, and perceiued the ill newes therein deliuered, made no more adoe but did cut the Booke in peices and cast it into the fire. All which *Jeremie* caused to be new written, with this addition, that the dead bodie of *Iechonah*, should becault out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, and that there should be none of his seede to sit on the Throne of *Dauid*.

Time thus running on, while *Iechonah* rested secure of all danger, as Tributarie to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Aegyptians*; the mightie Citie of *Tyre* opposed it selfe against the *Chaldean* forces; and vpon iust confidence of her owne strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the terme of seuentie yeares, was prescribed vnto the desolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Ierusalem*, and other Townes and Countries; it is apparent, that they which refferre the expugnation of this Citie vnto the nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor*, haue iure authoritie for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it follows of necessity, that the siege thereof beganne in the seuenth of his Raigne; as hauing 13 lasted thirtee yeares.

Here I will take leaue to intrude a briefe note, concerning the severall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third yeare of *Iechonah*, was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being deliuered

deliuered from other cares, tooke notice of such as had revolted from him vnto *Pharo Neco*, and sent this Noble Prince, his sonne, with an Armie into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same yeare. The yeare next following, being the fourth of *Iechonah*, was the first of *Nabuchadnezzar*; which *Jeremie* affirmeth in expresse wordes; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentie yeare hee conquered *Aegypt*; and then beganne to Raigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offenda him. The second from this yeare it was, wherein hee saw that vision, of the Image consisting of sundrie Mettalls; which did prefigure the succession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I find, of long disputations: but returne vnto the siege of *Tyre*, which beganne in the seuenth of his Raigne.

The Citie of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an Island, that was diuided from the maine, by a deep & broad channel of the Sea. The *Chaldeans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the *Tyrans*, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to vse them, excelled all other Nations; and euerie Winde, from one part or other, brought needfull provisions into the Citie. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof neuertheless the iudgements of God (denounced against it by *Elij*, *Jeremie*, *Ezechiel*) had threatened the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor*, had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of resistance, vnderooke a vast piece of worke; cuen to fill vp the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The Citie of olde *Tyrus*, that stood opposite to the new, vpon the firme Land, and the mountaine of *Libanus* neare adjoining that was loaden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirtee yeares were spent, in this laborious, and almost hopelesse businesse. Which needeth not seeme strange: for *Alexander* working vpon that foundation which was remanuing of *Nabuchodonosors* Petre; and being withall assisted by a strong Fleet, was yet seven months ere hee could make way into the Citie. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carrie away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to couer a sheliue; with much more violence could it ouerturne, and as it were consume, the worke of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deepe, struing as it were, to fill the empty bellie of this Cormorant; whereas the *Medes*, did only stop the throat of it. Euerie man knowes, God could haue furthered the accomplishment of his owne threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to vse, either miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earth-quakes, and the like; by making at least the Seas calme, and adding the fauourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleased him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to vse the hand of man; euen the hand of man struing, as may seeme, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excheilue labour of the *Chaldeans* Euerie head was made bald, and euerie shoulder was made bare. Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not give ouer till he was master of the Towne.

When he was entred vpon this desperate seruice; whether it were so, that some losses receiued, some mutinie in his Armie; or (which is most likely, and so *Iosephus* reports it) some glorious rumours of the *Aegyptians*, gaue courage to his euill willers; *Iechonah* enuouced his subiection, and beganne to hope for the contrarie of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gaue him no leisure to doe much hurt: but with part of his Armie marched directly into *Iudaea*; where the amazed King made so little resistance (the *Aegyptians* hauing left him, as it were in a dreame) that he entred *Ierusalem*, and laid hands on *Iechonah*: whom hee first bound and determined to send to *Babylon*, but changing counsell, hee caused him to be slaine in the place, and gaue him the Sepulchre of an Asse, to be deuoured by beafts and rauens birds, according to the former Prophecies: leauing in his place, *Iechonah* or

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*Iechonah*

*Iechonias* his sonne; whom after three moneths and tenne dayes *Nabuchodonosor* removed and sent Prisoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardachius*, and *Iedech*, the high Priest. The mother of *Iechonias*, together with his servants, *Eunuchs*, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carried away Captives. This *Iechonias*, following the counsell of *Jeremie* the Prophet, made no resistance, but submitted himselfe to the Kings will: wherein hee both pleased God, and did that which was best for himselfe; though at the present it might seeme otherwise, to such as considered the euill that befell him, rather then the greater euill that he thereby auoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it seemes that he was partaker, at least, of his Fathers faults; which was an imitator: which was the cause, that his submitting himselfe to Gods pleasure did not preferue his Estate: for so we reade in general words, that he did euill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his stead *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mathania* his Vncle in the Kingdome of *Juda*, and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to say, as the Iustice of God. For likeas *Neco*, King of *Egypt*, had formerly displaced *Iehashaz*, alter his Father *Iehus* was slaine, and set vp *Iehoiakim* the sonne of another Mother; so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Iehoiakim* who depended on the *Egyptians*, and carrying his sonne *Iechonias* Prisoner to *Babel*, gaue the Kingdome to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Iehashaz*, whom *Neco* tooke with him into *Egypt*. From *Zedechias* hee required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gaue him, and called the liuing God to witnesse in the same, that he would remaine assured to the Kings of *Chaldea*.

In the first yeare of *Zedechias*, *Jeremie* saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes: the one signifying those *Judeans* that were carried away captiue, the other those that staid, and were destroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Jeremie* wrote in a Booke all the euill that should fall vpon *Babylon*, which Booke or scrole he gaue to *Sherais*, when he went with the King *Zedechias* to *Babylon*, to visite *Nabuchodonosor*, willing him first to reade it to the Captiue *Ieremes*, and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing these words. Thus shall *Babel* be drowned, and shall not rise from the euill that I will bring vpon her. This Iourne of *Zedechias* to *Babel* is probably thought to haue bene in way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further thinke, that hee had some suite there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his returne all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seemes) to those vniuerse courses, from which *Jeremie* exhorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes; one of which he wore about his owne necke, others hee sent vnto the King of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, by those Messengers which came to visite *Zedechias*: making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Juda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they should then possesse and enioy their owne Countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

Hee also fortolde them, that those Vessels which as yet remained in *Ierusalem*, should also trauaile after the rest, and at length they should be restored againe.

The same yeare *Amnias*, the false Prophet, tooke off the wooden Chaine which *Jeremie* ware, in signe of the Captiuitie of the *Ieremes*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two yeares, God would breake the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he layed on all Nations; restore *Iechonias*, and all the *Ieremes*, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and giue an end to all these troubles. But *Jeremie* in stead of his wooden Yoke ware a Coller of yron: and in signe that *Amnias* had giuen a deceitfull and false hope to the people, hee foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which seized vpon him in the second moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wauered long enough betwene faith and passion, in the eight yeare of his Raigne he practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his Neighbours

the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Masabites*, *Tyrans*, and others that were promised great aides of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whose reilliance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* Yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had knowledge, hee marched with his Armie in the dead of Winter, toward *Ierusalem*, and besieged it. *Jeremie* perswaded *Zedechias* to render the Citie and himselfe: but being confident of the helpe from *Egypt* and being perswaded by his Counsellors, and false Prophets, that it was vnpossible that the Kingdome of *Juda* should bee extirpate, vntill the coming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecie of *Isaiah*) hee despised the wordes of *Jeremie* and imprisoned him. For *Jeremie* had told the King, that the Citie should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but bee taken Prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his naturall death.

*Ierusalem* being, the following yeare, surrounded by *Nabuchodonosors* Armies, the King of *Egypt*, *Pharao Hophra* according to *Jeremie* (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entred the border of *Juda*, with his Armie, to succour *Zedechias*, of whose reuolt he had bene the principall Author. But *Jeremie* gaue the *Ieremes* faithfull counsell, willing them not to haue anie trust in the succours of *Egypt*: for hee assured them, that they should returne againe, and in no sort relieue them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* remoued from *Ierusalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward returned into *Egypt*, as if they had already done enough, leaving the poore people of *Ierusalem* to their destined miseries.

In the meane while the *Ieremes*, who, in their first extremitie, had manumised their *Iehew* Bondmen (as Gods Law required at the yeare of *Isaiah*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now vpon the breaking vp of the *Chaldean* Armie, repent them of their Charitie: and thinking all had bene at an end, held them perforce to their former slauerie. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the siege, the Prophet *Jeremie*, when the State of *Ierusalem* beganne now to grow to extremitie, counselled *Zedechias* to render himselfe vnto them; assuring him of his owne life, and the safetie of the Citie, if he would so doe. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his inuidiclie and perjurie, had provided for him.

Three and twentie Moneths (as some doe reckon it) or according to *Iosaphus* eightene, the *Babylonian* Armie lay before *Ierusalem*, and held it exceeding freightly besieged. For they built Forts against it round about, or (as P. Astarty hath it) extrinsecum contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum, they surrounded the Citie with wooden Towers, so as the besieged could neither fall out, nor recesse into the Citie any supply of men or victuals. *Iosaphus* reports, that they ouer-topped the Walls, with high Towers raised vpon mounts; from which they did so beat vpon the

Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their Stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counterbuildings, like vnto these, Yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions therabouts, and had the Woods and Riuers to obey him, found meanes to ouerthrow all the Citizens enclosures, and to beat downe as fast from without, as they raised from within the bodie and foundation of his owne workes being guarded, by the Walls of *Ierusalem* interposed; and theirs within, laid open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both famine and pestilence (which commonly accompanie men freightly besieged) grew on fast vpon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the *Ieremes* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entrie, their Princes did feat themselves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this vncomfortable sight, and finding no remedie of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shifted himselfe together with his Wiues, Children, Princes, and principall seruants, out of the Citie, by a way vnder ground; leaving his amazed and guidelesse people, to the mercilesse swords

of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremie* the Prophet perswaded him to render himselfe, despised both the Counsell of God and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*; vied now that remedie, which *Wopius* truly termeth: *triste, turpe, & infelix, vafall, foamefull, and vnfortunate.*

*Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 11.*

By this secret subterrane vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth, recovered (by the helpe of the darke night) the plaines or deserts of *Iericho*: but by reason of the traine, that followed him and his, (uerie one leading with him those whom they held most deare vnto them) hee was easily traced and pursued. How great looser the companie was that attended on him, yet, as *Iosephus* reports it, they on whole fidelitie he most reposed himselfe, no sooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the Delarts as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the Ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made Prisoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conuighed to *Rebba* or *Rebatha* a Citie (as some thinke) of *Egyptus*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then 'aie, as a place indifferent betwene *Ierusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to doe.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had laied before *Zedechias* the manie graces and benefits conferred vpon him, together with the notable falsehood and perjurie where-with he had requited them; he commaunded his Children, Princes, and Friends to be slaine before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last, that euer hee should behold in the World, hee caused his eyes to be torne out of his head, and so carried him in a slauih manner to *Babel*, where hee consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetuall imprisonment. Here this most marueilous Prophecie of *Ezechiel* was performed; *Advenum eam in Babylonem & ipsam non viadet. I will bring him into Babylon and he shall not see it.*

*Ezech. 12.*

Thus in the Eleuenth and last yeare of *Zedechias* which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldeans* entred the Citie by force, where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

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In the yeare next following, *Nabuzardan*, General of the Armie, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Ierusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the fueneth to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood 39 four hundred thirte and one yeares.

3. Kings. 18.

After this vpon a second karch, *Nabuzardan* (not yet satiated with blood) commanded seauentie and two others to bee slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fire, to wit, the chiefe and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of Warre, five of his House-should-servants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Iudea*, and leaving the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the partie of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: ouer whom he left Gouvernour, *Gedalia* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Iehus* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his iustice and equitie, by *Iosephus* highly commended. This man, a Jew by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the warre: and by *Iehus* desire to liue with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same aduice, which the Prophet gaue vnto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himselfe altogether to the *Babylonian*, who being ordained by God to exercise his iustice, was therefore resistlesse. The Prophet *Jeremie* being left to his owne choice, either to liue in *Chaldea*, or elswhere, he made election of *Golatha*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremie*, but gaue comfort to all the other *Jewes* that were left vnder his charge, promising them fauour and libertie, so long as they remained obedient Subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom hee was established Provinciall Gouvernour of his owne Nation.

But ere that yeare was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Ierusalem*, had kept himselfe out of the storme, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by tenne other chosen men, while *Gedalia* had feasted them in

*Chap. 28.*

*Mispha* or *Mispha*, the Citie of his residence, traiterously slew him, together with diuers *Chaldeans* and *Jewes* that accompanied him. This done, hee made an escape, and in his way encountering with eightie persons, repairing towards *Gedalia* with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover vnto him some Treasures, hidden in the fields during the warre. He also tooke with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Gedalia* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practise and intent of *Ismael* had bene formerly discovered vnto *Gedalia* by *Iehanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Jewes*; but *Gedalia* was incredulous.

*Iudea* being now left without a Gouvernour (for *Israel* durst not take it vpon him, but retired himselfe, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Jewes*, fearing the reuenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to flie away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremie* to aske counsell of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Iudea*, God would provide for them and shew them mercie; but if they sought to saue themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then vndoubtedly perill. Notwithstanding this aduice, the *Jewes* held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and constraining *Jeremie*: and *Barnuch* to accompanie them, they traualled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, nere vnto *Taphnes*: where, when *Jeremie* often reprehended

them for their Idolatrie, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians* also, he was by the his own hard-hearted and vngratefull Countymen, floned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who creely reuerenced him, buried neere the Sepulchre of their owne

Kings,  
(\* \*)

*Finis Libri secundi.*



10 THE FIRST PART OF  
THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM  
the destruction of Ierusalem to the time  
of PHILIP of Macedon.

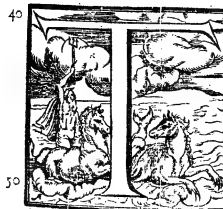
20 THE THIRD BOOK E.

CHAP. I.

30 Of the time passing betweene the destruction of  
Ierusalem, and the fall of the Assy-  
rian Empire.

¶ I.

Of the connexion of sacred and prophane Historie.



40 THE course of Time; which in prophane Histo-  
ries might rather bee discerned through the  
greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in some  
out-worne foot-steps, than in any beaten path,  
having once in Greece by the *Olympiads*, and in  
the Easterne Countries by the account from  
*Nabonissar*, left surer marks, and more appli-  
able to actions concurrent, than were the warre  
of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; be-  
gins at length in the ruine of *Ierusalem* to disco-  
50 ver the connexion of antiquitie fore spent, with  
the storie of succeeding ages. Manifest it is,  
that the originall and progresse of things could ill bee sought in those that were  
ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the affaires of Kingdomes and Empire  
afterwards growne vp are not to be found among those, that haue now no state nor  
policie

politic remaining of their owne. Having therefore pursued the storie of the world vnto that age, from whence the memorie of succeeding accidents is with little interruption or fabulous discouerie deriued vnto vs, I hold it now conuenient briefly to shew, by what means and circumstances the historie of the *Hebrewes*, which of all other is the most ancient, may bee conioyned with the following times, wherein that Image of fundrie metalls, discouered by God vnto *Nabuchadnezzar*, did raigne ouer the earth, when *Israel* was either none, or an vnregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needfull, to insist vpon those authorities, which giue, as it were by heare-say, a certaine year of some old *Assyrian* King vnto some action or euent, whereof the time is found expresse in Scripture: for together with that of *Ninus* his line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* and his issue that occupied that Kingdome afterwards, depending vpon the vncertaine relations of such, as were neither constant in assigning the yeares of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relie vpon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consent and harmonic, which some haue found in the yeares of those ouer-worne Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might haue bene forgotten. Now concerning the later Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true that we finde the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could wee only learne in what age each of them liued, but not in what year his raigne beganne or ended, were it not that the raigne of *Nabuchadnezzar* is more precisely applied to the times of *Iehoiakim* and *Zedekia*. Hence haue we the first light whereby to discouer the means of connecting the sacred and prophane histories. For vnder *Nabuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the captiuitie of *Juda*, which ended when 70. yeares were expired; and these 70. yeares tooke end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well knowne affords vs means of looking back into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first year of *Cyrus* his raigne in *Persia*, by generall consent, is ioyned with the first year of the 55. *Olympiad*, where, that he raigned three and twentie yeares before his Monarchie, and seuen yeares afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controuerie. Giuing therefore foure hundred and eight yeares vnto the distance betwene the fall of *Troy*, and the instauration of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*; wee may easily arriue vnto those antiquities of *Greece*, which were not meerey fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilest in fundrie parts of the world, *S. Augustine* and others may be trusted in siting downe their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and industrie.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned vnto *Alexander*, and from him to the battaile of *Actium*, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to let downe. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* captiuitie are the markes whereby wee are chiefly directed, in passing from the first vnto the latest yeares of the world, through any storie, with least interruption, it is very expedient that we take some paines to informe our selues truly of the 70. yeares, during which it continued, euen from *Nabuchadnezzar* vnto *Cyrus*.

p. I. I. 50

## p. I. I.

A briefe rehersall of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captiuitie: with an answer to the canils of *PORPHYRIE*, maiebing against *S. MATTHEW*, and *DANIEL*, vpon whom the later of these opinions is founded.

Any Commentators, and other Historians, and Chronologers finde, that the captiuitie then beganne when *Seleucus* was carried prisoner into *Babylon*, eleuen yeares before the final destruction of *Ierusalem* vnder *Zedekias*. This they proue out of diuers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plaine distinction between the beginning of the captiuitie, and vtter destruction of *Ierusalem* by *Nabuchadnezzar*, in these wordes. *In the five and twentieth yeare of our being in captiuitie in the beginning of the yeare, in the tenth day of the moneth, in the fourteenth yeare after that the Citie was smitten.* In which wordes hee beginneth the captiuitie in plaine termes, eleuen yeares before the Citie was destroyed. *Beraudus* is of opinion that it beganne in the first of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fourth of *Ioskim*, which hee endeouours to proue out of the second of *Chronicles*, but more especially out of *S. Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whose wordes afford matter of long disputation, but serue not to make good so much as *Beraudus* would enforce. That place of *S. Matthew*, and the whole booke of *Daniel*, haue ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who, not understanding how the sonnes of King *Iudas* were called by diuers names, as *Epiphanius* hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the sonnes, or, according to some translations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the captiuitie. Vpon *Daniel* also the same *Porphyrie* doth spend the twelfth of his malicious bookes written against the Christians, affirming that these prophecies and visions remembered by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or neare the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his, *Ensebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, haue sufficiently answered. For the seuerie Interpreters who conuerted the old Testament about an hundred yeares before *Epiphanius*, did also turne this booke of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greece*, as a part of Scripture receiued. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, that he liued diuers yeares before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Iaddus* the high Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Ierusalem* to haue destroyed it, this booke of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his owne glorie foretold, as the same was plainly expounded vnto him; which not only laied his hand from the harme of that Citie and people, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future perill and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Easterne Empire in a shorter time than *Nabuchadnezzar* had done one Citie, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*.

It is true indeede that the *Iewes* themselves giue lesse authoritie to *Daniel*, than to *Moses*, and the *Prophets*, accounting his booke among those which they call *Cetaphum*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they lay *Esdras* and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from *Babylon*. But first, that the booke of *Daniel* (I meane so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonically: secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himselfe, and not by *Esdras* and the Seniors; we may assure our selues by testimonie of Councells, and Fathers. For in the Councell of *Laodicea* hold about the yeare of our Lord 368. after the death of *Iouinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and fortie yeares, this booke of *Daniel* was received

ciued, verified, and confirmed among the other Canonick Scriptures, as in the Epitomic of the same Councill it may be seene, and so doth Meliton the most ancient Bishop of Sardis number it, witnesseth *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiasticall historie, the fourth booke, and five and twentieth chapter, so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonickall bookes vpon *Origen*, so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface vpon the Psalmes, and *Epiphanius* in his booke of Waights and Measures, &c. To these I may adde *S. Hierome*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, and others. For the *Hagiograph* bookes or holy Writings the *Iewes* and *Rabbines* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalms*, *Prouerbs*, *Iob*, *Canticles*, *Iuth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Hester*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdraus*, that wrote this booke, Gods commandement vnto him by his Angell, to seale vp the same to the time appointed, is an answerable testimonie. Yea that which exceedeth all strength of other prooffe, our Saviour Christ who citeth no Apocriphall Scripture, in *Mathew* and *Marke* allengerh *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his nineteenth chapter. Further, in the first of *Iohn*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth, verse the second. *S. Paul* describeth *Antichrist* out of *Daniel*, and the Reuelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniel*s visions.

Math. 24. 15.  
Mark. 13. 14.

Dan. 12.

### §. III.

That the 70. yeares of captiuitie are to be numbed from the destruction of Ierusalem; not from the migration of Iechonia.



Auing thus farre digressed, in maintaining that authoritie, which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now conuenient, that we retorne vnto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70. yeares. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others with laying open the grounds or weaknesse of that which *Eusebius* and some few namelesse Authors, haue sometimes held in this point, which is lately reuiued by *Beralduis*; but will forth-with enter into consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers haue fo earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of Iuda were carried away captiues to Babylon: First, *Manasses*; then *Iehoiakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly, *Iechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: lastly, *Zedekias*, at which time the Citie and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these captiuities the beginning of the 70. yeares is referred by none that I haue read; to the second by few and with weake prooffe; to the third by very many and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered out of *Ieremie*, which may seeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with *Iechonias*, vseth these words. Thus saith the Lord: After 70. yeares be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and performe my good promise towards you, and cause you to returne to this place.

Ierem. 29. 10.

But it stands in neede with little reason that we should seeke the interpretation of a prophetic out of circumstances, when the prophetic is such as doth sufficiently expound it selfe. *Ieremie* had already, in the fourth yeare of *Iehoiakim*, denounced the iudgement of God against the Land, for the finnes and impoentencie of that obstinate people, in these wordes. Behold, I will send and take to me all the families of the North, saith the Lord, and Nabuchadnezzar, the King of Babel, my seruants, and will bring them against this Land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and

and a continuall desolation. Noweouer, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladnesse, the voice of the Bridgroom, and the voice of the Bride, the noise of the mill-stones, and the light of the candle, and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serue the King of Babel 70. yeares. And when 70. yeares are expired, I will visit the King of Babel. Here wee see prescribed vnto the captiuitie the terme of 70. yeares, which were to commence, neither when the prophetic was vttered; nor when *Iehoiakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nabuchadnezzar*, nor yet in the time of *Iechonias*; but with the vaine desolation of the Citie, whereof *Ieremie* did againe giue notice to those that were already in Babylon, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliuerance before rehearsed. And so did the people vnderstand this prophetic, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70. yeares at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the Historie of Iuda, where it is said thus. They burnt the house of God, and brake downe the wall of Ierusalem, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: And they that were left by the sword, carried he away to Babel, and they were seruants to him and to his sonnes, vntill the Kingdome of the Persians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of *Ieremie*, vntill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the daies that she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70. yeares. But in the first yeare of *Cyrus* King of Persia (when the word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of *Ieremie*, was fulfilled) the Lord stirred up the spirit of *Cyrus*. Wee seldome find one peece of Scripture so precisely and plaineely expounded by another, as in this Prophetic, to haue afterwards bene the Subiect of alteration. For one can hardly deuise, how either the desolation could haue bene expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the euent of the prophetic haue bene more exactly set downe, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it bee requisite that we bring more prooffe in so euident a case, the ninth chapter of *Daniel* yeelds testimonie sufficient, vnto this exposition of *Ieremie*s his prophetic, that Ierusalem was to lie wast 70. yeares. For in the first yeare of *Darius* the Medean, which was the last of the 70. *Daniel* obtained of God the deliuerance that had been promised by praier, which he made vpon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth vs in these wordes. In the first yeare of his reigne, I *Daniel* vnderstood by bookes the number of the yeares, whereof the Lord had spoken vnto *Ieremie* the Prophet, that hee would accomplish 70. yeares in the desolation of Ierusalem. So that how focuer the time of *Daniel* his owne captiuitie bee reckoned from the taking of *Iehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Iechonia*, did accompt, as well they might, the yeares of their owne captiuitie; yet with the general desolation of the Countrey, wherein were few or none of the *Iudaes* left remaining to inhabit, beganne in the nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchadnezzar* for the great captiuitie, which by Gods appointment continued vnto the end of 70. yeares. This I will not further seeke to proue, by the authoritie of *Iosephus* and others affirming the same; for as much as that which alreadye others haue bene produced, is enough to satisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrarie.

Dan. 9. 2.

40

## §. IIII.

*Sundrie opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70. yeares.*



What Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these 70. yeares of the captiuitie, and how long each of them did weare the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their ad's were notable in the age wherein they liued, nor the length of their reignes, any way helpfull to the concordance of times, fore-going or succeeding. The conquests recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia*, (or rather some part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seeme fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to caſe, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honor of his Majestie, where it may seeme that he and his Heires kept a great ſtate, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Aſſyrian* Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no lesse. For whereas vnder *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finished, that hardie peece of worke, of winning the strong Citie of *Tyre*, by ioyning it vnto the continent, filling vp the deepe and broad channell of the Sea, diuiding it from the maine with a mole, or peece of earth, and other matter, the reparation wherof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexanders* works in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the enemy than their bowes would carrie, but were ready to turne their backs, as soone as any, though inferiour in numbers, aduenturing within the distance offered to charge them.

*Xenophon. Cyropag. lib. 1. & 2.*

Now as their actions, from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* warres, till the ruine of their Empire, were not worthe to bee recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reigne of their severall Kings, unworthie of the great labour that hath in vaine beene taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captiuitie of *Juda*, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeares, we may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three slouthfull Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children, living in the *Egyptian* servitude; resting satisfied in both with the generall assured summe.

Yet for as much as many have traualled in this businesse, vpon desire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the 70. yeares, not only by the reignes of other Princes, ruling else-where, but by the times of the *Aſſyrians* themselves: I will not refuse to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke, may best be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting downe the yeares of their severall reignes. The first (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who meerey follow the authoritie of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name only three Kings, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Eulmerodach*, and *Balthasar*. Neither haue they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other to be their warrant, but the prophesie of *Ieremie*, precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very fame. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all would dispose of all, according to his owne will, and making it knowne that he had some Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serue him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonnes, vntill the very time of his Land come also; then many Nations and great Kinges shall serue themselves of him.* These wordes expresse the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeede I finde no other necessitie of qua-

*Ierem. 27. v. 7.*

qualification to be vsed herein than such as may grow out of mens desire to reconcile the Scriptures vnto profane authors. And this desire were not vnult, if the consent of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy Text were single on the other side.

But contrarywise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofes of their different reports are so slender and vnufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not bin thus deliuered in Scriptures, but only set downe by some Author of equal credite with the rest, might verie well haue found and deferred as good beliefe, as anie of those things which they haue deliuered in this point. For some there are, who following *Iosephus*, deriue that Empire, as by descent from father to sonne, through five generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the great, and giuing to him 43. yeares, to *Eulmerodach* 18, to *Nightsar* the son of *Eulmerodach* 40, to *Labofardach* the sonne of *Nightsar* 9. moneths, and lastly to *Balthasar* (whom *Iosephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his father) 17. yeares. And this opinion (saue that he forbears to reckon the yeares, and plainly calles *Balthasar* the sonne of *Labofardach*) Saint *Hierome* doth follow, alledging *Berosus*, and *Iosephus* as a ſectator of *Berosus* for his Authors; though *Berosus*, as he is cited by *Iosephus*, report the matter farre otherwise. For he tells vs that *Eulmerodach* the sonne of *Nabuchodonosor* did raigne but 2 yeares, being for his wickednesse and lust, slaine by his sisters husband *Nightsaroor*, who occupied the kingdome after him 4 yeares, and left it to his owne sonne *Labofardach*, who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of 9 moneths slaine by such as were about him, and the kingdome giuen to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it vnto *Cyrus* after 17. yeares. This relation ill agrees with that of *Iosephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number eyther of yeares, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, haue procured vnto them some authoritie, so that the names which they haue inserted, are taken as it were vpon trust. There is a third opinion, which makes the three last Kings brethren, and sonnes of *Eulmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleue *Xenophon*, who saith that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate successeur to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall Historie, who is founder of this opinion, placeth betweene him that took *Ierusalem*, and *Eulmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plaine it is that he hath, out of any Historie sacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we haue reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpicius*, *Seuerus*, and *Theodoret*, vpon better ground, haue supposed, that *Eulmerodach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and sonnes of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. There is built on the fifth chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Eulmerodach* there is none that cuer doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his sonne. And so common grew this explication, that Saint *Hierome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Ieremy* before cited, prooues that *Balthasar* was not the sonne indeede, but the grand-child of that great conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Eastern* languages, he was called the sonne.

*Annius* his *Metaphyses* hits very rightly the 70 yeares of captiuitie, giuing to *Nabuchodonosor* 45 yeares, to *Eulmerodach* 30 yeares, and to the three sonnes of *Eulmerodach*, nephewes of *Nabuchodonosor* 14 yeares; that is, to *Reg-Assar* the eldest sonne three yeares, to *Lab-Assar* Daeb the second sonne six yeares, and to *Balthasar* the third sonne five.

To this account agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole summe of 50 yeares, and in the number of generations, I haue sometime subscribed, as not daring to reiect an appearance of truth, vpon no greater reason than because the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not satisfie my selfe herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the moderne Writers as deserve to be regarded, haue consented with this *Metaphyses*; and for that in making *Balthasar* to succeed

*Iosephus antiq. lib. 10. cap. 12.*

*Ioseph. antiq. lib. 10. cap. 12.*

*Xenophon. Cyropag. lib. 1.*

succede vnto his brother in the kingdome, and not vnto his father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whole Historie of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* warre I can not lightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the king was at his drunken feast.

Seeing therefore diligently into all circumstances that might giue any light in this obscuritie, I found manifest proote, that the time allotted vnto *Balthasar*, by *Annius* his *Metaphyses*, was farre short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70 years hee pleased among the rest. For in the third year of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a vision, after which he was sicke certaine dayes, but when hee rose vp he did the kings businesse: from which businesse, that hee did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and liue retired, so long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old *Queen* vsed to set out his sufficiency, and by the King asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were *Daniel*. Now to thinke that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two years haue become worne out of remembrance, were in my iudgement a very strange conceipt, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented, to thinke the whole storie (thus related) a part of *Annius* his impostures.

One of these reports of *Iosephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by coniectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captiuitie being 70 years, and these yeares extending vnto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his sonne and grand-child, must haue reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the yeares of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reignes might fill vp the whole continuance of the captiuitie, with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Eulmerodach* and *Balthasar*, ioyned vnto the yeares following the nineteene of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Ierusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing euen.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, fashion the yeares of *Eulmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18 yeares giuen to him by *Iosephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should bee read and numbred 28 yeares, and the two yeares that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Eulmerodach* should be written 23; in the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2), and in the later there should haue bin added the figure of (3) to that of (2): this granted (to wit) that *Eulmerodach* reigned 28 yeares, whereof five together with his father, and 23 after his death, and the same number of 23 added to the 25 which *Nabuchodonosor* liued after the destruction of *Ierusalem*, make 49, then 4 yeares of *Niglissar* according to *Berosus*, 9 moneths of *Labassardach* his sonne, and 17 yeares of *Nabonidus* or *Balthasar* make vp the number of 70 yeares to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by error in figures, or in words, the numbers be utterly mistaken, in all copies extant; vpon how weak a foundation do they build, who haue nothing to helpe them, save onely the bare names of two vnkowne Kings, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had beene entirely extant, were not worthe, to haue that place of *Ieremie* called into dispute, in regard of their authoritie?

### §. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reignes of the Babylonian Kings.



Ther suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, so I purposely forbore to rehearse, as falling vnder the same answer. That of *Ioseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deserving to be considered apart from the rest. He giues to *Nabuchadnezzar* 44 yeares, to *Eulmerodach* 2, to *Belsazar*, 5; and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the

the 19 of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in which *Ierusalem* was destroyed, vnto the time of *Cyrus* he accompteth onely 59 yeares; beginning (as many do) the captiuitie 11 yeares sooner, from the transportation of *Iechonia*. But hereof enough hath beene said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running betweene the 19 of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the Chaldean Empire: wherein if he haue erred, then is all further inquisition fruitles.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchadnezzar*'s raigne, I shall hereafter vpon better occasion deliuer my opinion. The time which he giues to *Eulmerodach* is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For vice find in *Ieremy*, that this *Eulmerodach* in the first of his raigne, shewing all fauour to *Iechonia*, did among other things take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eate bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion giuen him of the King of *Babel*, every day a certaine, all the dayes of his life vntill he died. The very found of these words (which is more to be esteemed, than the authoritie of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a farre longer time than 2 yeares, wherein *Iechonia*, vnder this gentle Prince, enioyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandement he had obeyed in yielding himselfe to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Iechonia* did liue it can not be proued; but plaine it is hereby that all his remaining daies he did not eate bread before this King. Now that he liued not so short a while after this as 2 yeares, it is more than likely, for he was but 55 yeares old when he was set at liberty, hauing been 37 yeares in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18 yeares; after which time it seemes plaine that hee begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zorobabel*, who is said to haue bene but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages three score yeares after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it selfe.

Of *Belsazar*, to whom *Scaliger* giues the next five yeares naming him also *Labassardach*, I should wonder why he calles him *Nabuchadnezzar*'s daughters sonne, we reitnot that herein I find him very carefull to helpe out *Berosus*, by shifting in his *Chrysolosorum*, as husband to *Nabuchadnezzar*'s daughter, and Protector of his son foure of these yeares; by which meanes thereremains about one yeare to *Belsazar* alone, agreeing neerely with the 9 moneths assigned by *Berosus* to the sonne of *Niglissar*. But *Ieremy* hath told vs that it was to *Nabuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sonnes sonne (not to his daughters sonne) that the Empire was promised: which difficultie if *Scaliger* could not helpe, it was well done of him, to passe it ouer with silence.

*Nabonidus* the last of these (whome others, desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) haue iudged to be all one with *Balthasar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to bee *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firme *Berosian*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same stocke or race a *Babylonian*. I speake not this to disgrace the trauaile of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and iudgement, that he was not so wedded to any author, as affected with the loue of truth) but to shew that he himselfe hauing in some points disliked those Writers, whome in generall he approoueth, might with greater reason haue wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in *Scaliger*, that hee whome *Berosus* calles *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies vnto vs, that *Darius* tooke the kingdome, not saying that hee wanne it by force of armes; Secondly, a fragment of *Megasthenes* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Originall, so or of the Greeke translation, which expressing no force of armes doth only signifie, that *Darius* tooke or recieued the kingdome: I see no reason why we should thereupon inferre, that the next king entred by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateth not the meanes and circumstances of *Balthasar*'s death, but onely the swift accomplishment of his owne prophetic. Neither could it indeede haue properly bene said (if *Daniel*

me had cared to vie the most expresse termes) that *Darius* of the *Medes* breaking into the citie, did win the kingdome; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, through by his forces, and to his vie. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his workes printed at *Basilie*, in the year 1559. I finde only thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Apollonius*. That *Nabuchodonosor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that hee subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Affrica* as farre as to the *Armenians*; and that as the *Chaldeans* report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a diuine furie, he cried with a loud voice. O Babylonians, I foretold yee of a great calamitie that should come vpon you, which neither Bel, nor any of the Gods should avert: There will come a Persian, halfe an Asie, that shall bring slavery vpon yee: and that, this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I beleue little or nothing, sauing that *Nabuchodonosor* knew before hand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Dauid* had foretold from the golden head, to the silver breast. But that he wan all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaliger* copie of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells vs that *Nabuchodonosor* wanne both *Affrike* and *Spaine*, I beleue the fragment so much the lesse: and am as little moued with the authoritie of it, where it calles a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Assyrians*, as where it tells of *Nabuchodonosor* his owne vanishing away. Indeed that same title of halfe an Asie, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of *Apollonius* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mede*, because his parentage was more noble on the mothers side, than on the fathers; as *Achilles* are begotten by *Aster* vpon *Mars*. And thus much in answer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the conninctie and coherence which it hath within it selfe, I easily allow it. But this proues nothing, for more fictions haue not wanted these commendations: neither can any man beleue that one so iudicious, industrious and deeply learned as *Ioseph Scaliger*, would ouer-shoote himselfe in setting downe repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it seemes that *Scaliger*, well knowing his owne sufficiency, hath bene little careful to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophetic of *Daniel* were true, that the kingdome of *Balthasar* was diuided, and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*, either wee must thinke that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else wee must bethinke our selues what *Persian* it might be that shared the kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine, that *Balthasar* lost his life and kingdome, than that his kingdome was diuided and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to haue bene *Darius*, they should be thought to haue done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords ouer all the subiect provinces, in somuch that the Greeke Historians did commonly call those warres which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made vpon *Greece*, The warres of the *Medes*. Yet to cleare this point, euen *Daniel* himselfe resembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, vnto a Ramme with two hornes, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chaldeans* were not to haue bene condemned by *Ioseph Scaliger*, for maintaining vpon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes*, was partner with *Cyrus* in his victories, and not a *Chaldean King* by him subdued. Neither was *Ioseph* to be the lesse regarded for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his nephew *Cyrus*, though herein hee varied from *Berosus*, and others, whose authoritie elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Ioseph* had no reason to beleue any mans faith or knowledge of those times, halfe so well as *Daniel*, whom I beleue that hee vnderstoode as farre as was needfull in this case. Lawfull it was for him to allegat all Authors that had any mention, though vnperfect of the same things

Deu. 8. 10.

things that were contained in the writings of the *Jewes*, to whose histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were strangers, and might seeme fabulous. Euen so doe *Eusebius*, and other Christian Writers, willingly embrace the testimonies of heathen bookes making for the truth in some particulars yet will they not therefore be tried in generally by the selfe same *Euboeike* philosophers, but leaue them where they are against the truth; as *Iosephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meete to lay of *Scaliger* opinion in this point; holding neuerthelesse in due regard his learning and iudgement, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had bin very great.

## §. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Persons and Times of *NABUCHODONOSOR* his successors.

It now remains that I freely acknowledge mine owne weaknes, who cannot find how the 70. yeares of captiuitie are to be diuided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I finde that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, beill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Peregrinus*, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose feeble haue failed them in the slipperie wayes of *Chronologie*, wherein both learning and diligence are subiect to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedlesse reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliuer my opinion, wherein the iudgement of *Lyra* and others (holding those onely to haue reigned ouer *Chaldeans*, whose Names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Coniectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take vpon me to defend *Lyra* his Coniectures, when hee supposeth by *Neglisar* and *Labosardach* to be meant the same persons which are called in Scriptures *Eutimerodach* and *Balthasar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but onely to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to haue occupied the whole time of twenty yeares. First therefore let vs consider the reigne of *Nabuchodonosor*, in whose eighteenth yere *Ierusalem* was taken and sacked, but in his nineteenth layd vnto desolate.

Most of Writers haue giuen to him 43. yeares of reigne, following therein *Berosus*. There are who haue added one yeare more, and some haue made it vp 45. To dispute about the certaintie were needlesse: for in theu by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall heare the certaine truth.

Manifest it is, that the 19. yeare of *Nabuchodonosor*, is ioyned with the 11. of *Zedekias*, as also that his eight yeare, was the first yere of *Iechonias* his captiuitie, the reigne of *Zedekias* occupied all the meane space being of 11. yeares. This is generally agreed vpon, so that it needes no further proofes: As for the beginning of his successor *Eutimerodach*, it was in the feuen and thirtieth yere of *Iechonias* his captiuitie; so that *Nabuchodonosor* after his eight yere (which was the first of *Iechonias* his bondage) reigned 35. whole yeares, and peraduenture a good part of the fixe and thirtieth, forasmuch as *Iechonias* was enlarged with so great fauour, not vntill the end of the yeare. Substrating therefore out of these foure and forty, which *Nabuchodonosor* reigne did wel-neare occupie, those eightene yeares of his which passed away before the captiuitie of *Iuda*, and ruine of the citie, we haue remaining fixe and twenty yeares of the fuentie, that were almost wholly spent, when his sonne began to reigne.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the fuentie yeares were diuided betweene the kings ruling in *Babylon* vntill the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needfull: the whole summe being certaine, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were

were

were slouthfull Princes. Neither can any man the more iustly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70. yeares, for that the distribution of some part of them is only coniectural; seeing that none who giues any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both vnlkely and desperate coniectures in diuiding them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others haue done, knowing well before hand, that whosoever shall discouer my error, must doe mee the pleasure (which I could rather will in a case more materiall) of making mee to vnderstand the truth.

Num. 8. 2. 1. 1.  
27. 2. 6. 5. 1. 1. 1.  
12. 2. 13.

Ierem. 27. 7.

Of the foure and fortie yeares remaining in accompt at *Nabuchadnezzar's* death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius the Mede*, and then hauing authoritie good enough to warrant vs from blame of presumption, in giuing vs seuentene yeares to *Balthasar*, we finde left in our handes to bestow vpon *Eutimerodach* sixe and twentie yeares. Of the yeare belonging to *Darius the Mede* I haue already spoken what I thought sufficient, in deluering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captiuitie. That *Balthasar* did raigne seuentene yeares, we haue the authoritie of *Iosephus*, before cited in expresse wordes; We haue also the generall consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who raigned so long; and *Balthasar* to haue bene one. But nothing moueth mee so much to beleue this Tradition, as first those euident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third yeare of *Balthasar* he followed the Kings businesse, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his raigne, (a proofe sufficient of no lew yeares, passing vnder this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniels* employments tooke end either that yeare or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his warres against the *Assyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans father, and being alwaies prosperous, could hardly haue occupied any longer time, though we make large allowance to his deedes in the lower *Asia*, which tell out in the mid-way: I haue already shewed, that there appeares in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the raigne of *Eutimerodach* was not short: and that men of great iudgment haue found it most probable that hee was King three and twentie yeares. More, I thinke, they would haue allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus* caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that bookes of such antiquitie, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeld in many darke passages of Antiquitie. I will yet confesse, that were his workes neuer so excellent, and in all things else vnquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend vnto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemy. How much lesse ought I to obey a broken fragment of his, containing only seven or eight lines, and part euen of the title corrupted, as they beleue that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures haue told vs that God gaue the Empire to *Nabuchadnezzar*, to his sonne, and to his sonnes sonne: How long each of them held it, we finde not expressely; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would reach vs prouided alwaies, that helping vs in a particularitie, he destroy not thereby the generall truth. More wordes are needlesse. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus* or *Iosephus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelesnesse of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to erre in writing two for sixe and twentie, as for three and twentie, or perhaps more easie. For the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5. signifying 6. hath a nearer resemblance of 8 than stands for 2. than hath 7. which is vsed for 3. So that the numerall notes 8 5 expressing 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not vnusall, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in 8 7 standing for 23. I doe not well perceiue. As for the arithmetically figures now in vsd, they were

were long after the time of *Iosephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore doe not appertaine to this businesse; vnlesse we should ghesse that his workes were corrupted in that vnlearned age, which following the *Saracen* conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanitie, but in a sort wholly giuen ouer to the doctrine of *Aristotle*. If this will serue to make *Berosus* our friend, so let it be; if not, I will not purchase the fauour of his authoritie, by forsaking *Ieremie* and *Daniel*, when they seeme his opposites.

# §. VII.

Of the victories which *NABUCHODONOSOR* obtained betwene the destruction of *Ierusalem* and conquest of *Egypt*.

**W**ith what actions this time of 70. yeares was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few haue written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure haue bene some cause that the time it selfe was, and is yet sought to be abridged, as not hauing left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well denie to many people euen their being. For euery Nation (I know not whom I should except) betwene the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slouthfull age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no maruaile, if the posteritie of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things readie to their hand, which their hearts could haue desired, betooke themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall sonnes of greedie fathers, their owne wildome greater, which knew how to enioy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the restlessle trauaile of purchasing. I though indeede the raigne of *Nabuchodonosor* was so diuided, that his youthfull and stronger yeares hauing bene exercised in victorious armes, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy labours past. The nineteenth yeare of his raigne it was, when destroying utterly the great and mightie Citie of *Ierusalem*, hee enriched himselfe with abundance of spoile, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, vntill his three and twentieth yeare, he laboured in the conquest of those adioyning Regions, which God had exposed vnto his sword, and commanded to ware his yoke; namely the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrans*, *Sicionians*, and *Egyptians*, though some of these were already become his followers, and serued vnder him, when *Ierusalem* was beaten downe and burnt. But the *Tyrans* whose Citie was founded on an Island, safe enough from any danger of a Land-Armie, and whose fleet was so strong that they needed not to feare any enemy at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour Cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mightie Prince, employing all his power to their subuersion.

That the Citie of *Tyre* was rather well pleased than any way discouraged with the fall of *Ierusalem* (which had held the same course that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might be in the same quarrell against the common enemy) it appeares by the wordes which *Ezechiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyrus*; *Anna, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned vnto mee; for seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished*. Yet at the length, euen in the nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great worke of his whereof we haue already spoken, beganne to appeare about the waters, and threaten them with ineuitable mischief.

But those prophecies of *Ieremie* and of *Eliay*, which appoint vnto this desolation of *Tyre* the same terme of 70. yeares, that was prescribed vnto the raigne of the *Chaldeans*, doe plainly shew, that hee followed *Ierusalem*, the same nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like: fortune. The particularities,

Ier. 36.  
Eliay. 23. 15.

Bbbb

which

which doubtlesse were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner vterly lost. Thus much wee finde, That the Citizens perceiuing the Towne vnable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fled into the Isle of Cyprus. Neuertheless it comes that this euasion serued only the principall men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort vnto the enemies furie. For not onely such people of Tyre as dwelt on the Continent (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the Irees, into which with excellent labour the Assyrian made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus NABUCHODONOSOR caused his Armie to serue a great service against TYRE, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare, yet had he no wages, nor his Armie; but was faine to rest contented with the Honor of having destroyed that Citie, which in all mens iudgements had bene held invincible.

Exech. c. 2. v. 8.  
10. 11.  
Exech. 39. 13

The destruction of these two great and powerfull Cities, hauing made the name of the Chaldeans dreadfull in the eares of all the Nations thereabout, Nabuchodonosor vsed the aduantage of that reputation which hee had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable with lesse paine. The Kingdome of Egypt was the marke at which he aimed; a Countrey so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well haue tempted any Prince, finding himselfe strong enough, to seeke occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemy to the Crowne of Babylon, that had it bene poorer, yet either it must haue bene subdued, or the conquest of Syria could ill haue bene established. Neuertheless it was needfull that before hee entred into this businesse, the Countreys adiacent should be reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his deuotion, or at least be vnable to worke him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For the people of Alab, Ammon, Leam, Damascus, Kedar, Hazor, and other adioyning Regions whom God for their sins had condemned to fall vnder the Babylonian sword, were such, as regarding only their owne gaine had some of them, like Raues, followed the Chaldean Armie, to feede vpon the carcases that fell by the crueltie thereof; others taking aduantage of their Neighbours miseries, occupied the Countreys which were by his victories belonging to Nabuchodonosor; all of them thinking, that when the Assyrian had satished his furie, he should be faine to forsake those desolate parts, and leaue the possession to those that could lay hand vpon it. Particularly the Edomites and Phisijans had shewed much malice to the Iewes when their Citie was taken. What good fruitie they had done to the Chaldeans, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to haue been with reference to their owne purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The Ammonites were not contented to reioyce at the fall of Ierusalem, but presently they entred vpon the Countrey of Gad, and rooke possession, as if not the Assyrian, but they, had subdued Israel. Neither can I perceiue what other ground that practise had of Basal King of the Ammonites, when hee sent Jsmael, a Prince of the blood of Iuda, to murder Gedalia, whom the King of Babel had left Governour ouer those that remained in Israel, and to carrie captiue into the Ammonites Countrey the people that abode in Mizpab, than a desire of embroiling Nabuchodonosor with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his owne Countrey, and abandon those wasted Lands to himselfe and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policie the Nababes did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

Ierm. 40. 14. &  
41. 3. 10.  
Ier. 38. 17. & 20.

Exech. 16. 14.

All these Nations had the art of rauening, which is familiar to such as liue or border vpon deserts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the vttermost cunning of their theueth wits. But Nabuchadnezear did cut asunder all their deuices by sharpe and suddaine warre, ouerwhelming them with vnexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of Eley, Ieremie, and Ezechiel, who fore-told, with little difference of wordes, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the miserie

serie that should come vpon them. With which of them he first began, I finde not; it seemes that Moab was the last which felt his hand: for so doe many good Authors interpret the prophecie of Eley, threatening Moab with destruction after three yeares, as hauing reference to the third yeare following the ruine of Ierusalem; the next yeare after it being spent in the Egyptian expedition. This is manifest, that all the principall Townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made slaues, few excepted, who being preferred by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations ouer-hastily; much lesse to attempt any thing against Nabuchodonosor, but liued as miserable out-lawes, or at least oppressed wretches, vntill the end of the seuentie yeares, which God had prescribed vnto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of Iuda.

### ¶ VIII.

That Egypt was conquered, and the King therein reigning slaine by NABUCHODONOSOR, contrary to the opinion of most Authors: who following HERODOTVS and DIODORVS, relate it otherwise.

When by a long course of victorie Nabuchodonosor had brought into subiection all the Nations of Syria, and the bordering Arabians, in such wise that no enemy to himselfe, nor friend of the Egyptian, was left at his back, that might giue impediment vnto his proceeding, or take aduantage of any misfortune; then did hee forth-with take in hand the conquest of Egypt himselfe, vpon which those other Nations had formerly bene depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets Eley, Ieremie, and Ezechiel, haue written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needlesse to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe halfe of that which may be alleaged out of these. Neuertheless wee finde many and good Authors, who following Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, are well contented to straine these prophecies with vnreasonable diligence vnto such a sense, as giues to Nabuchodonosor little more than the honour of hauing done some spoile in Egypt, omitting the conquest of that Land by the Babylonian, and referring the death of Apries or Hophra to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affaires. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and second helps conducing to their purpose, that often times they preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to vp-hold a sentence giuing testimonie to one cause, doe carelesly ouertrow the historie it selfe, which thereby they sought to haue maintained. The reports of Herodotus and Diodorus, concerning the Kings of Egypt, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former booke; but that which they haue spoken of Apries, was purposely referred vnto this place. Herodotus affirmes that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein hee telleth not (vnlesse we should vnderstand that he was victorious in the Warre which he is said to haue made vpon Tyrrus and Sidon) that hee reigned sixe and twentie yeares, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne subiects; who did set vp Amasis, as King, which preuailed against him. The rebellion of the Egyptians hee imputeth to a great losse which they receiued in an expedition against the Cyrenians, by whom almost their whole Armie was destroyed. This calamitie the people of Egypt thought to bee well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous expedition, with a purpose to haue them consumed, that so hee might with greater securitie raigne ouer such as staid at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slaine, rebelled against Apries, who sent Amasis to appeale the tumult; but Amasis became Captaine of the rebells, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented vnto this new Election; whereby Apries

Herod. 2. c. 14

was druen to truit vnto his forraine Mercenaries, the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom hee kept in readinesse thirte thousand good Souldiours that fought valiantly for him, but were vanquished by the great numbers of the *Aegyptian* forces, amounting vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand, which were all by birth and education, men of warre. *Apries* himselfe being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by *Amasis* for a while, vntill the *Aegyptians*, exclaiming vpon him as an extreme enemy to the land, got him deliuered into their hands, and strangled him, yet gaue him honourable buriall. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* neerely agrees, telling vs that *Apries* did vanquish the *Cyprians* and *Phenicians* in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demolished *Sidon*, wanne the other towns of *Phœnicia*, and the Isle of *Cyprus*, and finally perished as is before rehearsed, when he had reigned two and twentie yeares. This authoritie were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe vs of *Apries* his historie, if greater authoritie did not contradict it. But the destruction of *Aegypt* by the *Babylonians*, fore-told by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our belief, than haue the traditions of *Aegyptian Priests* (which the *Greece Historians* followed) and greater probabilities to perswade those that looke only into humane reasons. For *Esay* prophesied long before of the shameful captiuitie of the *Aegyptians*, whom the King of *Assur* should carry away naked, yong and old, in such wise that the *Iewes* who fled vnto them for deliuerance from the *Assyrian*, should be ashamed of their owne vaine confidence in men so vnable to defend themselves.

But *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*, as their prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, so they handled this Argument more precisely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that *Aegypt* should be given to *Nabuchodonosor*, as wages for the seruice which hee had done at *Tyre*: Also he recounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in *Aegypt*, saying, That these by name should be destroyed and goe into captiuitie; yea, that *Pharaoh* and all his armie should beaine by the sword. Wherefore it must needs be a violent expolition of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatnings to an insurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Aegypt*, than change of the Kings person, wherein *Amasis* did succed vnto *Apries*, by force indeede, but by the vniforme consent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremie*, wherein he foretelleth how the Iewes in *Aegypt* should see *Pharaoh Hophra* deliuered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had bene, were to bee referred vnto the time of that rebellion whereof *Herodotus* hath spoken, as the generall opinion hath ouer-ruled it, then was it vainely done of the same Prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should thinke, seeing he did it by the appointment of God himselfe) to hide in the clay of a Bricke-hill, those very stones, vpon which the throne of *Nabuchodonosor* should be set, and his pavilion spread. Yea then was that prophetic no other than false, which expressed the end of *Pharaohs* thus. *Behold, I will visite the common people of Noe, and Pharaoh and Aegypt, with their Gods and their Kings, euen Pharaoh, and all that trust in him: and I will deliuer them into the hands of those that seeke their lues, and into the hands of Nabuchodonosor King of Babel, and into the hands of his seruants.* The clearness of this prophesy being such as could not but refuse that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the *Greece Historians*. Wherefore looking vpon *Iunius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to be *Amasis*, and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the *Aegyptian Priests* had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lies, coined vpon a vaine-glorious purpose of hiding their owne disgrace and bondage. And surely it may well be thought, that the historie of *Nabuchodonosor*, was better knowne to the *Iewes* whom it concerned, than to the *Greekes* that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather

Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. c. 22.

E. say. 40. ver. 4. 5. c. 6.

Ezech. 29. ver. 10. c. 30. Ezech. 32. v. 31.

Jerem. 44. 30. Jerem. 43. 10.

Jerem. 46. ver. 25. c. 26.

Iun in Jerem. c. 44. ver. 30.

ther belieue *Iosephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonosor* in the three & twentieth yeare of his raigne, and the fift yeare of the destruction of *Ierusalem*, did conquest *Aegypt*, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who being meere strangers to this businesse had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting aside all aduantage of authoritie, we should only consider the relations of *Iosephus*, and of the *Greece Historians*, as either of them might be verified of it selfe by apparant circumstances, without reflecting vpon the *Iewes* Prophets or *Aegyptian Priests*; me thinks the death of *Apries* can no way be approved as hauing bene wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspition; yea though no man had opposed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great loue and honour which the *Aegyptians* did beare vnto their Kings, is notorious by the vniforme testimonie of all others that haue handled the matters of that Country, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himselfe. How then can wee thinke it probable, that *Apries* hauing wonne great victories, did for one only losse fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may serue to perswade vs, that a King of *Aegypt* would seeke, or so demean himselfe, that he might be thought to seeke the destruction of his naturall subiects? As for that armie of thirte thousand souldiours *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the King of *Aegypt* whom *Amasis* tooke prisoner, is said to haue kept for his defence: doth it not argue that hee was a forraier, and one that armed himselfe against the *Aegyptians*, wilhing them few and weak; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as assuredly their owne, as the strength of their owne bodies? It were more tedious than a nic way needfull, to vse all Arguments that might be alleaded in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who fought to haue kept him alieue, doth intimate that hee was some forren Governour, not a naturall Prince; otherwise the people would haue desired to saue his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not haue yielded, though it had stood vpon great apparence of truth, considering that the voyce of Truth it selfe cries out against it; but leaue the circumstances prouing the Conquest of *Aegypt* by *Nabuchodonosor* to be obserued, where due occasion in course of the storie following shall present them.

### §. IX.

How Egypt was subdued and held by NABUCHADONOSOR.

It is a great losse, that the generall Historie of the World hath suffered, by the spoile and waite which Time hath made of those Monuments, that should haue preserved the memorie of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mightie Prince *Nabuchodonosor*, wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now vncertaine. That his victories following the Conquest of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Prouinces, were such as did more enlarge his dominion, than all his former warres had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*: who reckons vp in his thirtieth chapter (besides the whole Country of *Aegypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations that may seeme to haue reached out into *Amerina*, as people subdued by this great *Babylonian*. The circumstances of these warres are in a manner vtterly lost; but that the victory was easie and swift, any man shall find, who will take the pains to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular oblation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himselfe safe in *Aegypt* by the well defended situation of his Country, did very vnwisely in suffering his enemies

Iosephus de Antiqu. lib. 10. c. 11.

to sweepe the way cleane vnto his owne doores, by consuming all his friends and adherents in Syria. For as the labour of this businesse did more harden than weare the Chaldean army, so the confidence and vaine securitie of the Egyptians, relying vpon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make through the Arabian deserts, and the much aduantage which the great ruler of Nilus would afford vnto themselves, did litle auaile them in prouision for the warre, and much alonith them (as may iustly be thought) in the time of execution: it being vually scene, that the hearts of men faile, when those helps faile, in which they had repofed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the kingdom of Egypt had flourished vnder the rule of the Pharaohs, about a thousand five hundred and foure score  
 10 yeares; but from this time forward it remained fortie yeares without a King, vnder the subiection of the Babylonians; and then at length it began to recover by litle and litle the former greatnes, yet so, that it was neuer dreadful vnto others, God hauing said of that people, *I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule the Nations.* For whereas it hath bene said of Pharaoh: *I am the sonne of the wife, I am the sonne of the unaccused Kings;* and whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I haue made it;* the Princes of Egypt now became fooles, the river failed them, the King himselfe was taken and slaine, and that ancient linage quite extinguished. This came to passe in the first year after the destruction of Ierusalem, and the three and twentieth of Nabuchadnezzar, at which time (saith Iosephus) *Hee slew the King then reigning, placed an other in his roome, and carried captiues thence to Babylon, the lewes whom hee found in that Countrey.* Now concerning the time which Iosephus giues vnto this businesse, and the businesse it selfe, I haue already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of Ierusalem, and carrying away those vnto Babel, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that great city, which was in the fame three and twentieth year of NEBUCHADNEZZAR, is not vnprobably thought by good authors to haue bene at the returne from this Egyptian expedition. But whereas Iosephus tells vs that there was another King put in the roome of Apries by Nabuchadnezzar, we must vnderstand, that he was onely a Viceroy, and not (as some haue mistaken it) thinke that this was Amasis. For to place the beginning of Amasis his raigne in the three and twentieth of Nabuchadnezzar, were as well repugnant vnto the Prophecies before alledged, as to all Chronologie and historie. Some there are, which to helpe this inconuenience imagine that there were two successively bearing the name of Amasis; others that there were two Apries, the one flaine by Nabuchadnezzar, the other by Amasis: a question of small importance, because the difference is only about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was deputed of life and kingdom by the Assyrians. Yet for any thing that I can perceiue, that Apries of whom the Greeke Historians wrote, could not be the depute of Nabuchadnezzar, seeing that hee was the Grand-child of Pharaoh Necho, and made warre (as they report) vpon the Phenicians, who were, before the Egyptians, become subiect vnto the Crowne of Babylon. I might adde perhappes, that he whom Nabuchadnezzar left as Gouernour of Egypt, was more likely to haue had some Chaldean or Assyrian, than Egyptian name; vnlesse wee should thinke that hee had bene a traitor to his naturall Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Countrey: about which it were but frivolous to dispute. Thus much in briefe we ought to beleue, that Nabuchodonosor made an absolute Conquest of Egypt; that he was not so foolish as to giue it away, any man may guesse, that he appointed one to rule the Countrey, it is consequent vnto the former, and hath authoritie of Iosephus; that this Gouernour (or some successeur of his) was afterwards taken and slaine by Amasis, I see probability enough to perswade my selfe, and yet can well be content, that others vie their libertie, and beleue what they list. As for the armie which this Egyptian King Apries is supposed to haue kept of Ionians and Carians; I hold them to be none other than the garrisons of mercenarie soldours which were left by the Assyrian  
 for

Ezek. 39. 13, 14.

Ezek. 39. 15.

Ezek. 39. 16.

Ezek. 39. 17.

Ioseph. Ant. lib. 10. c. 11.

Ezek. 39. 13, 14.

for the guard of his Viceroy, and custodie of the new subdued Prouince: as likewise the company returning from Cyrene and Barce, who together with the friends of such as were slaine in that expedition, remembered before out of the Greeke Historians, depofed and slew Apries, I take them to haue bene the Egyptian fugitives which then recovered their owne Countrey. Sure it is that this Prophecie of Ezekiel was verified, *At the end of fortie yeares will I gather the Egyptians from the people wherethey were scattered, and I will bring againe the captiuitie of Egypt, and will cause them to returne into the land of Pathros into the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a small kingdom.* If the Egyptian Priests alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of Amasis his obtaining the kingdom, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deuised matter that had no shadow of truth, onely to keepe the Greekes from knowledge of their Countries disgrace; then are they litle to be regarded, since we know the truth with them.

§. X.

Of the sundry accounts drawne from sundry acts of NEBUCHADNEZZAR and of the destruction of Ninuie, by him; and the time of which action is vncertaine.

**T**Hese victories brought the greatnes of the Assyrian Empire to the fall, and from them was reckoned the time of Nebuchadnezzars raigne in sundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions arising about the supputation of Nebuchadnezzars his times, might seeme to be the ouer-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas Daniel was carried captiue in the third year of Iehoiakims raigne (which ranne along with some part of Nebuchadnezzars fifty yeare) and was kept in diet three yeares more, before he was brought into the Kings presence; it could not be the second of Nabuchadnezzars kingdom, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dreame of the great image, foretelling the succellion of Monarchies, but the second of his Empire. The same or the like may be said of diuers places which referre sundry matters vnto their set yeares; as that of Ezekiel before-cited, where hee fore-tells that Egypt should be giuen in reward for the seruice done before Tyrrus, dating his prophecie in the seuen and twentieth yeare; and that of Daniel, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeare: for these yeares held no dependance vpon either the beginning of Nabuchadnezzars kingdom, or of his Empire, nor yet vpon any of the captiuities, but had reference to some memorable action, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the labour of vncertaine search.

Of any warre made by Nabuchadnezzar after such times as hee returned from the Conquest of Egypt I doe not reade: excepting that against Ninuie, the destruction whereof was fore-tolde by the Prophet Naum. Ninuie had long before bene taken by Merodach (as in due place hath bene shewed) and together with the rest of Assyria made subiect to Babylon. Yet was it left vnder a peculiar King, who rebelling against the Chaldean, as Iehoiakim & Zedekiah tributary Kings of Iuda had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of Ninuie followed the Conquest of Egypt, it appeareth by the comparison which Naum the Prophet made betwene this Citie that was to fall, and the Citie of No in Egypt that was fallen already. But how long after this came to passe, it is (me thinks) vnpossible to find out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronologie, that it was in the first of Nabuchadnezzars raigne; the place of Naum last cited is enough to disproue it. Whereas it is referred by some vnto the first of his Monarchie, which beganne at the end of the Egyptian warres; the whole Prophecie of Naum which went betwene the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent;

Dan. 1. 1. &amp; 2.

Naum 3. 8.

current. So that to enquire into the very yeare of this destruction, or other circumstances of the Warre, whether menaged by *Nabuchodonosor* in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like vnto the vaine curiositie of *Tyberius Caesar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hebebor* to the like idle paines which he should take, who would seeke to learne what woman that *Uzzab* Queen of *Amurru* was, whose wofull captiuitie the same Prophet *Naum* likewise did fore-tell.

## p. XI.

Of the later time of *Nervchadnezzar*; his buildings, madnesse, and death.

DEN. 4. 27.



F the time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I thinke there are no monuments extant; save those which we finde among the prophecies of *Daniel*. Among these we may reckon his great workes at *Babylon*, wherewith he pleased himselfe so well that he brake out into these glorious wordes. *Is not this great Babel that I have built for the house of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my maiestie?* Surely if those things be true that are by *Iosephus* rehearsed of him out of *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, hee might well delight himselfe with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall; that besides other stately workes, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne vp the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the aire, and equalling the tops of Mountaines; which most sumptuous frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the *Assyrian*, and all the *Persian* Empire, is said to haue bene reared, and finished in fiftene daies.

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we finde little else recorded, than that (which indeede is most profitable for vs to consider) his ouer-valuing of his owne greatnesse abased him vnto a condition, inferiour to the poorest of men. And not vnderstandedly fell these iudgements of God vpon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many victories, and much happinesse in his owne life, but with a discouerie of things to come after him, yea and had approued the certainty of his dreame, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memorie, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet: hee neuertheless became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had sene and acknowledged, that hee caused a golden Imago to be set vp and worshipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward vnto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was vnto them repugnant to the law of him that is the King of Kings. Hereof *S. Hierome* hath well noted; *zelus obliuio veritatis, et qui dandum seruum Dei quasi Deum adorauerat, nunc statuum sibi fieri iubet, et ipse quasi Deus in statu adoratur: A haste forgetfulness of the truth, that hee was so lately had worshipped. (DANIEL) the seruant of God, as if hee had bene God himselfe, should now command a Statua to be erected vnto himselfe, wherein himselfe might be worshipped as God.* From this impietie pleased God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderfull deliuerie of those blessed Saints out of the fierie furnace; who being throwne into it bound, for refusing to commit Idolatrie, were assisted by an Angell; preserved from all harme of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious wordes, and restored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his image he had violated. Yet this deuotion of *Nabuchadnezzar* was not so rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hastie zeale. Therefore was hee forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible iudgement hanging ouer his head, which *Daniel* expounding, aduised him to brake off his sinne by righteousnesse, and his iniquitie by mercie towards the poore, that there might be an healing of his error. Hereby it seems that

that iniustice and crueltie were the faults, for which hee was threatened, but this threatening sufficed not vnto his reformation. For that so great a Monarch should be driuen from among men (according to the tenor of the dreame and interpretation) yea compelled to dwell with the beasts of the field, and made to cate graisse as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in mans iudgement, that easily it might be thought an idle dreame, and much more easily be forgotten at the yeares end. One whole yeares leisure to repent was giuen to this haughtie Prince: which respite of the execution may seeme to haue bred in him a forgetfulness of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelue moneths, walking in the roiall Palace of *Babel*, hee was so ouer-joyed and transported with a vaine contemplation of his owne seeming happinesse, that without all feare of Gods heauie iudgement pronounced against him, hee vttered those losse wordes before rehearsed, in vaunting of the maiestieall workes which he had reared, as well belcoming his maiestieall person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from heauen, telling him that his Kingdome was departed from him, rehearsed ouer vnto him the sentence againe, which was fulfilled vpon him the very same houre.

That *Salomon* and many other Princes and great ones, haue taken delight in their owne buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that euer I haue read of any, that were punished for reioicing in workes of this kinde (though it is hard in ioy, or any passion of the minde to keepe a iust measure) excepting only this *Nabuchadnezzar*.

The like may be said of *Dauid*: for other (and some very goodly) Kings haue multiplied all their forces to the very last man; but few or none haue bene knowne to haue bene punished as *Dauid* was. Surely I not only hold it lawfull to reioyce in those good things, wherewith God hath blessed vs; but a note of much vnthankfulness to entertaine them with a fullen and vnseeling disposition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure cloudes, hindring the influence of that blessed light, which clarifies the soule of man, and predisposeth it vnto the brightness of eternall felicitie; so that insolent ioy, which man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceiueth of his owne worth, doth above all other passions blast our mindes, as it were with lightening, and make vs to reflect our thoughts vpon our seeming inherent greatnesse, forgetting the whilst him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these *malis mentis gaudia*; The euill ioyes of the minde, were not vnaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, bellosed in the entrance of *Hell*, and placed further inward than sorrowes, cares, and feares; not farre from the yron Cabins of the *Furies*. And certainly it is no vnlkely token of vengeance neare at hand, when these vnreasonable flushes of proud and vaine ioy, doe rage in a minde, that should haue bene humbled with a iust repentance and acknowledgement of ill deserting.

This was verified vpon *Nabuchadnezzar*, whose punishment was singular and vnexempld. For he ranne among beasts in the fields and woods, where for seuen yeares hee liued, not only as a salvage man, but as a salvage beast, for a beast he thought himselfe: *secundum suam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore sed himselfe in the same manner, and with the same foode that beasts doe; Not that he was changed in figure externall according to *Mediana*, in so much as he appeared a beast to other mens eyes, as *S. Hierome* in the life of *Hilarus* (how true God knowes) speaks of a woman that appeared to all other mens sight a Cow, but to *Hilarus* only a woman; neither was he changed as *Iphigenia* the Daughter of *Agamemnon* was said to be into a Hinde, nor made a Monster as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed; but according to *S. Hieromes* exposition of these wordes. *At the same time was my vnderstanding restored vnto me, &c. Quando dicit (saith S. HIEROME) sensum sibi redditum, ostendit non formam se amisisse (ed mentem); When he saith that his sense was restored vnto him, he sheweth that hee had not lost his humane shape, but his vnderstanding.* Seuen yeares expired, it pleased God to restore *Nabuchodonosor*, both to his vnderstanding,

I. x. de Reg. vi.

Ald. I. x. de rebus in Deum fide 427.

dur in Synop. Ep. in vit. Don.

D. m. 4. l. 32. c.  
34.

ding, and his estate, for which hee acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power and euermlasting being; that he was the Lord of heauen and earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gaue argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his saluation; namely S. *Augustine*, *Theodoret*, *Ezra*, *Cassiodorus*, and others. And for that place of *Ezra* the fourteenth out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforesaid Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*, because *Ezra* both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapter speaketh of the King, and the destruction of *Babylon* ioyntly.

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## p. XII.

## OF EVILMERODACH.



AVING already spoken what I could of the succession and yeares of *Nabuchadnezzar* posteritie; the most that may be said of him, is said of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here againe rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdome burning in a warre that consumed it to ashes. He lost *Egypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yeare of his raigne, which was forty yeares after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the account of *Herodotus*, who allows to *Amasis* foure and fortie yeares of raigne; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who giues him five and fiftie, saying that he died in the third yeare of the threecore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer *Egypt*. There were indeed but seven and thirtie yeares, which passed betweene the second yeare of the foure and fiftie Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the last of *Cambyses* his raigne, wherein hee wanne *Egypt*; of which seven and thirtie yeares it is credibly held, that *Plinennius*, the sonne of *Amasis*, raigned three: so that *Amasis* could be no longer King than foure and thirtie yeares. But seeing that these two Greeke Historians haue beene abused by *Egyptian* Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no maruaile though they were also decieved in the length of his raigne. This is the plain answer to this objection. For to say either that the numbers were miswritten, and foure and fortie set downe in stead of foure and thirtie, or that *Amasis* did temporise a while with the *Assyrians*, and not beare himselfe as absolute King of *Egypt*, vntill the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath bene proued out of *Ezekiel*, that *Egypt* became againe a Kingdome) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these *Egyptian* troubles did animate the King of the *Medes* to deale with *Evilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame, and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) some foile recouied by the *Assyrian* invading *Media*, emboldened the *Egyptians* to rebell against him: I will neither undertake, nor seeke to define. *Xenophon* tells that the first seruice of yong *Cyrus* in warre was vnder *Assyages* King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the *Assyrian* Prince, who did set vpon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fifteen or sixteen yeares old. If therefore *Cyrus* liued threecore and three yeares (as he is said to haue died well stricken in yeares) which is held to be the ordinary terme of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yeare of *Evilmerodach* his raigne. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre beganne more early betweene these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchadnezzar* gaue courage vnto those that had felt him a troublesome Neighbour, to stand vpon prouder termes with the *Assyrians*, than in his flourishing

Xenoph. Cyrop.  
lib. 1. l.Xenoph. Cyrop.  
lib. 1. l.

estate

citate they durst haue vsed. How foucer the quarrell beganne, wee finde that it ended not before the last ruine of the *Assyrian Monarchie*. For the *Babylonians*, being too proude to digest the losses which hee received by the *Medes* and their Allies the *Perians*, drewe vnto his partie the *Lydiens*, and all the people of the lesser *Asia*, with gifts and strong persuasions, hoping so to ouerwhelme his Enemies with a strong inuasion, whome in vaine hee had sought to weare out with a lingring warre.

This happened after the death of *Assyages*, who left the World in the nineteenth yeare of *Evilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* tooke possession of *Egypt*. So that the *Assyrian* hauing his handes already full of buineffe, which more earnestly did assist him, seemed thereby to haue giuen the better means vnto the *Egyptians*, of new erecting their Kingdome, which by long distance of place did sundrie times finde occasion to rebell in after-ages, and set vp a King within it selfe, against the farre more mightie *Perians*.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Evilmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way vnto the fulfilling of those prophesies, which were many yeares before vttered against *Babel* by *Ezra* and *Ieremie*.

For the *Assyrians*, and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to haue buried the *Medes*, and *Perians*, vnder their thicke showers of arrowes and darts, were encountered with an armie of stout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battaile, wherein *Evilmerodach* was slaine. So that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchadnezzar* had raised and vp-held, being shaken and grieuouly crackt vnder his vnfortunate Sonne, was left to bee sustained by his vnworthy Nephew: a man more likely to haue ouerthrowne it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repaire it, when it was in way of falling.

## p. XIII.

A private coniecture of the Author; serving to make good those things, which are cited out of *Berosus*, concerning the Successors of *Evilmerodach*, without wrong to the truth: the qualities, and death of *Balthasar*.

THOUGH I haue already (as it seemes to mee) sufficiently proued that *Balthasar* was the Sonne, and immediate Successour to *Evilmerodach*, yet considering earnestly the coniectures of those Writers, which following *Berosus*, insert *Nigissar* or *Nirigissar*, and his sonne *Labsarsadach* betweene them: as also that which I finde in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris* a famous Queene of *Babylon*, who was greatly adorned and fortified that Citie; I haue thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what means it was possible that some error might haue crept into the Historie of those times, and thereby haue brought vs to a needlesse trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candle light, in the vncertaine fragments of lost Authors, which we might haue found by day light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First, therefore I observe, that the time which *Berosus* diuides betwixt *Evilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the yeares in which *Nabuchadnezzar* liued wild among brute beasts in the open field: Secondly, that the suddenness of this accident, which came in one houre, could not but worke much perturbation in that state, wherein doubtlesse the honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamitie pitied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clause

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Herod. l. 1.

clause which promised his recouerie, as being verified in that which had bene more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason iudge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for setting the government, whilst the King was thus distracted, we shall finde it most likely, that his Sonne and Heire did occupie the roiall Throne, with condition to restore it vnto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesse it. In this his rule *Eutimerodach* being to supplie the utter want of vnderstanding in his Father, as *Proteitors* doe the vnrpesence of it in yong, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the infolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small abilitie of government, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his owne right. That his Sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his sister) was a woman of an high spirit, it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying that there was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and vfeull workes about the River of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* against the *Medes*, who had gotten many Townes from the *Assyrians*, and amongst them *Babylon*. Wherefore it were not vnreasonable to thinke, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers misgovernment, vfed praides to get the rule into her owne hands, and afterwards, as a Mother, to leaue it vnto her vngracious sonne. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could haue reigned, wee doe not finde; but we finde in *Berosus* (as *Iosephus* hath cited him) that *Niniasar*, who got the Kingdome from *Eutimerodach*, was his sisters husband; which argues this to haue bene the same woman. As for *Labasardach* the sonne of *Niniasar*, if at the end of nine Moneths raighe he were for his leud conditions slaine by the Nobilitie, as the same *Berosus* reporteth, it seemes that God prepared hereby the way for *Nabuchadnezzars* restitution (whose terme of punishment was then expired) by raising such troubles as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the People. I will not here vfe many wordes to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set downe of *Eutimerodach*, telling vs that he was slaine by his sisters husband; for the plaine words of Scripture naming the year wherein he gaue libertie to *zechonias*, doe plainly testify that he out-liued the three or foure and fortieth year of his Fathers raighe, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to haue succeeded *Eutimerodach* in the Kingdome, might indeede haue so done, though not when hee held it in his owne right. Of *Balthasar* who was his Sonne and Heire, we finde, that he had such conditions, as God permitte to be in a King for the ruine of the people. He was from his yong yeares of a mischieuous nature; hauing in his Fathers time slaine a Noble yong man that should haue married his sister, only for spight and enuie to see him kill two wild beastes in hunting, at which himselfe hauing throwne his laureline had misfed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beautie, said it were a happie woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous viciaries caused many which had loued his Father (as a good and gracious, though vnfortunate Prince) to reuolt from him vnto the enemie as soone as he was King. Neither doe I finde that he performed any thing worthy of record, but as a Coward and a Foole hee lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to giue battaile to them that daily tooke somewhat from him; Yet carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on euery side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a foole taken in vnexcusable securitie, yet had not that happinesse (such as it is) of a death free from apprehension of feare, but was terrified with a dreadfull vision, which had shewed his ruine not many houres before, y<sup>e</sup>uen whilst he was drinking in that wine, which the swordes of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his last bloud. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable raighe of seuentene yeares he perished

rished like a beast, and was slaine as he deserued. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath bene spoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose storie that of *Balthasar* is but an appendix.

## CHAP. II.

## Of the originall and first greatnesse of the Persians.

## §. I.

That the *Medes* were chiefe actors in the subuersion of the Babylonian Empire.



THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguished in *Balthasar*, the Emperour of *Babylon*, and of *Assyria*, was ioynd first to that of *Media*, which then was governed by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of *Assyria* and of *Media* it selfe.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings besides himselfe, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Prouinciall Gouvernours hauing cut downe the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardapalus*, diuided betweene them the Easterne Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the race of *Arbaces* dying about two yeares after that the Line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthasar*, the Dominions afield of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Familie, namely, to *Cyrus* of the house of *Achamenes*, the Princes of which bloud raigning in *Persia*, had formerly bene dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the World.

Of the Familie of *Achamenes*, and Line of the *Persian* Kings, wee shall hereafter finde occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* descended from *Medas* the third sonne of *Iaphet*; that they had Kings soone after the flood, *Lactantius* and *Dionodorus* haue found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaspes*, and *Dionodorus* speaketh of *Pharnus* with his seuen Sonnes, slaine by the *Assyrian* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the *Assyrians*. I take the list and number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I haue spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these.

Cccc

Arbaces

Arbaces.	28. years.
Sofarmus.	30. years.
Medidus.	40. years.
Cardicus.	13. years.
Diceas.	53. years.
Phraortes.	24. years.
Cyaxares.	32. years.
Astyages.	38. years.
Darius Medus.	

Who reigned.

And though the *Greekes* ascribe the conquest of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach vs that *Darius* was not only King of *Media*, and had the *Persians* his followers, but that the *Armie* victorious ouer *Balthasar* was his; as the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire also was during his owne life. For wee finde in *Daniel* that *Darius* of the *Medes* took the Kingdome being threescore and two yeares old. And further what Officers it pleased him to set ouer the Kingdome. And so was it prophesied by *Isay* long before: *Behold I will stirre up the Medes against them, &c.* And by *IEREMIE*: *The Lord hath raised up the Spirit of the King of the Medes, for his purpose is against Babel to destroy it; and in the eight and twentieth Verse, Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the Medes, the Lukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion.* These Scriptures *Iulius Africanus* doth wel open; who taking authoritie from *Diodore*, *Cassius*, *Thallus*, and others, deliuereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* beganne to raigne, which also agreeth with *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the *Medes* were subgated by the *Persians*, so before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* were mastered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Iustine*, and *Herodotus*, are not to be receiued, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

Cap. 13. v. 17. 18.

Lib. 16.

## §. II.

By what means the Empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.



Ow the Kingdome of the *Medes* fell into the handes of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians: but rather their different relations of his beginnings haue bred the former opinion of those who giue the conquest of *Babel* to the *Persian* only. For some there are who denie that *Astyages* had any other Successour than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Ctesias* on the contrarie side affirmeth that *Cyrus* was no way defended from *Astyages* (whom hee calleth *Astages* or *Apamas*) but only that hauing vanquished him in battaile, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Smytis*. But I finde the relations of *Ctesias* often cited and feldome followed, and him selfe sometimes very iustly reprobued of willfull vntruth.

*Viginius* a diligent and learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that *Astyages* had no such Sonne as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirme his opinion the more, he citeth *Diodore*, *Iustine*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Isocrates*, and before them *Cassius*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*, who doe not finde any such Successour. Neither doe *Tacitus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Iulius Africanus*, *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, *Iulius Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *S. Hierome*, or *S. Augustine*, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hath giuen other Sonne or Successour to *Astyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument *ab authoritate negatiue*, doth neuer inforce

force consent; we may bee the bolder (all this great list of Noble Writers by him alleged notwithstanding) to affirme that either *Astyages* himselfe must haue bene *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; Or else to giue him some other Successour, according to *Iosephus*, and *Xenophon*, the same whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chiefe, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest, *Cyrus* during his life being no other than the Lieutenant of his Armie, and subiect to his authoritie; The strength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Persians*, with other the Vassalls of *Darius*, being ioyned together to compound it.

Zen. li. c. 19.  
10. and 110 c. 13  
Hec. 6. 34.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victorie ouer *Babylon* was wholly giuen to *Cyrus*, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himselfe, not only for this action, but for the deliuerie of his Church; a greater worke in the eyes of God, than the subuerfion of any State or Monarchie, how powerfull soeuer.

And it may well bee thought, that the Souldiers employed in that seruice did rather ascribe the glorie to him that was the best man of Warre, than to the *Median*, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling vpon *Cyrus* by succession, and continuing in his posteritie, did much augment the fame of his vertue, which among prophane Historians ore-grew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both because hee was old, and did nothing in person; as also because hee soone after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was possessor of whatsoever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such King or Conquerour was carried farre off.

And for the *Greek* Historians, they tooke all things from the relations of the *Persians*, who giue to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equall. Only *Daniel* in the first, fift, and sixt Chapters of his prophecies, makes it plaine that himselfe not only liued a great Officer vnder King *Darius*, but that hee continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*, which being the year 30 of *Daniels* death, could not haue bene distinguished from the raigne of *Darius*, if they had begunne together and raigned ioynly; Neither can it bee imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdome by *Cyrus* permission, considering that *Cyrus* beganne after him.

## §. III.

*XENOPHONS relation of the Warre which the Medes and Persians made with ioynt forces vpon the Assyrians and others.*



Hese Testimonies of the Scriptures, which neede no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our vnderstanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these warres: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Assyrian* had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countreies, hee beganne to hope that if the *Medes* could bee brought vnder his subiection, there should not then bee left any Nation adioyning able to make head against him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threescore thousand foote, and about ten thousand horse, to which the forces of *Persia* being ioyned made an exceeding strong Armie.

The *Assyrian* considering the strength of such a Neighbour, inuited *Craesus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mightie both in men and treasure, and with him other

Cecce 2

Lords

Lords of *Asia* the lesse to his assistance, alleging that those Easterne Nations were very powerfull, and so firmly conioyned by league and many alliances, that it would not be ealie, no nor possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements strenghtned with great presents, he drew to himselfe so many adherents a he compounded an Armie of two hundred thousand foote, and three score thousand horse, of which ten thousand horse, and fortie thousand foote were led by *Cresus*, who had great cause of enmitie with the *Medes*, in regard of the Warre made by them against his Father *Alyattes*; But this great Armie was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* generall of the *Persian* forces, vtterly broken; Vpon which defeat the *Assyrian* King being also slaine, so many of the *Assyrians* reuolted, as *Babylon* it selfe could not longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great summes of money out of *Asia* the lesse, *Egypt*, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces were also cattered by *Cyrus*, who following his aduantage, posselt himselfe of a great part of the lesse *Asia*, at which time it was, as I take it, that *Cresus* himselfe was also made prisoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following soone after, the Armie lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his sisters sonne, prevailed against *Balthazar*, as in due time shall be set downe.

Those *Persians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him leued, are numbred thirtie thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, therest of the 20 common sort were Archers, or such as vied the Dart and the Sling: So saith *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the patterne of a most Heroicall Prince, with much Poeticall addition; So it cannot be denied, but that the bulke and grosse of his Narration was founded vpon meere Histori- 10 cal truth.

Neither can it indeed bee affirmed of any the like writer, that in euery speech and circumstance he hath precisely tied himselfe to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his owne inuention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politicall discourse, and examining but the Historic of things 30 done, it will easily appeare that *Xenophon* hath handled his vnder-taken subiect in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any sort corrupted the bodie.

## §. IIIL.

The estate of the Medes and Persians in times fore-going this great Warre.

**E**Or it is commonly agreed vpon, that *Achamenes*, the sonne of *Perse* 40 being Governour of *Persia*, did affociate himselfe with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media* in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victorie obtained, held for himselfe the Dominion of those Countries which he had formerly ruled for the *Assyrians*; as also that they conueyed ouer the same honor and power to their posteritie; which in *Media* was not absolutely Regall, but with some restraint limited, vntill such time as *Deioces* tooke vpon him the full authoritie and maiestie of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the raigne of *Deioces*, are vsually accounted about an hundred and fortie yeares, in the last sixtie whereof there reigned in *Assyria* mightie Princes, namely *Salmanassar* and his Successours, whose great atchieuements in *Syria* 50 and else where witnesse, that the *Medes* and *Persians* found it not for their aduantage to vnder-take any offensive warre against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet betweene these the Successours of *Belus*, and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the first of *Astages*, there past about 100 ninetie yeares, in which if *Herodotus* haue written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Persia*, and how he and other the Kings of *Media* by many victories greatly enlarged their dominions, and commanded many parts of *Asia*, it had bene but an vnuaduled enterprife of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, to haue wasted themselves against the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, leaving so able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing vpon the South parts of *Persia*, and that the *Persians* themselves were not masters of *Susiana* in *Nabuchodonosors* time, it is manifest in *Daniel*, who was then Governour for the *Babylonians* in *Susa* or *Susan*, the chiefe Citie thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either vnder *Cyaxares* 10 or *Astages*, or both, had quarrell with *Alyattes* the father of *Cresus*, which after some six yeares dispute was compounded.

How the affaires of *Persia* stood in so many ages, I doe not find any memorie. It seemeth that the roughnesse of the mountainous Countrey which they then possessed, with the confederacie which they continued with the *Medes*, gaue them more securitie than fame: For if their Kings, being the posteritie of *Achamenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatnesse which they afterward obtained would not haue suffered any forgetfulness thereof. But as we find all *Xenophons* reports, both of these Warres and the state of those Countries to be very con- 20 stant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appeares, that the race of *Achamenes* held the Principalltie of *Persia* from father to sonne for many descents. And therefore we may better give credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyses* the father of *Cyrus* was King of *Persia*: than to those that make him a meane man, and say, that *Astages* gaue him his daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her sonne (whose naturallie he feared) might be disabled from any great vnder-taking by his fathers ignobilitie.

For what cause of griefe could it be to *Astages*, that the sonne of his daughter should become Lord of the best part of *Asia*? No; it was more likely, that vpon such a Prophecie his loue to his grand-child should haue encreased, and his care 30 became the greater to haue married her to some Prince of strength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the same *Herodotus*, who is the first Author, and as I thinke the deuiler of the mischief intended against *Cyrus* by his grandfather, doth confesse, That the line of the *Achamenides* was so renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his prosperitie did thence deriue himselfe, and vaunt of it: which he would neuer haue done, had they bene ignoble, nor had they been the vassals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this sort *Xerxes* in the sequent of *Herodotus* deriueh himselfe.

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*Achamenes.*  
*Cambyses.*  
*Cyrus.*  
*Teispes.*  
*Ariaramnes.*  
*Artabanus.*  
*Hystaspes.*  
*Darius.*  
*Xerxes.*

50 Of the *Achamenide* there were two races: of the first was *Cyrus* the great, whose issue male sayled in his two sonnes, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*. This royall familie is thus set downe by the learned *Reineccius*.

Cccc 3

*Achamenes,*

*Achamenes, the sonne of Perſes, first King of Persia.*

*Drinus.*

Cyrus, the first of that name, had *Cambyses* and *Atossa*, who, married to *Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artystona* and other daughters.

Camby/cs had

Cyrus the Great, *Cyrus* had

*Cambyſes* who ſucceeded him, and *Smerdis* flaine by his brother *Cambyſes*.

Of the second were those seven great Princes of *Persia*, who hauing ouerthrowne the vsurped royaltie of the *Magi*, chose from among themselves *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes* King.

This Kingdome of *Persia* was first knowne by the name of *Elam*, so called after *Elam* the sonne of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting *Elamitæ*; by *Elianus*, *Elymæ*; by *Iosephus*, *Elimi*.

Suidas doth calls this Nation sometimes from *Affur*, sometime from *Mageo*, of  
 whom they were called *Magyay's*, which *Magyay's*, according to *Enchebus*, are not to  
 be taken for the Nation in general, but for those who were afterward called the  
*Magi* or *Wile* men. So doe the *Greekes*, among many other their faynings of them,  
 affirme, That the *Perfians* were anciently written *Atar*, and that they called them-  
 selves *Cephentes*. But that they were *Elamites*, *Mages* and the Prophets, *Efay*, *Ieremie*,  
*Ezechiel*, *Dauid*, and *Efdras* in many places confirm: Which also *S. Hierome* upon  
 Daniel the fhuic and twentieth, vpon *Daniel* the eight and twentieth, and in his He-  
 brew questions approueth, saying, *Elam a quo Elamite a Principes Perfidijs* : *E L A M*, of  
 whom were the *Elamites* Princes of *Perfia*.

And that *Citic* which the Author of the second booke of the *Maccabees* calleth *Persepolis*, is by the Author of the first called *Elimaïs*, but is now called *Siras*, being the same which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vain, and to his great dishonour. And yet this *Citic*, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Persepolis*: for *Alexander*, at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The first King of *Perſia* vs to be knowne, if wee follow the current of Authors interpreting the foureteenth chapter of *Genesis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who liued with *Auraphel* or *Ninias*, and ioyned with him in the warre against those *Arabians*, who was afterward extinguished by the forces of *Abraham*.

G: 10.

Gen. 10.  
Ez. 11. 21, 22.  
Ier. 21. & 29.  
Exeb. 32.  
Dan. 8.  
Esd. 4.  
  
2. M<sup>o</sup>. 9.  
1. M<sup>o</sup>. 6.

Euseb. l. 6. c. 8. d.  
Prax. Evang.

## СНАР.

CHAP. 3. §. 1. 2. *of the Historie of the World.*

### CHAP. III.

*Of C Y R V S.*

ϑ. I.

of CYRUS his name and first actions.



touching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* sayth, That the fame was taken from a Riuer which watereth *Persia*; this great Prince hauing *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the first of that name; *Herodotus* otherwise; and that *Cyrus* *Strabo* sayth, signifieth a father in the *Persian* Tongue, and therefore so intirely by the people.

It is true that for his Justice and other excellent virtues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I think it be mistaken.

*Plutarch* hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to say as the *Sunne*, in the same Language. Howsoever it be, yet the Prophet *Ezay*, almost two hundred years before *Cyrus* was borne, giues him that name, Thus saith the Lord unto *CYRUS* his anointed &c.

Before the Conquest of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conquest of *Egypt*, and other Provinces thereto subiect, together with the taking of *Croesus* himself, are so recounted by *Herodotus*,<sup>30</sup> *Croesus*, and others, but placed among his last achievements by *Strabo*. In opinion for this difference of time is founded upon two reasons; namely, That that of *Median* there is no mention in that last warre against *Croesus*: and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad, and that the glorious victorie which *Cyrus* had over *Babylon*, to the five and fiftieth Olympiad.

The former of which might have been void (and was by the *Greeks*) to exclude the *Modes* from the honour of having won *Eshlon* it self, which in due place I have answered. The latter seemed to have reference to the second *War* which *Cyrus* made upon *Lydia*, when it related to; at which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations never offered to revolt.

40 Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleue with *Hierocitus*, whome the most of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterprise of *Sardis* to precede that of *Eshlon*.

ø. II.

Of CROISVS the King of Lydia, who made warre upon CYRVS.



**I**n the last Booke spoken somewhat of *Cresus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which governed in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors knowne) was *Zylus*, the sonne of *Atys*: Which familie extinguished, the Kingdome was by an Oracle conferred vpon *Argon*, descended from *He-  
acles*, whereof there were two and twentie generations, *Caudales* being the last, who by slewing his faire wife named to *Gyges* his fauorite, he was by the same *Gyges* (thereto

(thereto vrged vpon perill of his owne life by the Queene) the next day flaine. Which done, Gyges enioyed both the Queene and the Kingdome of *Lydia*, and left the same to *Atys* his sonne, who was later to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the *Cimmerians* out of *Asia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Cresus*: Which hie Kings, of a third race, enioyed that Kingdome an hundred and seuentie yeares. *Halyattes* the father of *Cresus* was an vndertaking Prince, and after he had continued a warre against *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince verie powerfull, and maintained it six yeares, a peace was concluded vpon equall conditions betwene them.

*Alyages*, the sonne of *Cyaxares*, and grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himselfe greatly honoured by obtaining *Aryenis*, *Cresus* sister, whom he married.

But *Cresus* so faste enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territorie to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall strength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Lydian*: onely *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had ioyned *Phoenicia*, *Palestina*, and *Egypt* to his Empire, had thence-forward no competitor during his owne life.

But *Cresus*, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrell of the *Babylonians*, he yet mastered *Aulis*, *Loris*, and *Ionia*, Provinces posselt by the *Greekes* in *Asia* the lesse, adioyning to *Lydia*; gaue law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithinians*, *Carians*, *Atyians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he also infort the *Ephesians* to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their Citie with *Dianae* girdle, *Heraclitus* witnesseth. Moreover, *Athenaus* out of *Berosus* (which also *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victorie which *Cresus* obtained against the *Sacians*, a Nation of the *Serians*, in memorie whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yearly celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacaea*: All which hee performed in foureteene yeares.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and enuious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting also, that his prosperous vndertakings might in the end grow perillous to himselfe he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom hee presented with marvellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if he vnderooke him: from whom hee received this riddle; *CROESVS passing over the River Halys, shall disloue a great Sermon*. For the duell being doubtfull of the successe, payed him with matchanize of both sides like, and might be inuerted either way to the ruine of *Perse*, or of his owne *Lydia*.

## §. III.

CROESVS his Expedition against CYRVS.



Erceupon *Cresus* being resolu'd to stop the course of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments v'ed by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who desired him to fore-thinke, That he vrged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region, a people not couered with the soft silke of wormes, but with the hard skinnies of beasts; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; ouer whom if he became victorious he could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which hee already excelled: and if by them beaten, and subiect, so great would his losse appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither battly be told, nor readily conceiued.

Notwithstanding this solide Councell, *Cresus* hauing prepared a powerfull armie, he led the same towards *Media*, but in his passage he was arrested at *Pterium*, a Citie of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he fought by all means to surpris or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That

each

each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I doe not finde: for out of doubt, *Cresus* as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and abilities; so was hee not vnder any in territorie and fame that then liued.

But as *Cratippus* of Mitylene answered *Pompey* when he complained against the Gods, because they fauoured a disturber and vlturper of the Commonweale against him who fought for the Romane libertie, That Kingdomes and Commonweales had their encrease and period from diuine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of *Cresus* prosperitie at hand, the leaues of his flourishing fortune ready to fall; and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis Herdman*, *Apollo*, had giuen date to the one, and a beginning of glorie to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainement of diuerse skirmishes, the *Persians* and *Lydians* beganne to ioine in grosse troupes: supplies from both Kings thrust on vpon the falling off, and aduancement of either Nation: and as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day, so when the darke vaile of night had hidden each armie from the others view, *Cresus* doubting what successe the rising Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speede possible rettyred, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first Citie and Regall Seat, without any pursuite made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he dismissed the souldiours, and sent the troupes of his sundry Nations to their owne Prouinces, appointing them to rassemble at the end of sixe moneths, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

## §. IIII.

The Conquest of Lydia by CYRVS.

**C**YRVS in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his armie in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heeles, as to be discouered. But hauing good intelligence of *Cresus* his proceeding, he so measured his Marches, as he presented not himselfe before *Sardis*, till such time as *Cresus* had disposed his armie to their Wintering garrisons: when being altogether vlooked for, and vnfeared, he surrounded *Sardis* with his Armie: Wherein *Cresus* hauing no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinarie Gards, after foureteene dayes siege the same was entred by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Cresus* hauing now neither armie to fight, nor wings to flye, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himselfe into the heape and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had vndergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a sonne of his, who had become dumbe all his life (by extremitie of passion and feare enabled) cried out to the souldiours to spare *Cresus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, depoyled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembering the discourse which he had had with the Athenian Law-giuer, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon*, *Solon*, *Solon*: and being demanded what he meant by that inuocation, he first vied silence: but vrged againe, he told them, That he now found it true which *Solon* had long since told him, That many men in the race and courtes of their liues might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern himselfe for happie indeede, till his end.

Of which answere *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remiebring the changes of fortune and his owne mortalitie, he commaunded his ministers of Iustice to withdraw

In comend  
calamitate  
suum quisque  
habet fortunam  
Cres.  
Membrum me-  
um perimitur  
morsu est in-  
clamentum  
Cres.  
Solon. c. 7.

Homos qui in  
bonis calamita-  
tibus miseratus  
est membra sua,  
draw  
Cres.

draw the fire with all diligence to saue *Crasus*, and to conuict him to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? Or what selfe reason had conuicted him to invade his territorie, and to make him of a friend an enemy? To whom he thus answered, It was thy prosperous and my vnprosperous destinie (the *Græcian* God flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inueterers and conductors of *Crasus* warre against *Cyrus*.

*Cyrus* being pierst with *Crasus* answer, and bewailing his estate, though victorious ouer it, did not onely spare his life, but entertained him euer after as a King and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercie indeed, *Quæ non causam sed fortunam spectat*.

And herein is the reall difference discerned betwene that behavior which wee call *Beneficium latronis*, & *gratiam Principis*: A theefe sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but vniuilly: A King that giueth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his owne euill.

The report made by *Xenophon* is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertaine *Crasus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Hærodotus* deliuiers, and is here already set downe, that hee should haue bene burnt alive. It may well bee, that *Xenophon* portraying (in *Cyrus*) an herocratic Prince, thought an intent so cruell fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much misbecoming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that needernesse of alliance might withhold *Cyrus* (had he bene other wise vicious) from so cruell a purpose against his grandmothers brother. Howeuer it was, the Morall part of the storie hath giuen credit and reputation to the report of *Hærodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it passe for currant, though the trust reposed in *Crasus* afterwards may seeme to argue, that *Cyrus* did not vse him inhumanely at the first.

For as *Hærodotus* himselfe telleth vs, when *Cyrus* past with his armie ouer *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Crasus* to accompanie and aduise his sonne *Cambyses*, Gouverneur of the Empire in his absence, with whom he liued all the time of *Cyrus*, and did afterward follow *Cambyses* into *Aegypt*, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was I doe not finde.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the world rooke end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lycians*; in *Balthasar*, *Cycaxares*, and *Crasus*.

## §. V.

How *Cyrus* woon *Babylon*.



After this *Lydian* warre ensued the great Conquest of *Babylon*, which gaue vnto *Cyrus* an Empire so large and mightie, that he was iustly reputed the greatest Monarch then liuing vpon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action tooke vp, it is vncertaine; onely it seemes, that tenne whole yeares did passe betwene his taking those two Cities of *Sardes* and *Babylon*, which neuertheless I doe not thinke to haue bene wholly occupied in prouision for the *African* warre, but rather to haue bene spent in setting the Estate which he had already purchased. And herunto perhaps may be referred that which *Ctesias* hath in his fragments of a war made by *Cyrus* vpon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the victorie obtained against *Crasus*. He telleth vs, That *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia*, and being victorious ouer that Nation, tooke *Amorges* their King prisoner: but being in a second battaile overthrowne by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was deliuered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought, that no small part of those troubles which arose in the

the lower *Asia*, grew soone after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conquest was fully established.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Asia* the lesse, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Crasus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; against whom he employed *Pactius*, and then *Harpagus*, who first reduced the *Phæsiens* vnder their former obedience: and then the rest of the *Greekes* inhabiting *Asia* the lesse, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Ælians*, and *Lycians*, who resolutely (according to the strength they had) defended themselves. But in the attempt vpon *Babylon* it selfe it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, hauing taken order before-hand, that nothing should be able to diuert him, or to rayse that siege, and make frustrate the worke vpon which he did set all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care and strength vnto the taking of that Citie, which beside the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was so strongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and surrounded with waters vnfordable, so plentifully victualled for many yeares, that the inhabitants were not onely free from all doubt and feare of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their besiegers.

The onely hope of the *Medes* and *Persians*, who despaired of carrying by assault a Citie so well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all supplies of victuals and other necessaries; whereof though the Towne was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twentie yeares, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of peoples dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would sooner appeare, and vanquish the resolution of that vnwarlike multitude. In expecting the success of this course, the besiegers were likely to endure much traualle, and all in vaine; if they did not keepe it straight watch and strong gards vpon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vast circuit of those walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured vnto their Commaunder: The consideration wherof ministred vnto the *Babylonians* matter of good pastime, when they saw the *Lydians*, *Phrygiens*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Towne to keepe them in, who hauing bene their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to ioyne with them, if occasion were offered, than to vse much diligence on the behalfe of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were, yesterday laid vpon their neckes the galling yoke of seruitude. Whilst the besieged were pleasing themselves in this deceitfull gladnesse, that is the ordinarie fore-runner of suddaine calamitie; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made strong, constant, and inuentive, deuised by so many channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, to draw the same from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and assured; which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed, hee stayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for hee had left certaine bankes or heads vncut, betwene the maine riuer which surrounded the Citie, and his owne Trenches.

Now *Balthasar*, finding neither any want or weaknesse within, nor any possibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous feast, publike Playes, and other Pastimes, and thereto inuited a thousand of his Princes or Nobilitie, besides his wiues, curtizans and others of that trade. This he did either to let the besiegers know, that his prouisions were sufficient, not onely for all needfull vses, but euen for iolitic and exesse: Or because he hoped that his enemies, vnder the burthen of many distreites were well neere broken, or in honour of his most reuerenced Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equall, but (vying *Daniels* words) he lifted himselfe up against the Lord of Heauen: For he and his Princes, wiues and concubines, made carowling cuppes of the Vessels of God, in contempt of whom he prayed his owne puppers, made

made of Siluer and Gold, of Brasse, of Iron, Wood, and Stone, *Quanta fuit stultitia in vasis aureis libentes lignos & lapideos Deos laudare; How great a foolishnesse was it* (sayth S. Hierome) *drinking in golden Cuppes, to praise Gods of Wood and Stone.* While *Balthasar* was in this fort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by diuine power wrote on the wall opposite vnto him certaine words which he vnderstood not: wherewith so great a feare and amazement seized him, as the ioynts of his loynes were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other. Which passion when he had in some part recovered, he cryed out for his *Chaldeans, Astrologians, and Southsayers*, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdome to him that could reade and expound the writing; which it exceeded their art. In this disturbance and astonishment the Queene hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reuerence done vied this speech: *There is a man in thy Kingdome in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father, light, and vnderstanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the Gods, was found in him, when the King Nabuchodonosor thy father, the King (I say) thy father made chiefe of the Inchanters, Astrologians, Chaldeans, and Southsayers, because a more excellent spirit and knowledge and vnderstanding &c. were found in him, even in DANIEL &c. Now let DANIEL be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

Orig. & Theod.  
in Dan. lxxviii.  
44. 10.

This Queene, *Isephus* takes for the grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodor* for the mother of *Balthasar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that there was not any of the Kings wiues, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dauncing and banquetting, he came in vpon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his distraction: and whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others of younger yeares and times, this old Queene remembered well what he had done in the dayes of *Nabuchodonosor*, grandfather to this *Balthasar*, and kept in mind both his religion and diuine gifts.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to reade and interpret those wordes miraculously written; to whom *Daniel* made answer in a farre different stye from that he vied towards his grandfather: for the cuill which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he wished that the same might befall his enemies, but to this King (whose neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered in these wordes, *Keepe thy rewards to thy selfe, and gree thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing vnto the King, and shew him the interpretation:* Which before he had performed, he gaue him first the cause of Gods iust judgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence; whereof the King and all his Wifemen were vnto ignorant: Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodnesse to his father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprived him of his estate and vnderstanding; so vpon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite power he restored him to both. This King notwithstanding lifted himselfe vp against the same God and presumed both to abuse those vessels, dedicated to holy vses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, prayed and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold Siluer, Brasse, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those wordes, from the Oracle of a true God declaired, (to wit) *Aene Teliel, Yphraisin*, gaue the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his Kingdome, and finished it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods iustice, and found too light; and that his Empire was diuided and gien to the *Medes and Persians*.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthasar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus* either by his espiall, according to *Xenophon*, or inspired by God himselfe, whose ensigne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to inuite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no less filled with the vapours of wine, than their hearts were with the feare of Gods judgement, he caused all the bankes and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut

downe

downe with that diligence, as by them he drew the great Riuer of *Euphrates* drie for the present, by whose emptic channell, his armie made their entrance, finding none to disturbe them. All the Towne lay buried (as the Poet sayth) in sleepe and wine: such as came in the *Persians* way were put to the sword, vntill they saved themselves by flight, as some did, who ranne away crying, and filling the strettes with an vncertaine tumult.

Such *Assyrian* Lords as had revolted from *Balthasar*, and betaken themselves to the partie of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected companie to the Kings Pallace; which hauing easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, slew both him and them without any mercie, who struggled in vaine to keepe those liues which God had newly threatened to take away. And now was the prophetic of *Ieremie* fulfilled, and that of *Esay* two hundred yeeres before this subuersion, who in his three & fortie Chapter and elsewhere writeth, this destruction so feelingly and liuely, as if he had bene present both at the terrible slaughter committed, and had scene the great and vnkedred change and calamitie of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrowes and bewaylings of euerie suruiuing soule thereunto subiect. His prophetic of this place he beginneth in these wordes: *Come downe and sit in the dust, O virgine daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no throne, &c.* And againe, *Sit still and get thee into darkenesse, O daughter of the Chaldeans, for thou shalt no more be called the Ladie of Kingdomes.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God vied *Nabuchodonosor* and the *Chaldeans*, to punish the idolatrie of the *Indians*, yet *Esay* teacheth vs in this place, T that he did not yet forget that the execution of his judgements was mixt with a rigorous extremitie. For (sayth *Esay*) in the person of God, I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and giuen them into thine hand: thou diddest shew them no mercie, but thou diddest lay thy very heauie yoke vpon the ancient. I will rise up against them, sayth the Lord of Hostes, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the (sonne and the nephew. And in the thirteenth, *Euery one that is found shall be stricken through; and whosoener ioyneth himselfe, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their vines ransacked.* So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victorie of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leaue the same to posteritie after it happened, than *Esay* hath done in manie places of his prophecies, which were written two hundred yeeres before any thing attempted.

The greatnesse and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by diuers graue Authors let downe, might seeme altogether fabulous: for besides the reports of Saint *Iherome*, *Solinus*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politiques*, the second Chapter, receiued the report for true, T that one part of the Citie knew not that the rest was taken three dayes after. Which is not impossible, if the testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who findes the compasse thereof at three hundred and threescore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes fise and fortie miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, as sixe chariots might passe in front thereon. And of height, according to *Ctesias* and *Clitarchus*, three hundred threescore and fise foot, garnished with an hundred and fiftie Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Booke of Geographie giues it a greater circuit, adding fise and twentie furlongs more to the former compasse, reckoning the same at three hundred fourescore and fise furlongs, which makes eight and fortie myle and one furlong: but findes the wall farre vnder that which *Diodorus* reports: And so doth *Curius* measure their thicknesse but at two and thirtie foot, and their height at an hundred cubites; which is also very much: euerie cubit containing a foot and halfe of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the Citie he giues the same with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. *Herodotus* findes a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, foure hundred and fourescore furlongs in circle; the thick-

Dddd      nesse

Her. 1.  
Ezra. 4. 7. &  
c. 13.

ness of the wall he measures at fittie cubites, and the height at two hundred of the same regall cubit. For entrance it had an hundred gates of Brasse, with posts and hookes to hang them on of the same metall: and therefore did the Prophet *Ezra* rightly intitle *Babylon* The Princesse and glorie of Kingdomes.

But when *Cyrus* had wonn her, he stript her out of her princely Robes, and made her a slave, dividing not only all her goodly houses, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his souldiers: but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bondslaves vpon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the raigne of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enioyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to haue lasted onely seven yeares: in which time he made such Constitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all wise Kings, that are desirous to establish a royall power in themselves and their posteritie.

§. V I.

The end of *CYRUS*.

**H**is last warre, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diuersly written, *Herodotus* and *Iustine* deliuer, That after the Conquest of *Asia* the lesse *Cyrus* invaded the *Massagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, gouerned by *Tomyris* their Queene: and that in an encounter betweene the *Persians* and these Northerne *Nomades*, *Tomyris* lost her Armie, and her Sonne *Spergafestes*, that commaunded it: In reuenge whereof, this Queene making new leuiies of men of warre, and following the warre against *Cyrus*, in a second battaile beat the *Persian* armie, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his bodie, and cast the same into a boile of bloud, vntill the wordes; *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and satiate thy selfe*.

It should hereby seeme, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their furie by some forcible inuasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyraxares*, father to *Astyages*, those *Scythians* inuaded *Media* and *Asia* the lesse, and held the same in a seruile subiection eight and twentie yeares.

This warre which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (sayth he) sixe yeares, and tooke end at the death of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I beleuee vnto *Vigener*, that this *Scythian* warre was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians*, before the Conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Cicilius* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparta*, though he deliuer the successe of that warre otherwise than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (sayth *Vigener*) because *Strabo* in his eleuenth booke reciteth, That *Cyrus* surprised the *Sacians* by the same stratagem by which *Iustine* sayth he defeated the sonne of *Tomyris*. And the same *Cicilius* also reporteth, That the last warre which *Cyrus* made was against *Amortheus*, King of the *Derbicians*, a Nation (as the rest of *Scythians*, whom though he ouercame, yet he then receiued the wound of his death, which he suffred three dayes after.

*Strabo* also affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne Citie of *Pasagardes*, which himselfe had built, and where his Epitaph was to bee read in his time; which is said to haue bene this: *O vir quicunque es Cyndeunquo advenis, neque enim te aduenturum ignoravi: Ego sum CYRUS qui Persi imperium constitui, pulillum hoc terra quoniam tegitur corpus mihi ne inuideas; O thou man, whoseer thou art, or whenceeuer thou*

Vigener, prim. part. 21.

Cicilius, lib. 1. part.

Strabo, lib. 11.

†

thou comest; for I was not ignorant that thou shouldest come: I am *CYRUS* that founded the *Persian* Empire, doe not enuie vnto mee this little earth, with which my bodie is covered.

This Tombe was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either vpon hope of treasure, supposed to haue bene buried with him, or vpon desire to honour his dead bodie with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an olde rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his bodie lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be set vpon it. These things well considered, as they giue credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaues his bodie in the hands of *Tomyris*.

And surely, had *Cyrus* lost the Armie of *Persia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his sonne would so soone haue transported all his remaining forces into *Aegypt*, so farre off from that quarter: the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*; neither had *Cambyses* bene able in such hast to haue vnderaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather beleuee *Xenophon*, saying, That *Cyrus* died aged and in peace: and that finding in himselfe, that hee could not long enioy the world, hee called vnto him his Nobilitie, with his two sonnes, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*; or after *Xenophon*, *Tanaxares*: and after a long Oration, wherein he assured himselfe, and taught others, of the immortalitie of the Soule, and of the punishment: and rewards following the good and ill deservings of euery man in this life; he exhorted his sonnes by the strongest arguments he had to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things he vttered, which make it probable, that he receiued the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he gouerned *Susa* in *Persia*; and that *Cyrus* himselfe had read the prophetic of *Ezra*, wherein he was expressly named, and by God (for the deliuerie of his people) praedordained. Which act of deliuering the *Jewes* from their Captiuitie, and of restoring the holy Temple and Citie of *Hierusalem*, was in true consideration the noblest worke that euer *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of Gods power, vntill for the chastising of many Nations, and the establishing of a Gouernment in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an instrument of Gods goodnesse, and a willing aduancer of his Kingdome vpon earth; which must last for euer, though heauen and earth shall perill.

§. VII.

Of *CYRUS* his Decree for building the Temple of God in *Ierusalem*.



Being therefore spoken of his great victories, mentioned by sundry Historians, the glorie of all which as a reward of this his seruice done vnto him that was Author of them and of all goodnesse: I hold it meete at length to speake of the Decree made in the first of his Raigne, being perhaps the first that euer he made, after his possession of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captiue *Jewes* should returne againe into their owne Territorie, and re-build the House of God in *Ierusalem*, hauing now endured and finished the threefore and tenne yeares captiuitie, by the Prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, he gaue order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessarie and wanting. He also restored vnto them siue thousand foure hundred threefore and nine Vessels of Gold and Silver, wherout *Zabuchodonosor*, the grandfather of *Balthasar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

Quint. 1.

Xen. prod. 8.  
Zon. lib. 1. c. 20.

1. S. d. 2.  
2. S. d. 7.  
Philas. bre.

1. S. d. 3. §. d.  
5. S. d. 1. 4. 5.  
1. S. d. 1. 1. 1.

The number of the *Jewes*, which returned out of *Chaldea* vnder their leader *Zorobabel*, the sonne of *Salthiel*, and nephew to King *Ieconias*, and *Iesuo* or *Iofia* the sonne of *Iofadab*, were about fiftie thousand; where, as soone as they arrived, they built an Altar to the living God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their owne Law, and afterward bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

But no sooner did the *Jewes* begin to lay any one stone, than the *Samaritanes* and other idolatrous Nations adioyning gaue all the impediment they could. So did the *Gouernours* of those Prouinces vnder *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort fauoured the *Jewes*, nor the labours and purposes they had in hand. And not only those which were but Prouinciall Lieutenants and other officers of lesse place, but *Cambyses* himselfe; who hauing the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was busied otherwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that whatsoeuer *Cambyses* did when himselfe had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition; They may herein resolute themselves out of *Esdraes*, That by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* life &c. And therefore it is true, that the *Jewes* themselves asseure, as it is written in the second of *Iohn*, That the Temple was fixe and fortie yeares in setting vp, hauing receiued so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

And if wee seeke the naturall and politike causes which moued *Cambyses* to withstand his fathers decree, as well while he gouerned vnder him, as when himselfe became sole and soueraigne Monarch, we shall finde them in that Epistle remembered by *Esdraes*, written by *Belshazzar*, *Mithridates*, and the rest, Presidents and Councillors in *Phoenicia*, wherein they complaine, that the *Jewes* were euermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their Citie being once built, they would then refuse to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment was, that *Cambyses*, hauing it in his resolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Jewes* were defendes of those Nations, because they issued thence vnder *Mofes*, when they conquered *Iudas*; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might returne to their old vomit, and giue the same disturbance to *Cambyses* Conquest, which they did to *Senacherib*, *Nabuchodonosor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For as it is written in *Ezekiel*, *Egypt* was the confidence of the house of *ISRAEL*.

But it is to be vnderstood, as *Codoman* and others haue obserued, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Councillors & *Gouernours* of *Phoenicia* complained against the *Jewes*, did not precede, but succeed *Darius Hyaspes*, as in the sixt and seuenth chapters of *Esdraes* it is made plaine: and also that those *Gouernours* (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and indoling of the Citie, as by the reasons giuen in the said Epistle, and by the Kings answer, it is euident.

Also in the sixt of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verse, the Kings are named in order as they gouerned, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: And they built and finished it (to wit, the Temple) by the appointment of the God of Israel, and by the commandment of *CYRUS* and *DARIUS*, and *ARTAHASTE* King of *Persia*. Lastly, in the seuenteenth of *Ezra* it is written; Now after these things, in the reigne of *ARTAHASTE* King of *Persia*: which was as much to say as after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Esdraes* is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of *Hierusalem*. Which action, though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pushed by

by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by *Cyrus*. The other ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his forme and manner of government, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire vnto his eldest sonne *Cambyses*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaxerxes* his younger sonne to be *Satrapa* or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusia*, and then died, after he had reigned (sayth *Herodorus*) one and thirte yeares, or (according to *Iulius*) but thirte.

## §. VIII.

10

Of *CYRUS* his issue: and whether *ATOSSA* were his daughter, or (as some thinke) were the same with *Queene HESTER*.



*CYRUS* had issue two sonnes, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Artystona*: *Cresius* addeth to these, *Amytis*. *Atossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyses* married; *Artystona*, *Darius Hyaspes* obtained; so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyses* being dead; who (as some Writers haue supposed) inflamed both her husband *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to be auenged of the whole Nation for the cruel intent that *Aman* (whom the old translation calleth a *Macedonian*) had against the *Jewes*, though the opinion of *Iosephus* be more probable, who findes *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be vnderstood, how *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, should haue bene *Ester*; whose Historie seemes rather to appertaine to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the sonne of *Hyaspes*, or of *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to haue *Greece* brought vnder the yoke of *Persia*, was partly grounded vpon the honour which thereby shee thought her husband might obtaine, partly vpon a feminine humor of getting many braue Dames, *Corynthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women: Wherefore I cannot giue assent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who vpon the neere sound of the two names, *Atossa* and *Hadaissa* (by the later of which *Ester* was also called) makes them to haue bene one person. For though it be true, that *Ester* concealing her parentage a while, might be taken for a great Ladie; yet *Codoman* inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare vnto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certaine it is, that *Ester* did at length discover her Kindred and Nation; whereby if Historiours could not be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the Nobilitie, must needs haue vnderstood the truth: who neuertheless did so well know the parentage of *Atossa*, that for her sake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her sonne *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdome before his elder brother, against whom also he could haue pretended a verie weakie layme. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

50

## CHAP. IIII.

The estate of things from the death of CYRVS to  
the Reigne of DARIVS.

## §. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian Kings.



the successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the Persian Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metasthenes*, who hath numbered the Persian Kings and their times as followeth.

<i>Darius Medus</i> , and <i>Cyrus</i> ioinctly	2	
<i>Cyrus</i> alone.	22	
<i>Priscus Artaxerxes</i> .	20	
<i>Darius Longimanus</i> .	37	
<i>Darius Nohus</i> .	19	years.
<i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> .	55	
<i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i> .	20	
<i>Artaxerxes</i> , or <i>Artanes</i> .	4	
<i>Darius</i> the last, conquered by <i>Alexander</i> .	6	

To which *Philopagrecht*, which number of years added make in all an hundred ninetie and one. But in this Catalogue *Metasthenes* hath left out *Cambyses* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Assuerus* for the immediate successor of *Cyrus*; in place (sayth *Melancthon*) of *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*: for *Metasthenes*, as *Melancthon* coniectureth, doth not account *Cambyses* in the Catalogue, because his reigne was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a second opinion, though ridiculous, of *Seder Olam*, who finds but foure Persian Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

*Genebrard*, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus* have also a differing account from the *Greekes*; whom neuertheless *Eusebius* and most of the Latines follow. And so doth *Krentheim*, who hath fully answered, and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account: For in this sort doe the *Greekes* marshall the Persian Kings with the times of their reignes.

*Chrom. Krentz.*  
fol. 135.

<i>Melancthon</i> giues <i>Cyrus</i> but 29.	<i>Cyrus</i> in all.	30	
<i>Melancthon</i> 20	<i>Cambyses</i> , with the <i>Magi</i> .	8	
	<i>Darius Hystaspes</i> .	36	
	<i>Xerxes</i> .	21	
	<i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> .	40	years.
<i>Melancthon</i> 40	<i>Darius Nohus</i> .	19	
<i>Melancthon</i> 26.	<i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> .	43	
	<i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i> .	23	
	<i>Artanes</i> .	3	
<i>Melancthon</i> 4.	<i>Darius</i> the last.	6	

Which numbers, put together, make in all two hundred and thirtie.

This account (as I have said) the most Chronologers and the best learned approve. These Persian Princes being all warranted by the authoritie of the Scriptures, as *Peencer* in his historical Animaduersions hath gathered the places; finding

first *Cyrus* in the second of *Chronicles*, chap. 36. vers. 22, 23. *Ezra* 1. chap. 1. vers. 1. and often elsewhere.

Secondly, *Cambyses* in the 1<sup>th</sup> of *Daniel* who may indeede be well esteemed for one of those three Kings in the second verse named, and so the marginall Commentor vpon the *Geneva* vnderstands that place; but, vnder correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he saith in the same note, that *Darius Hystaspes* was an enemy to the people of God; and stood against them: his great fauour and liberality to the *Iewes* being elsewhere proved.

Thirdly, is *Darius Hystaspes* found in *Ezra* the first, c. 4. v. 5. who in the sixth verse is also named *Ahasuerus*.

Fourthly, in the eleuenth of *Daniel* verse the second, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and described, and the great warre which hee should make against the *Greekes* by *Daniel* remembered.

Fiftly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verse seuen, who is also called *Artahastia*, c. 4. 1. lib. *Ezra* vi. 7. and cap. 7. v. 7.

Sixty, *Darius Nohus*, *Ezra* cap. 4. vers. 24. & esp. 5. vers. 6. *Nehem.* cap. 12. vers. 22.

Seuenthy, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Neh.* c. 2. v. 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Artanes*: for *Darius* the last he was of another Familie, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who descended from *Xerxes* the sonne of *Ateissa*, *Cyrus* his Daughter; and the issue male of *Cyrus* failing with his owne Sonnes.

But to proceede. *Eusebius* with the Latines, following the *Greekes*, apply the beginnings and ends of euery Persian King with their Acts, to some certaine Olympiad; As the war of *Astyages* (*Cyrus* his maternall Grand-father) and *Ahyattes* (*Cyrus* his Father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of *Cyrus* reigne to the beginning of the five and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The inuasion of *Aegypt* by *Cambyses* to the third year of the threecore and third Olympiad, and so of the rest. Which reference with good agreement betwene severall formes of computation adde the more credit vnto both.

Again, this historickall demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomickall computation of *Ptolomie*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of Nouember, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the four hundred and foure and twentieth year of *Nabonassar*. And the *Eras* of *Nabonassar* begonne on the sixe and twentieth of Februarie: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Month of the first year of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether we follow the account of the Olympiads, as doe the *Greeke* Historians, or that of *Nabonassar* with *Ptolomie*, we shall finde euery memorable accident to fall our right with each computation.

*Ptol. in Almage.*  
lib. 3. cap. 8.

For *Ptolomie* reckons the time answerable to two hundred and foure and twentie *Italian* yeares, and an hundred and fortie daies from *Nabonassar*, to the sixteenth of *Iulie* in the seuenth year of *Cambyses*.

The *Greekes*, and namely *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Aegypt* by *Cambyses* in the second or third year of the threecore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of *Cambyses* seuenth year in the first of the threecore and fourth Olympiad: which first of the threecore and fourth Olympiad runnes along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonassar*. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewise the twentieth of *Darius*, who succeeded *Cambyses*, is according to *Ptolomie* the two hundred and sixe and fortieth of *Nabonassar*, which (observing the differences of *Nabonassar*, *Era* and the Olympiad, viz. eight and twentie yeares) it agrees with the third of the threecore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the *Greekes*. In this *Iosephus* agrees with the *Greekes* throughout, siting that he ioyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus*, in the destruction

of

of *Babylon*, which is true, and not contrarie to the *Greece* computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, the disagreements and confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the *Persian* Kings formerly rehearsed, doth giue the greater credit to this of the *Greekes*, which being constant in it selfe, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

## §. II.

of CAMBYSES, and the conquering of *Aegypt* by him.

**W**E will therefore according to the truth giue the Empire of *Persia* to *Cambyfes*, the sonne of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, saving the desire to increase the greatnesse of his Empire: whereof hee was possesse in his Fathers time while *Cyrus* made warre in the North. *Cleſius* with others giue him a longer raigne than agreeth with the *Greece* accompt before receiued.

*Lib. 3. c. 2.*  
*Herod. lib. 2. c. 84. 85.*

In the fifth year of his sole raigne, and in the third year of the threescore and third Olympiad, according to *Diodor* and *Eusebius*, he invaded *Aegypt*, and hauing 10 ouerthrowne the King thereof, *Pſammenitus*, he not only caused him to bee slaine, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

*Herodotus* and *Cleſius* giue cause of this Warre (being no other indeede than the Ambition of *Cambyfes*) that when he sent to *Amasis* King of *Aegypt*, to haue his daughter in marriage, *Amasis* presented him with *Nitetis* the daughter of *Apries* his predecessor, which *Cambyfes* disdained.

How soeuer it were; true it is, that *Cambyfes* gathered an Armie fit for such an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entred *Aegypt*, *Amasis* died and left *Pſammenitus*, whom *Cleſius* calleth *Amirtaus*, his succellour; who in- 30 joyed *Aegypt* after his father (according to the best copies of *Herodotus*) but sixe Moneths, though other Chronologers giue him fixe years.

But how long soeuer he held the Crowne, in one battaile he lost it, and was himselfe taken prisoner.

It is said that *Cambyfes* following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that hee also trusted him with the government of *Aegypt*, and that vpon some reuolt, or the suspicion thereof, hee caused him to bee slaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if wee may beleue *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a Sonne called *Inarus*, who caused the *Egyptians* to reuolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxares*.

\*Neither did the Romanes euer consume their dead to ashes, till the time of *Sylla* *Diodor*, who caused his owne to be deuoured by that element, fearing the Law called *Tulliana*, yet like for like, because himselfe had vntombed the caualerie of *Caius Marius* after his death  
*Her. lib. 3. c. 84.*

That *Pſammenitus* was at the first entreated gently by *Cambyfes*, I hold it very 40 improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated *Amasis* the King of *Aegypt*, who died before his arriuall, that hee caused his body to bee drawne out of the graue, and after diuers indignities vsed, commanded the same to bee burnt, contrarie to the custome both of the *Egyptians* and *Persians*. For the *Egyptians* vsed to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugges, to the end the wormes might not deuoure them. The \* *Persians* durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feede it with Carrion.

## §. III.

## §. III.

The rest of CAMBYSES his acts.



FTER this victorie obtained in *Aegypt*, *Cambyfes* sent an Armie into *Cyprus*, and constrained *Euelthon* King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Island of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyfes* yet busied himselfe in *Aegypt*, he so much detested the Idolatrie of that Nation, as he caused the Images themselves, with 10 the Temples wherein they were worshipped, to bee torne downe and defaced. That done, he directed a part of his Armie into *Lybia*, to ouerturne the Temple of *Iupiter Ammon*; but the Deuill in defence of his Oratorie raised such a tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Country is couered, as the *Persians* were there-with choked and ouerwhelmed.

*Strab. lib. 17. c. 11.*  
*Her. lib. 3. c. 88.*

Notwithstanding which misadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that disdaining to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his Armie, which himselfe meant to con- 15 duct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first sent troupe had tried, hee changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings haue power ouer men, yet the Elements doe not obey them, according to that old *English* proverb, *Go with the King, stay with the Tide*.

After his returne from the attempt of *Aethiopia*, hee caused *Apis* the *Egyptian* Bull, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and beene executed as in seruice of him that only is, and liueth. But soone afterwards, when in a dreame it seemed vnto him that *Smerdis* did sit in the royall Throne of *Persia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) hee gaue it in charge to his fauourite *Praxaspes*, to murder *Smerdis* his brother. And hauing married his owne sisters, contrarie to the *Persian* Lawes, hee committed a most causelesse and most detestable murder vpon the one of them, called *Meroe*, then by himselfe with child, because shee bewailed the death 30 of her brother *Smerdis*. I finde it written of this *Cambyfes*, That because his Predecessors obserued religiously the ordinances of their Empire, he assembled his Iudges and enquired of them, whether there were any law among the *Persians* that did permit the brother to marrie his owne sister: it being his owne intent so to doe.

*Her. lib. 3. c. 90.*

The Iudges (who had alwaies either lawes or distinctions in store to satisfie Kings and times) made answere, that there was not any thing written allowing any such coniunction, but they notwithstanding found it in their customes, that it was alwaies left to the will of the *Persian* Kings to doe what best pleased themselves; and so, as *Cauesius* termes it, *inuenerunt occasionem*: That is as much to say, as the Iudges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings priuate satisfaction, hee caused *Pſammenus* one of his Iudges, and perchance one of those which fauoured his incestuous march, to bee slaine a liue for an vnjust iudgement giuen, and the same his hide to bee hung vpon the iudgement seate. After which bestowing the fathers Office on his sonne, hee would him to remember, that the same partialitie desrued the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the sonne of his beloved *Praxaspes* was very strange and vngratefull. For when he desired to bee truly informed by him what the *Persian* thought of his conditions, *Praxaspes* answered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praise from all men; only it was by many obserued that hee tooke more than vnall delight in the tast of Wine. Which 50 which taxation inflamed, hee vsed this replication: And are the *Persians* double tongued, who a so tell me that I haue in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*? thou *Praxaspes* shalt then wittesse: whether in this report they haue done mee right: for if at the first thou I pierce thy sonnes heart with an arrow, then is it false: that hath bene spoken; but if I misse the marke, I am then pleased that the same be accounted true

true, and my subiects beleueed. This being spoken, he directed an arrow towards the innocent child, who falling dead with the stroke, *Cambyſes* commanded his bodie to be opened, and his heart being broched on the arrow, this monstrous Tyrant greatly reioicing, shewed it to the Father with this saying, in stead of an Epitaph: *Now PRAXASPES thou maieſt reſt placely thy ſelfe that I haue not loſt my wits with wine, but the Perſians theirs, who make ſuch report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties hee exerciſed, till at the laſt, according to the phraſe of our Law, he became ſeas he ſay. For when he was informed that *Patiſates*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi*, (*Cædrenus* writeth them *Sphenidanes* and *Cimerdus*) Miniſters of his domeſticall affaires, taking advantage of the great reſemblance betweene *Smerdis* the Kings brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Empire, hee made all haſt towards *Perſia*, and in mounting haſtily on horſe-backe, his ſword diſ-theathing pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an ouer-late and remedieleſſe repentance of the ſlaughter which hee had executed vpon his owne brother, he ſoone after gaue vp his wicked ghoſt, when hee had reigned eight yeares, accounting therein thoſe ſeuene Moneths in which the *Magi* gouerned, while he was abſent.

Zonaras Com. 3.  
pag. 117.

In *Cambyses* the Mac mine of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no iſſue either by *Aroſſa* or *Terpe*; yet *Darius* out of *Hecrome* giues him a Daughter called *Pantaptes*, and a ſonne called *Orenes*, who being drowned in the Riuer *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the ſame was afterward in memorie of the Princes death called *Orenes*.

He built the Citie of *Babylon* in *Aegypt*, in the place where *Lalopolis* was formerly ſeated, and that of *Meroe* in the Iſland of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his ſiſter *Meroe*.

### §. IIIL.

Of the inter-regnum betweene CAMBYSES and DARIVS.

39

**C**YRVS and his two ſonnes being now dead, and the Kingdome in the poſſeſſion of one of the *Magi*, the counterſait of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapes*, or Prouinciall Gouernours of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyſus*, *Aſſaphines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all deſcended from *Achamenes* the firſt *Perſian* King, hauing diſcouered the fraud of this impoſture, ioyned their forces together, ſurpriſed and rooted out the Conſpirator with his Companions, and aſſiſtants. In which action ſaith *Herodotus* *Intaphernes* and *Aſſaphines* were ſlaine; but *Herodotus* otherwiſe, that they were only wounded, for he ſaith, that all the ſeuene Princes were preſent at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Gouernour, theſe Princes grew into conſultation how the ſame might be ordered from thence-forth. *Otanes* one of the ſeuene did not ſancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities ſhould confederate, and by iuſt lawes defend their libertie in equalitie, giuing diuers reaſons for his opinion, being as it ſeemed greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyses*; As firſt, that it was not ſafe to giue all power to any one, ſeeing greatneſſe it ſelfe, euen in good men, doth often infect the minde with many vices, and the libertie and freedom in all things is moſt apt to inſult, & to commit all manner of wicked outrage. A gaine, that tyrants do commonly vſe the ſeruices of wicked men, and fauour them moſt; they vſurpe vpon the lawes of their Countrey; take other mens wiues by force, and deſtroy whom they pleaſe without iudgement.

*Megabyſus* was of another opinion, affirming that the tyrannie of a multitude was three more intolerable, than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without

without iudgment runne into buſineſſe and affaires with precipitation, like raging and ouer-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it ſafeſt to make election of a few, and thoſe of the beſt, wiſeſt, and moſt vertuous; becauſe it is euer found that excellent Counſailers are euer had from excellent men.

*Darius* gaue the third iudgement, who perſwaded the creation of a King, becauſe euen among few diſturbance of concord is ſeldome found, and in great Empires it doth euer happen that the diſcord of many Rulers hath inſort the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, ſaith *Darius*, farre ſafer to obſerue the Lawes of our Countrey, by which Kingly gouernement hath bene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the ſame Imperiall gouernement by God eſtabliſhed, and made prosperous. And to auoide partialitie, it was accorded, that the morning following theſe ſeuene Princes ſhould mount on Horſe-back, and on him the Kingdome ſhould be conferred, whoſe horſe after the Sunne-riſing ſhould firſt ney or Bray. In the evening after this appointment was made, it is ſaid that *Darius* conſulted with the Maſter of his horſe *Ocharnus*, who in the Suburbs of the Citie when the election was reſolued of, cauſed the ſame Horſe, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to couer a Mare, who as ſoone as he came into the ſame place was the firſt horſe that brayed. Whereupon the other fixe Princes deſcended from their horſes, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

*Plato* in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memorie of the ſeuene Princes, whereof *Darius* himſelfe was one, that deliuered the Empire from the vſurpation of the *Magi*, hee diuided the whole into ſeuene gouernements; *Herodotus* ſaith into twentie *Satrapies*.

### CHAP. V.

Of DARIVS the Sonne of HYSTASPES.

#### §. I.

Of DARIVS his Lineage.

40



DARIVS was deſcended of the ancient *Perſian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achæmenides*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineall Succellour. For in this ſort *Herodotus* deriues him as before.

*Cyrus* the firſt, who had *Teiſpius*, who begat *Ariaramnes*, who was father of *Aſſananes*, the father of *Hyaſſapes*, the father of *Darius*, ſurnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*.

Eurt. l. 6.

*Hyaſſapes* accompanied *Cyrus* the Great in the warres againſt the *Seythians*, at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dreame of his owne, cauſed him

to

He. 11. &amp; 3.

\* Her. 122. 237.

Ps. 114.

Ps. 132.

Tol. 1. c. 10.

Pig. 160. 195.

He. 14. 246. 180.

Pig. 150. 190.

Pig. 199.

Pig. 209. 204.

Pig. 211. 185.

Pig. 214. 186.

De Reg. 1. c. 10.

Fol. 32.

to be sent into *Persia*, others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was deliuered, and made Governour of the *Persian* *Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyfes* into *Egypt*; he then ioynd with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the neyng of his horse, or, as others affirme, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more assured to himselfe by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Nieces for his wiues.

*Hysaspes*, according to \* *Herodotus*, had besides *Darius* these three sonnes, who were great Commanders in the warre which *Darius* made in *Asia* the lesse, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artaphernes*; and *Artabanus*, who diswaded *Xerxes* from the second *Graecian* warre. *Hysaspes* had also a Daughter married to *Gobryas* the Father of *Marcellinus*, who commanded the Armie of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Larus*, *Arctozofire* his Cosen germaine.

*Reineccus* giues to *Hysaspes* five sonnes, *Darius* who succeeded *Cambyfes*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Olanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two daughters.

## §. II.

Of *Darius* his gouernement, and suppressing the rebellion of *Babylon*.

**D**ARIUS deuised equal lawes whereby all his subiects might be gouerned, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gaue access to all his subiects, and behaued himselfe so mildly to all men that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassalls: Only hee laied duers paymments and taxes on the people, which had not bene accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the valew of fouretene thousand five hundred and threescor talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The warre which *Cambyfes* made a farre off in *Egypt*, and the contention betwene the *Magi*, and the Princes of *Persia*, for the Empire, gaue heart to the *Babylonians* to recouer their libertie, and to shake off the *Perlian* yoke, whereof *Darius* being aduertised, he prepared an Armie to recouer that Citie and State reuolted. But finding the same a difficult worke, he vied the seruite of *Zopirus*, who for the louche bare *Darius*, did cut off his owne Eares and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to flic to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the crueltie of *Darius*: who, for hauing giuen him aduice to giue ouer the siege of their Citie, had in this sort dismembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gaue him that credit as they trusted him with the disposition and commandment of their greatest forces: which when *Zopirus* had obtained, after some small colourable ouer-throws giuen to the *Persians* vpon sallies, hee deliuered the Citie into *Darius* his hands, who had lye before it twentie Moneths.

Her. 13.

## §. III.

Of *Darius* his fauour to the *Iewes* in building the Temple.

**I**N the second yeare of *Darius*, hee gaue order that the building of the Temple at *Iherusalem* should goe on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his owne charge, and out of the reuenues of the Crowne. And whereas the Gouernours of those Prouinces which are situate betwene *Euphrates*, and the *Phanician*, and midland Sea, (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captaines beyond the Riuer) had hindred the worke in *Cambyfes* his time, *Darius* gaue commandment that they should not thenceforth come neare vnto *Ierusalem*, to giue any impediment to the building, but that they should

Ezra. 6.

should with-draw themselves, and get them farre off till all were finished and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *procul recedite ab his; With-draw your selues farre from them*; In our *Englishe*, *Be yee farre from thence*, to wit, from the Citie, and Temple, now in building.

Hee also made a decree, which concerned his owne Subiects, That whosoever should thence forth hinder the setting vp of the Temple of God, that his house should be torne downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallows made of the Timber thereof. He also in the same decree maketh inuocation to God, *That hath caused his name to dwell there, (to) destroy all Kings and people that put to their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Ierusalem, &c.* In foure yeares after which decree (the *Iewes* being really furnished with money and all things necessarie for *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth yeare of *Darius* *Hysaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first returne.

Ez. 6.

## §. IIII.

Of *Darius* his *Scythian* Warre.

**A**Fter the recouerie of *Babylon* hee inuaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Iustine* calleth *Lathienus*; and saith, that *Darius* vnder-tooke this warre against him, because hee refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to conuoy his Armie into *Scythia*, hee built a Bridge of small Vessells ouer the Riuer *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gaue the custodie of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the lesse) to the *Ionians* and *Aolians*; among whom was *Miltiades*, who perswaded the *Asian* *Graecians* to breake downe the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficultie; but the same was resisted by *Histiasus* Prince of *Milet*, a Citie of *Ionis*, which Nation being a Colonie of the *Graecians*, *Diodorus* calleth *Tartors* to their Countrie, because they ioynded themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaues, for as much as they would not runne away from their Master, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondages; when they were presented with as faire an occasion of libertie as could haue bene desired. For the great Armie of *Darius* entring the desert Countrie called *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any succour to relieue them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chim Tartars*, their posteritie, at this day, all horse-men, vying the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Graefers, driuing their Heards from one place to another as opportunity of pasture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but vied for Houses the Waggon wherein they carried their wiues and children. These Waggon they place at euery Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, remouable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himselfe, called now the great *Chim*, any other Citie than such an *Agora*, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himselfe, and wasted his prouision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither waies to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or liuing creatures, nor any thing at all, which either hee himselfe might make vse of, or by destroying it might grieue his enemies; he began to perceiue his owne folly, and the danger into which it had brought him. Yet sitting a good face vpon a badde game, he sent braue messagers to the *Scythians*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make triall of his valour and fortune in plaine battaille. Or if he acknowledged himselfe the weaker, then to yeeld by faire means, and become his Subiect giuing him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* vied to demand as a signe that all was yeelded vnto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Heroglyphicall* answer; sending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and five Arrows: which dumb shew

Her. 14.

1st. 12.

Diod. 11.

Eccc

*Darius*

*Darius* interpreting by his owne will, thought that hee did yeeld all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withall into his handes. But *Gobryus* one of the seven Princes who had slaine the *Agagi*, contrived their meaning a-right, which was thus; O yee *Persians*, get yee wings like Birds, or doe under the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for else yee shall not escape our wronges. And this interpretation was soone verified by the *Scythians* themselves, who assailed the *Persian* camp, draue the horse-men into the trenches, and vexing the Armie with continuall Alarums day and night, were so fearelesse of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his light, they did not forbear the pastime of courting a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of theirs *Darius* was so discouraged that he forooke his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were like and weake behinde him, and so with all speede marched away towards the River *Ister*. Hee was pursued hardly by the *Scythians*, who mist him, yet arriuing at the Bridge before him, perswaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* King should neuer more be able to doe them either good or harme. Which wordes had certainly bene proued true, had not *Hystianus* the *Attilian* prevailed with his people, to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewise faile to meete, when they returned from Iusto secke him out.

## §. V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian Warre.



Her 15.  
Ama vintme  
Circel vnto  
to the South of  
Cantunmole.  
a Ca dagaerie  
upon the cher-  
fioria of  
Thrace, after-  
ward Iustianu-  
shia. Plu. 2usf.

*Arivs* hauing thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the inuasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which Warre hee employed *Megabius*, who murthered the *Paeonian*, and transplanted them, and posselt *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Bizantium*, and other places, being also soone after subiected, and added to the *Persian* Empire by *Otanes*, the sonne of *Sisymanes* whom *Cambyses* had exoriated for false iudgement. So were the Cities of *Scythia* and *Carcia* likewise taken in for the *Persian*, who hauing now reduced vnder his obeyfance the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Soueraignetic ouer that Kingdome. *Amintas* doubting his owne strength, entertained the Embassadors with gentle wordes, and afterward inuiting them to a solemne and magnifcent feast, the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might bee present: which being granted, the Embassadors who were well filled with wine, and presumed vpon their greatnesse, and many victories, beganne to vse such imbracings, and other lasciuious behauiour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings Sonne, great Grand-father to *Alexander* the Great, disliking the *Persians* barbarous presumption, besought his father to withdraw himselfe from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadors, whom withall hee entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while, promising their speedie returne. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-fauoured young-men to clothe themselves in the same garments, and to vse the same attires which the Ladies had worn at the feast, giuing them in charge, That when the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soone after giuen by *Darius* for a seuer reuenge of this murder. But *Alexander* somewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gaue his sister *Gyges* in marriage to *Bubarus*, a principall Commander of *Perinthus* Forces on that side, who perswading her husband how helpfull the Alliance of *Macedon* would proue for the inuasion of *Asia* intended, so prevailed, as *Alexander*

der escaped that tempest, which threatened to fall vpon him very suddenly; the warre of *Asia* the lesse, called *Ionick*, falling out at the same time.

## §. VI.

The first occasion of the Warre which *Darius* made vpon Greece, with a rebewfall of the gouernement in Athens, whence the quartell grew.

Now the better to vnderstand the reason and motiues of that great Warre, which followed soone after, betweene the *Persians* and *Grecians*, it is necessarie to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which Citie indured the hardest and worst brunt of *Darius* inuasion on that side the Sea with admirable successe. Neither doe I hold it any impertinencie, to be large in vnfolding euery circumstance of so great a businesse, as gaue fire to those warres, which neuer could be thoroughly quenched, vntill in the ruine of this great *Persian* Monarchie, *Persopolis* the capitall Citie of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatnesse, the *Persians* had raied in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former bookes it may be gathered, how *Athens*, and other parts of *Greece*, were anciently gouerned, the same being already set downe, though scattering, and in seuerall times, among other the Contemporarie occurrences of the *Emperors*, and the Kings of *Iudea*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember againe the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedemonians* they maintained still their ancient policie vnder Kings, though these also after some fiftene descents bridled by the *Ephori*.

*Cleobius* King of the *Athenians* in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the libertie of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthe to succede him) they changed their former gouernement from Monarchicall to Princes for terme of life, of which *Medon* the sonne of *Coarus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontidae*; and of these there were twelue Generations besides *Medon*, to wit.

*Agasius*.

*Archippus*, in whose times the *Greekes* transported themselves into *Ionis*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourescore yeares, according to *Eusebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* here-in excepted) find in the yeare after *Troy* fallen one hundred and fortie.

*Thersippus*.

*Phorbus*.

*Mezades*.

*Diogenetus*, in whose time *Lycurgus* gaue lawes to the *Spartans*.

*Phereclus*.

*Arifbron*.

*Thersippus*, in whose time the *Affrian* Empire was ouerthrowne by *Beluchus*, and *Arbaces*.

*Agamnestor*.

*Alcibylus*, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedemon*.

*Alcemenon*, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected *Decemvall* Gouernours: the former Princes for life hauing continued in all three hundred and sixtene yeares. The first of those that gouerned for ten yeares, or the first *Arcton*, was

*Charops*, then

*Alsymedes*.

Ecce 2

*Elydius*.

Elydicus.  
Hippomenes.  
Leocrates.  
Alcibiades.

*Erictus*, was the last *Archon* of the decennial *Gouvernors*, which forme continuing threefoore and ten yeares, was then changed into *annual Magistrates*, *Maiors*, or *Burg-masters*, of which *Thebus* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: others finde *Leogratus*; and then

*Anthophanes*.  
*Archimedes*.  
*Miltiades*.  
*Damastias*.  
*Draco*.  
*Megacles*.

*Solon*, and others, who are the lesse to be regarded, by reason of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gave lawes to the *Athenians*, which were published according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth yeare of *Tarquinus Priscus*, and were in after-ages derived vnto the *Romans*, and by the *Decem-viri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into twelve *Tribles*, which were the ground of the *Romane* lawes. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, wherein his owne duties violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed vnto the practise and maintenance of a popular government; the estate of *Athen* was very soone changed into a Monarchie by *Pisistratus* the sonne of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* two Citizens of noble Families were become the heads, tooke occasion by their contention and insolencie to raise a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Having by this means obtained loue and credit, he wounded himselfe, and feining that by malice of his enemies he had like to haue bene slaine for his loue to the good Citizens, he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprizing the State-houfe, or Cittadell of *Athen*, hee made himselfe Lord of the Towne; *Hegesistratus* being then *Gouvernour*. But the Citizens who in euery change of government had fought to remoue themselves further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could so ill brooke this vsurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driuen for lack of helpe to flie the Towne, as soone as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* toyning their forces attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyrannie founded vpon the dissention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soone after well redressed by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his owne, he did (as is the vsuall practise of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*, to whom he gaue his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Familie of the *Alcmaonides*, whereof *Megacles* was chiefe, became very powerfull, yet so that *Pisistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmaonides*, and especially *Megacles* being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his mildmanner towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so farre, that *Pisistratus* vpon the first discouerie of their intent, perceived no other remedie for his affaires than to with-draw himselfe to *Eretria*, where hee remained cleuen yeares. Which time being expired, having hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, hee againe recovered the principallitie of *Athen*: after which third obtaining his estate, hee gouerned *Athen* seuentene yeares, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirte and three yeares, saith *Eliaius*, but as *Justine* hath it foure and thirte, accounting the time belike as well before

*Pausanias* 158.  
*Dionysius* 13.  
*Plutarch* p. 159.  
*Pausanias* 170.  
*Plutarch* 331.

*Herodotus* 132.  
*Erictus* a Citie  
of *Boeotia*, by  
others called  
*Stictus*, by  
*Stephanus*  
*Erictus*.  
*Plutarch* 5.  
*Herodotus* and  
*Elion* p. 242.  
*Justine* p. 28.

before as after his severall expulsions. *Herodotus* giues the Father and the Sonne fixe and thirte yeares; *Aristotle* fixe and thirte. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that hee died very old, leauing for his Successours his two Sonnes *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who gouerned the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineall Successours of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and some three yeares before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athen*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* were charged with vnaturall lull after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled

*Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that hee was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers and authors of that scandall. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprife vpon his brother had more and deeper rootes than were apparent, first sought to discouer the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*; by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who because shee would not reueale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himselfe, enter into a strait amitie with *Aantides*, Tyrant of the Citie *Lampascus*, whom hee knew to be greatly fauoured by *Darius*, to whose Sonne *Hipparchus* hee gaue one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three yeares after the death of his brother, doubting

I know not what strong practise against himselfe, hee beganne to vse the Citizens with great seueritie, which neither *Pisistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himselfe had ever exercised during their vsurpations till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing least that this disease might rather increase, than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred vp *Cleisthenes* one of the noblest and best able of their Citie, to practise their deliuerie: who calling to his assistance the banished *Alcmaonides*, together with an Armie of the *Lacedemonians*, ledde by *Cleomenes* their King, so affrighted *Hippias*, as by composition hee gaue ouer his Citie, and the possession of *Athen*, and from thence imbarcking himselfe tooke land at *Sigeum*, whence hee went to *Lampascus* in *Asia* gouerned by *Aantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. Hee was deprived of his estate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twentie yeares before the battle of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Aantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for *Darius* in *Sardis*, the *Metropolis* of *Lydia*; perswading and practising the enterprife vpon *Athen*, which *Darius* in the end to his great dishonour vnder-tooke, twentie yeares after *Hippias* had resigned his estate.

Thus farre I haue digressed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceiue the better the causes and motiues of this warre: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be restored to *Athen* by the helpe of *Darius*, which made him so licke and perswade the *Persians* to conquer *Greece*, was one; but not the most vrgent.

## §. VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cause of the warres ensuing betwixt *Greece* and *Persia*.



Another, and a strong motiue to this expedition, was the Ionick warre, breaking out in *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* in *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, having enioyed their libertie about five hundred yeares, euen from the Ionick migration, to the time of *Croesus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards, as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by

Eecce 3

*Cyrus*,

*Herodotus* 1.  
*Thucydides* 1.6. to

*Lampascus* a Citie of *Mysia*, vpon the Hellespont.  
*Herodotus* 1.  
*Thucydides* 1.6. to

*Sigeum* a promontorie opposite to the Ile of *Tenedos*, which *Aristotle* calls *Animal*, calls the promontorium.

*Cyrus*, and left as hereditarie Seruants to the Crowne of *Persia*.

But as it is the custome of all Nations halfe conquered (witnesseth *Ireland*) to rebell againe vpon euery aduantage and opportunitie: so did the *Ionians*, and other *Gracians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, seeke by all meanes possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men readie to spurre them into Rebellion, as had by the *Persian* beeing giuen vnto them for bridles, to hold them in subiection. Euery one of those Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the gouernment of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the *Persian*, by whose only might they held the people in subiection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when *Darius* being in great extremitie, they vied all meanes to deliuer him and his Armie (that otherwise had beene lost) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great peece of seruice *Histiass* the Tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chiefe thanks, as hauing beene chiefe Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the rest, either perswaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their owne desires, were readie to haue abandoned him. But it came so to passe that *Darius* being more fearefull of the harme that *Histiass* (being powerfull and craftie) might doe to him in the future, than mindfull of the good which he had alreadye receiued at his hand, found meanes to carrie him a-long to *Susa*, where hee detayned him with all kinde visage of a friend, yet kept such good espiall vpon him, as an enemy, hee could not start away. *Histiass* had subtiltie enough to discouer the Kings purpose, which ill agreed with his owne desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, hauing a small Territorie, than to sit and feast at the great Kings table, and heare the counsailes by which a large Empire was managed; being himselfe an idle beholder, and enjoying with much restraint of libertie, none other pleasures than a priuate man might bestow vpon himselfe.

Wherefore hee bethought himselfe of raising of some tumules in the lower *Asia*, to pacifie which if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authoritie in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfie the King with excuses, or deale as occasion shall require. Resolving vpon this course, hee sent very secret instructions to *Aristagoras* his kinsman, whom hee had left his Deputie at *Miletus*, aduising him to stirre vp some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to *Aristagoras*, who hauing failed in an enterprize vpon the Isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Persian* his Associate, stood in feare of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that had wasted the Kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore hee readily embraced the counsaile: and the better to draw the whole Countrie of *Ionis* into the same course, which hee determined to runne, hee abandoned his tyrannie, and did set *Miletus* at libertie. This plausible beginning wanne vnto him the hearts of the *Milesians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom some hee tooke and sold as slaues to their citizens, others hee chased away) caused the whole Nation to bee at his command. The *Persian* fleet, whereof hee lately had beene Admirall in the enterprize of *Naxos*, hee had surprisid in his first breaking out, together with the principall Officers, and Captaines; so that now hee thought himselfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Asia* would shortly be vpon his neck, and crush both him and his assistants to peeces, vnlesse that hee were able to raise an Armie that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were insufficient to performe. Therefore hee tooke a journey to *Sparta*, where hauing assaied in vaine with many arguments, and the offer of fillic talents, to win to his partie *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedaemonians*: hee went from thence to *Athens*, and with better success be sought the people to lend him their assistance. The *Athenian* Embassadors which had beene sent to the *Persian* Kings Lieutenants in the lower *Asia*, desiring them

them not to giue countenance to *Hippias*, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answeres, hauing found verie churlish entertainment. So that the euill which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Persian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinitie with the *Ionians*, and the persuasions of *Aristagoras*, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasures were not helping. Twentie shippes the *Athenians* furnished for this voyage; to which the *Eratrians* added five more, in regard of ancient kindeesse that had passed betweene the *Ionians* and them. With these and their owne forces joynd, the *Ionians* entred the Riuer *Caistrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Ephesus*: by which aduantage they surprisid *Sardis* when no enemy was heard of or suspected; in so much, as the *Eratrians*, who ruled as Vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of safetie, than by retreating himselfe into the Castle, which the *Gracians* could not force: from whence he beheld the slaughter of the Citizens, and the Citie flaming.

The *Persians* at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defiance, and recovered the Market place, strengthened by the Riuer *Pactolus*, which ranne through it, and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselves, and charged their enemies; who well aduiling themselves, made all the halt they could toward the Sea side. But *Artaphernes* hauing gathered all the strength he could, pursued the *Gracians*, and found them neere *Ephesus*; where setting resolutely vpon them, hee slaughtered a great part of their Armie; the rest fawing themselves in *Ephesus*. In this fight *Euaclides*, Capitaine of the *Eratrians*, perished: but his fame and memorie was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preferred. After this ouerthrow, the *Athenians*, which were sent to *Aristagoras* and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, nor by their teares, be perswaded to make any second triall of their fortunes, on that side the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noyse in the world, than the good success which the *Persians* had in one or two skirmishes; could raise. Wherefore the *Ionians* brauely proceeding, wone a great part of *Caria*; and sending their Fleet into the *Hellepont*, got *Bisantium* and other Townes into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately subdued by *Cambyses*, began hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacie with the *Ionians*, who were able to giue them aid by sea, rebelled against the *Persians*.

These newes coming to the eare of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, vpon whom hee vowed to take sharpe reuenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not haue dared to attempt such things, but by the instigation of those, to whom their ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to prouoke him. This was the maine ground of the Warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against *Athens*: To which, the solicitation of *Hippias*, before remembered, gaue onely some forme and assistance: the bulinesse, when once it was thus farre on foot, being like enough to haue proceeded, though hee had perished ere it were aduanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrell of *Persia* against many of the Islanders, if not against the whole Nation of the *Greekes*; for all of them gaue to his Rebels free harbour: the Islanders moreover did hope to furnish out a Naue of three hundred and sixtie vailie against him. These prouocations did rather breede in him a desire to abate their pride, than any feare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by surpris. In euerie fight they were beaten by the *Persians*, who had not yett lost the fruits of their discipline, wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captaines. In one sea-fight by the Isle of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the vpper hand; but they were *Phoenicians*, *Aegyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquished: neither was that victorie of any vse to them; the *Cyprians*, in whose aid they came,

being

being utterly beaten by the *Persian* Armie at Land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the *Persians* likewise by open warre and faire force overthrowne the *Carians* in two battales, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recovered the Townes vpon *Hellepont*, with some *Æolian* and *Ionian* Cities: when *Artaxerxes* with his friends: quitting *Attica*, fled into *Thrace*, desirous to feare himselfe in *Amphipolis*, a Colonie of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whose Territorie belike hee landed, overthrew him, and cut his troups in peeces.

About the same time, *Hystian* the first mover of this insurrection came downe into those quarters; who hauing undertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whome his double-dealing was detected.

But this euasion preferred him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Persians*, and hastily beheaded, least the King should pardon him vpon remembrance of old good turnes; as it seemes that hee would haue done, by the buriall which he commaunded to be giuen to his dead bodie that was crucified, and by his heauie taking of his death.

*Hystian* had sought to put himselfe into *Miletus*; but the Citizens doubting his condition, chose rather to keepe him out, and make shift for themselves, without his helpe. The strength of their Citie by land, which had in old time withstood the *Lydian* Kings, and their good Fleet which promised vnto them the libertie of an open sea, emboldened them to trie the vttermost, when very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Nauie was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking them vpon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the causeless flight of those that should haue assisted them. Neither was it long before the Towne itselfe being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slaine, their wiues and children made slaues, and their goods a bootie to the *Persians*, whome for fixe yeares space they had put to so much trouble.

### §. VIII.

The Warre which *Darius* made vpon Greece, with the battaile of MARATHON, and *Darius* his death.

**H**is warre with good successe finished by the *Persians*, and some attempts made on *Europe* side with variable successe; *Darius* obtinate in the enterprise and conquest of *Greece* (though at first he pretended to make the warre but against the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, who jointly assisted the *Ionians* against him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his embassadours demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whome, some of them not so well resolved as the rest, submitted themselves, as the *Ægians* and others. Against these, the *Athenians* being inflamed (by the assistance of the *Lacedemonians*, after diuers encounters forst them to giue pledges, and to relinquish the partie of the *Persians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedemonians* in this warre, and caused his companion King *Demantus* to be deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, farre the more confident of victorie, by reason of these discords, alienations, and ciuile warres among the *Greekes*. He therefore gaue order to *Hippagoras* to prepare a Fleet of shippes fit to transport his Armie ouer the *Hellepont*: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and tenne thousand horse. The charge in chief of his Armie he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the sonne of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of *Athen* twentie yeares before, and by *Ataphernes* his brother, Gouverneur of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coast of *Asia* the lesse. These Commanders hauing their Companies brought downe to the Sea-side, imbarked themselves in fix hun-

*Herod. lib. 6.*  
Whether this  
Citie or  
People were  
of *Trapanus*  
in *Syrizis*, or  
of *Ægea*, be-  
tween *Thessalia*  
and *Matidia*,  
I do not know:  
but those bot-  
tomers, & next  
the enemies,  
were more  
likely to com-  
pound than  
the rest farre  
off. There is  
also a Citie  
called *Ægea*,  
vnto, not farre  
from *Ægea*.  
*Liut. 31. 33. &c.*

hundred Gallies and other Vessels; and first of all attempted the Islands called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way betwene *Asia* the lesse, and *Greece*. For (obtaining those places) the *Persians* had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces ouer the *Ægean* Sea; but on the contrary they might alwayes both relieue themselves in their passage, and throw themselves from all suddaine tempests and outrage.

To this end they first possessed themselves of *Samos*, secondly they attempted *Ægea*: Which Island, the inhabitants despairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Deles*, of which *Apollo* was native: Which Island *Darius* did not onely forbear to sicke, but recalling the inhabitants, he gaue order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice, to *Apollo* erected. And hauing recovered these and other Islands, the *Persians* directed their course for *Eretria* in *Euboea*; for that Citie (as already hath bene shewed) had assisted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Island the *Persians* tooke ground, and besieged *Eretria* verie straitly, and after fixe dayes assault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of *Euphalus* and *Philagius*, they tooke it, sacked it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus farre the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sayles. From *Euboea* the *Persians* past their Armie into *Ariea*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athen*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed towards *Athen*.

The *Athenians* finding the time arriued, wherein they were to dispute with their owne vertue against Fortune, and to call lots for their libertie, for their wiues, their children, and their liues, put themselves in the best order they could to make resistance, and withall sent away with speed to the *Lacedemonians* for succour, employing in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who passing through *Attica*, encountered in the way a familiar Diuell, which he supposed to be *Pan*, who willed him to assure the *Athenians* of victorie, promising that some one of the Gods should be present at the battaile to assist them and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his returne seeing he could not bring with him any present succours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly auailing to bring newes from the Gods, and promise of assistance from Heauen, which no doubt (though the deuice was likely to be his owne) yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages haue bene more stirred vp with fond Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any just cause or solide reason. The *Athenians* being now left to themselves, with one thousand onely of the *Platians* (who hauing bene formerly defended by the *Athenians* against the *Thebians*, did in this extremitie witness their thankfulness and gratefull disposition) began to dispute, Whether it were most for their advantage to defend the wals of *Athen*, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of tenne thousand *Athenians*, and one thousand of the *Platians*. In the end, and after great diuerſitie of opinions, *Athistides*, who persuaded the triall by battaile, prevailed. The Armies being now in view, and within a myle of each other, the *Athenians* disposed themselves into three troups: two wings or hornes, as they teame them, and the bodie of a battaile. The *Persians*, when they perceived so small a Troope aduancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather disposſt of their vnderstanding, than possſt with the resolution whereof they made shew. So inuincible and resistless the *Persians* esteemed their owne numbers to be, and that small troupe of their enemies then in view, rather to be despised than to be fought withall: But in conclusion, the victorie being doubtfully balanced for a while, (some the vertue of the *Grecians*, and sometimes the number of the *Persians* prevailing, the *Grecians* fighting for that they had, the *Persians* for that they needed not, these great forces of *Darius* were disordered and put in rout; the *Athenians* following their victorie euen to the Sea-shore; where the *Persians*, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, saved themselves in their shippes.

The

The *Persian* Armie consisted of an hundred thousand foot and tenne thousand horse; of which there were slaine in the place fixe thousand three hundred, and of the *Grecians* an hundred foure score and twelue. For howsoeuer it came to passe, either by strange visions, which were afterward called *Panic terrors*, or by some other affright, it seemeth, that the inuading Armie, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and lost that number, by *Herodotus* let downe, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Iulius* report, That two hundred thousand of the *Persian* Armie were slaine, the same hath no appearance nor possibilitie of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the persuader of the enterprise was slaine, sayth *Lamius* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells vs, That he escaped and died most miserably in *Lesnos*.

Ad Att.

The greatest honor of this victorie was cast vpon *Atilides*, who both persuaded the trait by battaile, and behaued himselfe therein answerably to the counsell which he gaue. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the *Grecians*, of marke and commandement, that fell in the first encounter, were *Cullmachus* and *Sicilius*. It is also said, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Persians* to their embarking, layd hands on one of their Gallies, to haue held it from putting off the shore, and hauing his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which being also deprived, he tooke hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first year of the three score and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the Warre made by *Corsolanus* against his fellow-Romans: *Alexander* the sonne of *Amintas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phenippus* then Governour of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch*; or *Hyblades*, after *Hyalcarnissus*.

In vita Arist.

This great fray thus parted, and the *Persians* returned backe into the lesser *Asia*, *Atilides* fought and obtained an employment against the Islanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and passing ouer his Companies in three score and tenne Gallies, after fixe and twentie dayes assault he brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith him selfe being made vnable, and his companies discouraged, he returned to *Athens*; where those vngratefull Citizens forgetting all his seruices past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battaile of *Marathon*, did by the persuation of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who enuied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fiftie Talents; where his weak and wounded bodie being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which enuie of the better sort to each other, with their priuate Factions, assisted by the vnthankfull and wilsie people, brought them, not many yeares after, from a victorious and famous Nation to base subiection and slaueerie. *Atilides* left behind him one sonne called *Cymon*, begotten on *Hegisipia*, daughter of *Olurus* King of *Thrace*, who (sayth *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in understanding, but exceeded them both in iustice and good gouernment.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recouer his honour, than sorrow for the losse recieued in *Greece*, gaue order for new leuies of men, and all other warlike provisions. But the *Agyptians* revoltuing from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength and reuenuie) greatly distracted his resolution for the reuinuation of *Greece*. The dissention also among his sonnes; of whom, the younger being borne after he was King, and by so great a mother as *Atossa*, diddained to giue place to his elder brother, borne before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires, gaue end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joyined him to the earth of his ancessors, about a yeare after the battaile of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned fixe and thirtie yeres. He left behind him fise sonnes, namely *Artabanes*, borne before he obtained the kingdome, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achemenes* gouernor of *Egypt*, *Majestes* and *Anabages*.

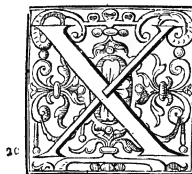
CHAP.

## CHAP. VI.

## Of XERXES.

## §. 1.

## The preparation of XERXES against Greece.



**X**ERXES received from his father, as hereditarie, a double Warre; one to be made against the *Agyptians*, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the *Grecians*; of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the success: ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this Warre, which was chiefly bent against the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Persia* were diuided in opinion. *Marctanus*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Assacion*, vnder *Darius*, and had also *Hystaspes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Atossa*, perswaded by many arguments the *Europe* in warre. But *Artabanes*, brother to the late *Darius*, and vncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsell, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous success of the two late inualions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsell. The one in person vpon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants vpon the *Greekes*; in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Armie and his honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well aduised before he did too farre imbarke himselfe in this businesse. For whatsoeuer vndertaking hath deliberate and sound counsell for conductor, though the success doe not alwayes answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variableness of her owne nature, which only the diuine Prouidence and not any humane power, can constraime.

But to obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanes*, as whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred which he made knowne to all those that opposed his desire to this Warre (changing opinion and counsell) assisted the *Grecian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the Warre of *Egypt* was ended, foure yeares were consumed in describing and gathering an Armie for this inualion: which being compounded of all Nations subiect to the *Persian* Empire, consisted of fiftene hundred thousand foot, and eightie thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for Carriage, if we may beleue *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Tragus* findes the number lesse by seven hundred thousand footmen.

The Commandours of the severall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of *Persia*, either by marriage in the Kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commandements of this nature giuen, some few people excepted, who had of their owne leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the sonne of *Gobryas* by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were joynd some others of *Xerxes* his nearest kindred, as Generals ouer all; sauing that the charge of tenne thousand select *Persians*, called the immortall Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died

OF

or were slaine, there was another preſently choſen in his ſtead) was giuen to *Hydarnes*, the eightie thouſand horſemen were led by the ſonnes of *Darius*, who commanded the late Armie of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The Fleet of Gallies were two thouſand two hundred and eight, furniſhed by the *Phoenicians*, who had Commanders of their owne Nation, and by the *Cypriotes*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphilians*, *Lyicians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Helleſpontines*; who were truſted with the furniſhing of their owne Veſſels, though commanded by the Princes of *Perſia*, as by *Artabanus* the ſonne of *Darius*, and others. The reſt of the Veſſels for transportation were three thouſand. There were alſo certaine Gallies furniſhed by *Artemiſia*, the daughter of *Lygdamis*, Princeſſe of *Halicarnasſus*, 10 and the Iſlands adioyning, which her ſelfe commanded. Thoſe Gallies by her prepared and furniſhed, exceeded all the reſt of the Fleet, excepting thoſe of *Ziden*, in which *Xerxes* himſelfe was imbarcked.

¶ II.

*XERXES* Armie entertained by *PYTHIUS*: His cutting off Mount *Athos* from the Continent: his bridge of Boates ouer the *Helleſpont*: and the diſcouſe betwene him and *ARTABANVS* vpon the view of his Armie.



Hen this world of an Armie was thoroughly furniſhed, he cauſed all the Nations of which it was compounded to make their *Rendez-vous* and repaire at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when hee had aſſembled to the number of ſeuentee hundred thouſand foot, as he entred the bodie of *Celanus*, he was by one *Pythius* the *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flockes and Heards of Cattell gaue food to *Xerxes* and his whole Armie. The Feaſt ended, he alſo preſented him with two thouſand Talents of Silver, and in Gold foure Millions, wanting ſeuē thouſand of the *Perſian Darius*, which make ſo many of four markes.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberalitie of *Pythius*, did not only reſuſe his treaſure offered, but commanded that ſeuē thouſand *Darius* ſhould be giuen him to make vp his foure Millions; of which, ſo many thouſands were wanting when he made the preſent. But ſoone after, when *Pythius* beſought him to ſpare one of his ſiue ſonnes from his attendance into *Greece* (becauſe himſelfe was old, and had none whom he could ſo well truſt as his owne ſonne) *Xerxes* moſt barbarouſly cauſed the young man, for whom his father ſought exemption, to be fundered into two parts, commanding, that the one halfe of his carkaſſe ſhould be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Armie marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea ſide. The one was a paſſage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Athos*, making the ſame (with the halfe Iſland or Headland, whereon it ſtood) to be an entire Iſland, fundering thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* ſiue Cities, beſides the Mountaine and the *Cherſoneuſus* or Necke of Land it ſelfe: a worke of more oftentation than of vſe, and yet an enterpriſe of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent hauing but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to paſſe in front. The Cities ſo ſeuered from the maine, were *Tyon*, *Olaſphyſus*, *Aerethoon*, *Thyſus*, and *Cleona*.

He alſo gaue order, that a Bridge vpon Boats ſhould be made ouer the *Helleſpont* 50 betwene *Abidus* and *Sestos*, the Sea there hauing a myle of breadth, wanting an eight part; which after the finiſhing, was by a Tempeſt torne aſunder and diſſeuered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than diſcouraged, commanded thoſe to be ſlaine that were maſters of the worke, and cauſed fixe hundred threeſcore and fourtee

fourtee Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge, which by the art and induſtrie of the *Phanicians* was ſo well anchored to reſiſt both windes blowing into and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the ſame being well boorded and rayed, the whole Armie of ſeuentee hundred thouſand foot, and foureſcore thouſand Horſe, with all the Moyles and Carriages, paſt ouer it into *Europe* in ſeuē daies and ſeuē nights, without intermiſſion. This tranſportation of Armies did *Cæſar* afterward vſe. And *Caligula* that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finiſhed, and the Armie brought neere to the Sea ſide, *Xerxes* tooke 10 a view of all his Troupes aſſembled in the Plaines of *Abidus*, being carried vp and ſeated on a place ouer-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adioyning: and after he had gloried in his owne happineſſe, to behold and command ſo many Nations, and ſo powerfull an Armie and Fleet, he ſuddenly (notwithſtanding) 15 burſt out into teares, moued with this contemplation, That in one hundred yeares there ſhould not any one ſuruiue of that marvellous multitude: the cauſe of which ſudden change of paſſion when he vttered to *Artabanus* his vncle, *Artabanus* ſpoke to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the diſſolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeares by the King remembred, is, That the life it ſelfe which we enioy is yet more miſerable than the end thereof: for in 20 thoſe few dayes giuen vs in the world, there is no man among all theſe, nor elſewhere, that ouer found himſelfe ſo accompanied with happineſſe, but that he oftentimes pleaſed himſelfe better with the deſire and hope of death than of liuing; the incident calamities, diſeaſes, and ſorrows whereto mankind is ſubiect, being ſo many and ineuitable, that the ſhortest life doth oftentimes appeare vnto vs ouerlong; to auoid all which, there is neither refuge nor reſt but in deſired death alone.

With this melancholie diſcourſe *Xerxes* being not much pleaſed, prayed *Artabanus* not to ouer-caſt thoſe joyes which they had now in purſuit with ſad remembrances. And holding ſtill a doubtful conceit, that *Artabanus* vtterly condemned the 30 inuafion of *Greece*, againſt which he had formerly giuen many ſtrong reaſons, deſired him to deale freely with him, Whether he were returned to his firſt reſolution, that the enterpriſe of *Greece* could not be ſucceſſfull? Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Viſion, he was confident of good ſucceſſe? *Artabanus* notwithſtanding that he aſſured himſelfe of the Kings reſolution to goe on, and dared not by any new Arguments to batter the great purpoſe it ſelfe, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellouſly affrighted him, and which the King ſhould finde, as he feared, to be moſt aduerſe; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, becauſe it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of ſo great a Fleet: inſomuch, as if any tempeſt ſhould ariſe, all 40 the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receiue them, nor all the Hauens thereof afford them any ſaſetie: and therefore when ſuch ſhelter ſhall be wanting vnto them, he prayed him to vnderſtand, that in ſuch a caſe of extremite men are left to the will and diſpoſition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and diſpoſition of men. The Land, beſides other incommodities, will be found by ſo much the more an enemy, by how much the vnſatiate deſire of man to obtaine more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to giue reſiſtance, yet the want of meanes to feed ſuch an Armie, and the Famine, which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered diſinable and conſume it. By theſe Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to haue diuerted *Xerxes*, not daring per chance 50 to vtter what indeed he moſt feared; to wit, the overthrow of the Armie it ſelfe both by Sea and Land, which ſooner followed. Theſe Cautions were exceeding weightie, if *Xerxes* his obſtinacie had not miſperſed them. For to inuade by Sea vpon a perillous Coaſt, being neither in poſſeſſion of any Port, nor ſuccoured by any partie, may better fit a Prince preſuming on his fortune, than enriched with vn-

derstanding. Such was the enterprife of *Philip* the second vpon England in the year 1588, who had belike neuer heard of this Counsell of *Atabam* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point, it was very likely, that *Xerxes* his Armie, which could not haue lesse in it than two millions of Soules, besides his beafts for Seruice and Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer famine, and vſing *Machiueli* words, *Maurice* ſays conſeſſes, *die without a knife*. For it was impoſſible for Greece, being a ragged, ſtrait, and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (beſides what ſerued themſelues) for twenty hundred thouſand ſtrangers, whom they neuer meant to entertaine but with the ſharpened points of their weapons, deſtroying withall whatſoeuer they could not well incloke and defend. Nay, if we may beleue *Herodotus*, the Armie of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopyla*, conſiſted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thouſand two hundred twenty men, beſides Landreſſes, Harlots, and Horſes, and was therefore likely to endure a ſpeedie famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his anſwere was, That it was impoſſible to prouide for all things; and that whoſoeuer ſhould enterprife any great matter, if he gaue the hearing to all that could be objected of accidentall inconueniences, hee ſhould neuer purſue the ſame farther than the diſpute and conſultation: which if his predeceſſors, the *Perſian* Kings, had done, they had neuer growne to that greatneſſe, or poſſeſſed ſo many Kingdomes and Nations as they now did, and therefore concluded, That great enterpriſes were neuer vndertaken without great perils. Which reſolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any neceſſitie had enforſt him to that warre. But ſeeing the many Nations newly conquered, which hee already commanded, were more than could be conſtrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull proſperitie of the *Perſians* endured, and that Greece was ſeparated by the Sea from the reſt of *Xerxes* Dominions (of whoſe reſolution his father *Darius* had made a deere experience) the fruit of this warre was anſwerable to the plantation, and the ſucceſſe and end agreeable to the weak counſell whercon it was grounded. Furthermore, thoſe millions of men which hee tranſported, and yet in his owne judgement not ſufficient (for he gathered in marching on, all the ſtrength of *Thrac* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the *Greekes* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and reſolution, whome he conducted. For it is wiſely ſaid of thoſe vncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent ſed pondus, & impedimenta potius ſunt quam auxilium; They are great in bulke, but weak in force, and rather a luggage than an aid.*

Beſides, as it was impoſſible to marſhall ſuch a world of men in one Armie, ſo the diuers Nations, ſpeaking diuers Languages, bred the ſame conſuſion among the *Perſian* Commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to worke. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded tenne Armies of fifty thouſand choſen ſouldiers in each, and ſent them yearly into Greece well victualled and furniſhed, he had either preuailed by the ſword, or forſt them to forſake their territorie, or brought them in obedience by neceſſitie and famine, which cannot be reſiſted. But while *Xerxes* reſolved to cut downe the banks of Greece, and to let in a ſea of men vpon them, he was deceived both in his owne hopes, and in their hearts whome he employed, and beaten by the *Greekes*, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himſelfe, conducted by his feare, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his Armie was buried in Greece: the remainder whereof, which wintered in *Theſſalie*, and led by *Mardonius*, who perſuaded the Enterpriſe, was in the Summer following utterly defeated, and himſelfe ſlaine.

§. III.

§. III.

Of the fights at *Thermopyla* and *Artemiſium*.



Fier ſuch time as *Xerxes* had tranſported his Armie over the *Helleſpont*, and landed in *Thrace*, (leaving the deſcription of his paſſage a-long that Coaſt and how the Riuer of *Liffus* was drunke drie by his multitudes, and the Lake neere to *Piſſyrus* by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards Greece) I will ſpeake of the encounters he had, and the ſhamefull and incredible ouerthrowes which he received: As firſt at *Thermopyla*, a narrow paſſage of halfe an acre of ground, lying betweene the Mountaines which diuide *Theſſalie* from Greece, where ſometime the *Phocians* had rayſed a wall with gates, which was then for the moſt part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedemonians*, aſſiſted with one thouſand *Tegeate* and *Manincans*, one thouſand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponneſians*, to the number of three thouſand one hundred in the whole, beſides one thouſand *Phocians*, foure hundred *Thebans*, ſeuene hundred *Theſſians*, and all the forces (ſuch as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the paſſage two whole dayes together againſt that huge Armie of the *Perſians*. The valour of the *Greekes* appeared ſo excellent in this defence, that in the firſt dayes fight *Xerxes* is ſaid to haue three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the deſtruction of his Armie by one handfull of thoſe men, whom not long before he had utterly deſpiſed: and when the ſecond dayes attempt vpon the *Greekes* had proued vaine, hee was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and ſo might haue continued, had not a run-agate *Graecian* taught him a ſecret way, by which part of his Armie might aſcend the ledge of Mountaines, and ſet vpon the backs of thoſe who kept the Straits. But when the moſt valiant of the *Perſian* Armie had almoſt incloſed the ſmall forces of the *Greekes*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, with his three hundred, and ſeuene hundred *Theſſians*, which were all that abode by him, reſuſe to quit the place which they had vndertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not onely reſiſt that world of men which charged them on all ſides; but iſſuing out of their ſtrength, made ſo great a ſlaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquiſhers, though all of them were ſlaine vpon the place. *Xerxes* hauing loſt in this laſt fight, together with twenty thouſand other Souldiers and Captaines, two of his owne brethren, began to doubt what inconuenience might befall him by the vertue of ſuch as had not bene preſent at theſe battailes, with whome he knew that he ſhortly was to deale. Eſpecially of the *Spartans* he ſtood in great feare, whoſe manhood had appeared ſingular in this tryall, which cauſed him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, That when one thought to haue terrified him by ſaying, That the flight of the *Perſian* Arrowes was ſo thicke as would hide the Sunne; he anſwered thus: It is very good newes, for then ſhall we fight in the coole ſhade.

Such notable reſolution hauing as freely bene expreſſed in deedes, as it was uttered in words, cauſed the *Perſian* to ſtand in great doubt, when he heard that the Citie of *Sparta* could arme well-nigh eight thouſand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedemonians*, though inferior to thoſe, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counſell of *Demaratus*, a baniſhed King of the *Spartans*, who had alwayes well aduiſed and inſtructed him in the things of Greece, what courſe was fitteſt to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces would aſſemble together to defend the *Iſthmus*, that ſtraight necke of ground which joyneth *Peloponneſus* to the Continent. For which cauſe he aduiſed, That three hundred ſhippes well manned ſhould be ſent vnto the Coaſt of *Laconia*, to ſpoyle the Countrey, and to hold the *Lacedemonians* and their

neighbours buried at home, whilst *Xerxes* at his leisure having subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power upon them, who remaining destitute of succour would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Leemarus* further advised, that the said fleet of three hundred ships should seile upon the land then called *Cythera*, now *Crige*, which lying neere to the Coast of *Leconia*, might serve as a fit place of *Recreasement* upon all occasions either of their owne defence or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilen* the *Lacedemonian* should be verified, that it were better for his Countrey-men to haue that Ile drowned in the Sea than stand so inconueniently as for them it did. What effect this counsell might haue taken had it been followed it is not easie to guess. But a contrarie opinion of *Achemenes* brother to King *Xerxes* was preferred as the safer. For the *Persian* fleet had bin sorely vexed with a grievous tempest, which continued three whole daies together, wherein were lost vpon the coast of *Magnesia* foure hundred ships of warre, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foretold, that if any such calamitie should ouertake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to giue them succour. Therefore *Achemenes* perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleet; for if (said he) after the losse of foure hundred shippes wee shall find away other three hundred to seeke adventures, then will the *Greekes* be strong enough by Sea to encounter the rest of the Nauie, which holding altogether is inuincible. To this counsell *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land-armie and fleet should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilst both held one course and lay not farre asunder. But herein he was farre deceived; for about the same time that his armie had felt the valour of the *Greekes* by Land, his Nauie likewise made a sorrowfull proofe of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Grecian* fleet lay at that time at *Artemisium* in the straits of *Euboea*, where the *Persians* thinking to incompaile them, sent two hundred saile about the land to fall upon them behinde, vying a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas* in a caue not vnlike, but with farre different successe. For that narrow channell of the Sea which diuideth *Euboea* from the maine was in the same sort held by a Nauie of two hundred threescore and eleuen saile against the huge *Persian Armada*, as the straits of *Thermopylae* had formerly bene maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was so circumvented as this Nauie might haue been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred shippes that were sent about the land, and the cause of their voyage, was too well knowne in the *Persian* fleet, and soone enough disclosed to the *Greekes*, who setting saile by night met them with a counter-surprise, taking and sinking thirtie vessels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea, where being ouertaken with foule weather they were driuen vpon the rocks and all cast away. Contrariwise the Nauie of the *Greekes* was increased by the arriuall of fiftie three *Athenian* ships, and one *Leonian* which came to their partie in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side: so the feare of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred vp the other to redeme their losse with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their vnfortunate policie, they resolu'd in plaine fight to repaire their honour, and casting themselves into the forme of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the *Greekes*, who readily did present them battell at *Artemisium*.

The fight indured from noone till night, and ended with equall losse to both parts. For though more of the *Persians* shippes were sunke and taken, yet the lesse losse fell altogether as heauie vpon the *Greekish* fleet, which being small could worke better it. Herein onely the *Barbarians* may seeme to haue had the worse, that they forsooke the place of fight, leaving the wracke and spoiles to the enemy, who nevertheless were faine to abandon presently euen the passage which they had vnderaken to defend, both for that many of their ships were sorely cruell in the battell, and especially because they had receiued aduertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylae*. Before they waied anchors, *Themistocles* generall of the *Athenians* engraued vpon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they

they should reuolt vnto the *Greekes* or stand neutrall; which persuasion he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the *Persians*.

## §. IIII.

The attempt of *Xerxes* vpon *APOLLO's* temple: and his taking of *Athens*.

10 **W**hen *Xerxes* had passed the straits of *Thermopylae* he wasted the Countrey of the *Phocians* and the regions adioining: as for the inhabitants they chose rather to flie, and referre themselves to a day of battaile, than to adventure their liues into his hands, vpon hope of sauing their wealth by making proffer vnto him of their seruice. Part of his armie he sent to spoile the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many offerings that had there been made by diuers Kings and great personages; Of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inuentorie than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell vpon the companies which arriued at the Temple to haue sacked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the mount *Parnassus* ouerwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure somewhat superfluous. Yet *Herodotus*, who liued not long after, saith, That the broken Rocks remained euen to his memorie in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither they rowled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for seeing he beleued that *Apollo* was a God, he should not haue dared to entertaine a couetous desire of enriching himselfe by committing sacrilege vpon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licence to chastise his impietie, in such manner as is reported, was granted vnto the Diuell, by that Holie one, who saith, *Will a man spoile his Gods?* and elsewhere, *Haue any nation changed their Gods, which yet are no Gods? Go to the Iles of Kittim, and behold, and send to Kedar and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things.* Now this impietie of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the *Persians* alleaged the burning of *Cybele* Temple by the *Athenians*, when they set fire on the Citie of *Sardis* in *Asia*, to be the ground and cause of the wait which they made in burnings of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprise against *Delphi*, this Vizzor of holie and zealous reuenge falling off, discovered the face of couetousnesse so much the more ouglie, by how much the more them selues had professed a detestation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by mere mischance.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did may be exprest briefly thus. He came to *Athens*, which finding forsaken he took, & burnt the Cittadell and temple: which was there-  
40 in. The Cittadell indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wisdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo's* Oracle, that *Athens* should bee safe in woodden walls, had fortified that place with boords and Palissades: too weak to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might haue yielded it vpon tolerable conditions, had they not vainely relied vpon the propheticie: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the wordes to the present neede, than fashioning the businesse to wordes.

## p. V.

How THEMISTOCLES the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.

**T**He Athenians had, before the coming of Xerxes, removed their wives and children into *Trazene*, *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their houses, and lands, as their freedom, and the common libertie of Greece. Neuertheless this great zeale, which the Athenians did shew for the generall good of their Countrey, was ill requited by the other Greekes, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilst they removed the wives and children out of their Citie. But when the Citie of Athens was taken, it was presently resolved vpon, that they should forsake the Ile of *Salamis*, and with draw the fleet to *Isthmus*: which neck of land they did purpose to fortifie against the Persians, and so to defend *Peloponnesus* by Land, and Sea, leaving the rest of Greece, as indefensible, to the furie of the enemy. So should the Ilands of *Salamis* and *Ægina* have beene abandoned, and the Families of the Athenians (which were there bestowed as in places of securitie) have beene given ouer into mercilesse bondage. Against this resolution *Themistocles*, Admirall of the Athenian fleet, very strongly made opposition; but in vaine. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possessed with feare of loosing their owne, which they would not hazard, that no persuasions could obtaine of them, to regard the estate of their distressed friends; and Allies. Many remonstrances *Themistocles* made vnto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*. As first in priuate vnto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedemonian*, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the selfe same feare which made them forsake those coasts of Greece, vpon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to dissiue the fleet, and euery one of the Confederates to with draw himselfe to the defence of his owne Citie and estate; Then to the Councell of Warre which *Eurybiades* vpon this motion did call together (forbearing to obiekt what want of courage might worke in them hereafter) he shewed that the fight at *Isthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, hauing the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the straights; and that, besides the safeguard of *Ægina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should by abiding, where they then were, sufficiently defend *Isthmus*, which the Barbarians should not so much as once looke vpon, if the Greekes obtained victorie by Sea: which they could not so well hope for else where, as in that present place which gaue them so good advantage. All this would not serue to retaine the *Peloponnesians*, of whom one vnworthy of memorie, vpbraided *Themistocles* with the losse of Athens, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speake in the Councell, that had no Countrey of his owne to inhabite. A base and shamefull obiection it was, to lay as a reproch that losse, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharpe, as auailed more than all his former persuasions. Here told them all plainly, That the Athenians wanted not a fairer Citie, than any Nation of Greece could boast of, hauing well-near two hundred good ships of Warre, the better part of the *Grecian* fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the world, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremitie had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a Towne in *Italie* belonging of old to the State of Athens, of which Towne he said an Oracle had foretold, That the Athenians in processe of time should build it a new, and there (quoth hee) will we plant our selues, leaving vnto you a sorrowfull remembrance of my words, and

and of your owne vnthankfulnesse. The *Peloponnesians* hearing thus much, beganne to enter into better consideration of the Athenians, whose affaires depended not, as they well perceiued, vpon so weake termes, that they should be driuen to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might enforce the rest to yeeld to them, and condescend euen to the vttermost of their owne demands.

For the Athenians, when they first embraced that Heroicall resolution of leauing their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessitie should enforce them so farre, for the perseruatiō of their libertie; did imploy the most of their priuate wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Nauie. By these means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamitie should befall them by land, as might not well be counterpoised by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well, that a strong fleet would either procure victorie at home, or a secure passage to any other Countrey. The other States of Greece held it sufficient, if building a few new ships they did somewhat amend their Nauie. Whereby it came to passe, that, had they beene vanquished, they could not have expected any other fortune than either present death, or perpetual slauey; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the Athenians, whose forces by Sea did equall all theirs together; the whole consisting of no more than three hundred and fourescore bottomes. Wherefore these *Peloponnesians* beginning to suspect their owne condition, which would haue stood vpon desperate points, if the fleet of Athens had forsaken them; were soone perswaded, by the greater feare of such a bad euent, to forget the losse, which they had conceiued of the Persians; and laying aside their insolent brauerie, they yeelded to that most profitable counsaile of abiding at *Salamis*.

## p. VI.

How the Persians consulted about giuing battaile: and how THEMISTOCLES by policie held the Greekes to their resolution; with the victorie at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

**I**N the meane season the Persians had entred into consultation, whether it were conuenient to offer battaile to the Greekes, or no. Therewith the Captaines giuing such aduise as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soone agreed vpon the fight; but *Artemisia* Queene of *Halicarnassus*, who followed Xerxes to this warre in person, was of contrarie opinion. Her counsaile was, that the King himselfe directly should march toward *Peloponnesus*, whereby it would come to passe that the *Greek* Nauie, (vnable otherwise to continue long at *Salamis* for want of prouision) should presently be dissiue, and euery one seeking to perserue his owne Citie and goods, they should, being diuided, proue vnable to resist him, who had wonne so farre vpon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to giue battaile; so on the other side the danger will be more (saide shee) which we shall vnder-goe, than any neederequireth vs to aduerture vpon; and the losse, in case it fall vpon vs, greater than the profit of the victorie which we desire. For if we compell the enemies to flee, it is no more than they would haue done, wee sitting still: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put vs to the worst, the iourney to *Peloponnesus* is vtterly dasht, and many that now declare for vs, will soone reuolt vnto the Greekes. *Marodonius*, whom Xerxes had sent for that purpose to the fleet, related vnto his Master the common consent of the other Captaines, and withall this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The King well pleased with her aduise, yet resolute vpon following the more generall, but farre worse counsaile of the rest; which would questionlesse haue beene the same which *Artemisia* gaue, had not feare and flatterie made all the Captaines vtter that as out of their owne indgement, which they

they thought most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indecide that *Xerxes* had entertained a vaine persuasion of much good, that his owne presence vpon the shore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he incamped vpon the Sea-side, pitching his owne Tent on the mount *Agaleus* which is opposite vnto the Ile of *Salamis*, whence at eale he might safely view all which might happen in that action, hauing Scribe about him to write downe the acts and behaviour of euery Capitaine. The neare approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countreimen shewed in fortifying the *Siphnus*, and of a *Persian* Armie marching a-pace thither, did now againe so terrifie and amaze the *Peloponnesians*, that no intreatie, nor contedation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it more needesse to fight for a Countrey already lost, when they rather should endeavour to saue that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what miserie would befall them, if loosing the victorie, they should be driuen into *Salamis*, there to bee shut vp, and besieged round in a poore desolate land.

Hereupon they resolved forth-with to let saile for *Siphnus*: which had presently beene done, if the wisdome of *Themistocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent feare had stopp'd up their eares against all good counsaile, did practise another course, and forth-with labour to prevent the execution of this vnwholsome decree; not suffering the very howe of performance to find him busie in wrangling alteration. As soone as the Councell brake vp, hee dispatched secretly a trustie Gentleman to the *Persian* Capitaines, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Naue about the Island, which encompassing the *Greekes* might prevent their escape; giuing them withall a false hope of his assistance. The *Persians* no sooner heard than beleueed these good newes, well knowing that the victorie was their owne assured, if the *Athenian* fleet ioynd with them; which they might easily hope, considering what abilitie their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Capitaines with rich rewards, and the People with restitution of their Citie, and Territories. By these meanes it fell out, that when the *Greekes* very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they found themselves inclosed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all night, sending many of their ships about the Ile of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in reare, and landing many of their men in the Ile of *Pistates*, which lieth ouer against *Salamis*, to saue such of their owne, and kill such of the *Gracian* partie, as by any misfortune should be cast vpon the shore. Thus did more needesse enforce the *Greekes* to undertake the battaile in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victorie, stemming the foremost of their enemies, and chaling the rest, who falling foule one vpon another, could neither conveniently fight nor flee. I doe not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkable. Sure it is that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome taske of writing downe many disasters that befell the *Persian* fleet, which ill acquitted it selfe that day, doing no one peece of seruice worthie the presence of their King, or the registering of his Notaries. As for the *Greekes*, they might well seeme to haue wrought out that victorie with equall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Aegina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did flie towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-Armie of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Aegina* hauing possessed the straights did sinke or take them, whilst the *Athenians* did valiantly giue charge vpon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

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§. VII.

§. VII.

of things following after the battaile of *Salamis*: and of the flight of *XERXES*.



FTER this victorie, the *Greekes* intending, by way of scrutinie, to determine which of the Capitaines had best merited of them, in all this great seruice; euery Capitaine, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write downe his owne name, but in the second place, as best desiruing next vnto himselfe, almost euery Suffrage did concurre vpon *Themistocles*. This priuate affection yielded vnto vertue, as soone as her owne turne was serued. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamitie, beganne to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart, through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius*, Author of the warre, began to cast a warie eye vpon his Master, fearing least his counsaile should bee rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purposing rather to adventure his life in pursuit of the victorie, than to cast it away by vndergoing his Princes indignation; he aduised the King to leaue vnto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces he promised to reduce all *Greece* vnder the subiection of the *Persian* Scepter. Here-withall he forgot not to sooth *Xerxes* with many faire wordes; telling him, that the cowardise of those *Aegyptians*, *Phenicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metall, nothing better than slaves, who had for ill behaued themselves in the late Sea-seruice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwaies beene victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athenis* selfe, against which the Warre was principally intended. These wordes found very good acceptance in the Kings eare, who presently becooke himselfe to his journey homewards, making the more halt, for that he vnderstood, how the *Greekes* had a purpose to saile to *Heliopont*, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the *Greekes* had no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that he would leaue his Armie not so strong, as it should haue beene, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Eurybiades* giue counsaile that by no meanes they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, least needesse should enforce the *Persians* to take courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, vnder pretence of friendship, send a false aduertisement to this timorous Prince, aduising him to conuay himselfe into *Asia* with all speede, before his bridge were disolued: which counsaile *Xerxes* tooke very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torne in sundry tempests, and he thereby driuen to imbarke himselfe in some obscure vessell, it is not greatly materiall, though the *Greekes* did most willingly imbrace the later of these reports. Howsoever it were, this flight of his did well ease the Countrey; that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which as *Locusts*, had before ouerwhelmed it.

§. VIII.

The negotiations betweene *MARDONIUS* and the *Athenians*, as also betwene the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*; after the flight of *XERXES*.



ARDONIUS with his three hundred thousand had with-drawne himselfe into *Thessalie*, whence he sent *Alexander*, the sonne of *Amynas*, King of *Macedon*, as Embassadour to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses receued, and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne desires; allowing them to retaine their

their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that Warre.

The *Athenians* had now reentred their Citie, but not as yet brought back their wiues and children, for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be secure, till the Armie of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians*, vnderstanding what faire conditions this Embassadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, least hee should finde good and readie acceptance. Hercupon they likewise very speedily dispatched their Embassadours for *Athens*, who arriuing before the *Macedonian* had audience, vsed the best of their perswasion to retaine the *Athenians* firme. They alleaged that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of Warre against the rest of *Greece*, but had only threatened the subuersion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that Citie, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the *Athenians* without much crueltie in iustice could not leaue them. Wee know, said they, that yee haue indured great calamities, loosing the fruit of the grounds, and being driuen to forsake the Towne, the houses whereof bee ruined, and vnfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we vndertake to maintaine as our owne, your wiues and children amongst vs, as long as the warre shall continue, hoping that yee, who haue alwaies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all *Greece* into slauierie and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their wordes and othes are of no assurance. It was needlesse to vse many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gaue answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadours; That whilst the Sunne continued his course they would be Enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which he might seeke to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wiues and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustaine themselves, only desiring the *Lacedemonians*, that with all speede they would cause their Armie to march, for as much as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessalie*, hauing once receiued such a peremptorie answer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readinesse to invade *Attica*, they found themselves nothing decciued. For hee, as soone as *Alexander* had returned their obinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith leade his Armie towards them, and their Citie: they hauing now the second time quitted it, and conueyed themselves into places of more securitie abroad in the Countrey, where they expected the arriuall of their Confederates.

From *Athens* he sent his Agent vnto them with instructions, not only to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would bee desirous to perswade them from fire, and to haue those which were already laid wast, reedified at the Kings charges; Or if this affection tooke no place with them, but that needes they would relie vpon their old Confederates, whose succours did very slowly aduance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might bee wonne with great rewards, to draw them to his purpose; all which projects if they should faile, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good meane to please his Master King *Xerxes*, who must thereby needes vnderstand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the strongest part of their owne Countrey. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the *Athenians* so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lyidas*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him) *Cyrillus*, aduised the Senate to accept the conditions, and propound them to the people; all the *Senators*, and as many as abiding without the Counsaile-house heard what he had said, immediately set vpon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were feare or money, that had moued him to utter such a vile sentence. Yea the women of *Athens* in the Ile of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counsaile, and bad end, assembling together, did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All

All this brauerie notwithstanding, when they perceived the slacknesse of the *Peloponnesians* in giuing them aide, they were faine to betake themselves to *Salamis* againe, the old place of their securitie. Remaining there, and seeing little forwardnesse in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they sent very seuerie messiges to *Sparta*, complaining of their slacknesse, and threatening withall, to take such course as might stand best with their owne good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatorie answers, which euery day grew colder, when as the *Peloponnesian* Wall, builded at thwart the *Isthmus*, was almost finished. But as the *Lacedemonians* waxed careless and dull, so the *Athenians* hotly pressed them to a quick resolution, giuing them plainly to vnderstand, that if they should hold on in those dilatorie courses, it would not be long ere the Citie of *Athens* tooke a new course, that should little please them. All this while the *Persian* fleet lay vpon the coast of *Asia*, not daring to draw nearer vnto *Greece*, as being now too weake at Sea. Likewise the *Greekish* Nauie contained it selfe within the Harbours vpon *Europe*; both to doe seruice where neede should require at home; and withall to shunne the danger which might haue betfallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest had aduentured ouer farre. So mutuall feare preferred in quiet the Islands lying in the midst of the *Aegean* Seas. But it was well and seasonably obserued by a Counsaillor of *Sparta*, that the wall vpon *Isthmus* would serue to little purpose for the defence of *Peloponnesus*, if once the *Athenians* gaue eare to *Mardonius*: considering that many dores would be opened into that Demie-land, as soone as the Enemy should by winning the friendship of *Athens*, become the Master of the Seas about it. The *Lacedemonians* vpon this admonition, making better perfall of their owne dangers, were very careful to giue satisfaction to the *Athenian* Embassadours, who not brooking their delaies, were vpon point of taking leave, yea as it seemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dispatching away five thousand *Spartans* in the euening, vnder conduct of *Pausanias*; they gaue audience the next day to the Embassadours, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readinesse; deeply swearing that the Armie of *Sparta* was already farre vpon the journey; and giuing them leaue to take vp other five thousand *Lacedemonians*, out of the Region adjoining, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though distastful such want of grauitie, in a matter so important, were neuertheless contented with the final conclusion; and leuying the number appointed of *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, made what hast they could to incamp in *Attica*. The other *Greeks* were nothing slack in sending forth Companies, whose neare approach caused *Mardonius* to forsake *Attica* as a rough Countrey, and therefore of much disaduantage to Horle, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the Citie of *Athens*, beating downe the walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly escaped the furie of Warre.

# §. IX.

## The great battaile of *Plataea*.

It were too long a rehearseall to shew all that happened in many skirmishes betwene the *Greekes* and him, in the Countrey of *Beotia*, which *Mardonius* had chosen to bee the seat of that Warre. Much time was spent before the quarrell was decided by triall of one maine battaile; for both parties did stand vpon their guard, each expecting when the other should assaile them.

The Armie of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of *Xerxes* his Armie; to whom were adjoynded the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedonie*, *Thessalie*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now siding with the *Persian*, furnished

furnished his Campe with fiftie thousand men. Against these the *Lacedaemonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leuied an Armie of one hundred and ten thousand, of which fortie thousand were waightly armed, the rest were only assistants to these fortie thousand, being armed more lightly, as rather to make excursions and gae chafe, than to sustain any strong charges.

These two Armies hauing euery daies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable peece of seruice; *Mardonius*, whose victuals beganne to faile, resolued to beginne the fray. The *Greekes* were promised victorie by an Oracle, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plaine of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, making prayers vnto certaine Gods, Demi-Gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to finde the certaine place which the Oracle designed. For the plaine of *Ceres* was indeede in the Territorie of *Athen*; but there was also an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, neare vnto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorials of those Nymphs, and Demi-Gods, were in the same place, vpon Mount *Citharon*, and the ground serued well for foot-men against horse; only the Land belonged vnto the *Platians*, and not vnto the *Athenians*.

Whilste the *Greekes* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull Oracle, the *Platians*, to make all cleare, did firely bestow their Land on that side the Towne vpon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Platians* caused *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to reedifie their Citie, which was ruined in the *Peloponnesian* warres.

All things being readie for battaile; the *Lacedaemonian* Generall thought it most meete, that the *Athenians* should stand opposite that day to the *Aeolians* and *Perjians*, whom they had formerly vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, should entertaine the *Thebans* and other *Greekes* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and hauing beaten them often-times before. This being agreed vpon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedaemonians*; which *Mardonius* vnderstanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose valour the *Aeolians* and *Perjians* had seene heauie proofe, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the bravest Souldiers of *Greece*) hee did also change the order of his battaile, and opposit himselfe to *Pausanias*. All the *Greekes* might well perceiue how the Enemie did shift his wings, and *Pausanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Perjians* made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the *Greekes* at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much losse to themselves, and none to the enemie, lie neare to that Fountaine which did serue all the Camp. Hauing therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Armie being sent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceede out of meeke cowardise) he charged them in reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valor, That the *Lacedaemonians* being ouer-taken by the Enemies horse, and ouerwhelmed with great flights of Arrowes, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victorie were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slaine, and some of especial marke lost, before any signe of good successe appeared in the entrailes.

But as soone as *Pausanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Countrey accounted fortunate; hee gaue the Signall of battaile: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did sit vpon the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage receiued the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging vpon them without any feare of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greek* Armie that was in march, being reuoked by *Pausanias*, came in apace to succour the *Lacedaemonians*: only that part of the Armie which

which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive vnto the place of the great battaile, because the *Thebans*, and other *Greekes* confederated with the *Perjians*, gaue them check by the way. Neurtherlesse, the *Spartans* with other their Assistants, did so well acquaint themselves, that the *Perjians* were vanquished, and *Mardonius* with many thousands more slaine in the field; the rest fledde into the Campe, which they had fortified with wooden walls, and there defended themselves with such courage as desperate necessitie enforced them vnto, holding out the longer, because the *Lacedaemonians* were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the meane season the *Athenians*, hauing found strong opposition of the *Thebans* and *Thessalians*, did with much labour and courage obtaine victorie, which hauing not long pursued, they came to helpe the *Lacedaemonians*, whom they found wearily bulied in assaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves vnder-tooke it, and in short space forced a passage through the Wall, at which breach first, and then on all sides, the *Greekes* entred, with such furie, and iust desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are said not to haue left three thousand alive; excepting those who fled away with *Artabazus*, when the *Perjian* Armie first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especiall cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who call themselves into it, greater than of the Assailants; yet they being of seuerall Nations and Languages, and hauing lost their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was vnpossible that they in such a terror and astonishment should make good that peece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemie Countrey, against an Armie of men, farre more valiant than themselves, and inflamed with present victorie. Therefore the same wall which for a few houres had preserved their liues, by holding out the Enemie, did now impale them, and leaue them to the slaughtering furie of vnpitefull Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Thessalie*, and other Countreies in his way, That hee was sent by *Mardonius* vpon some peece of seruice: For hee well knew, that had they vnderstood any thing of that great discomfure, all places would haue bene hostile vnto him, and sought with his ruine to purchase fauour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and lost, hee came to *Byzantium*, whence hee shipped his men ouer into *Asia*. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, vnder-taken by *Xerxes* against the *Greekes*, vpon hope of honour, and great Conquest, though sorting otherwise, accordingly as *Artabazus* had fore-seene, and rather worse, for as much as it beganne the quarrell, which neuer ended, before the ruine of the *Perjian* Empire was effected, by that Nation of the *Greekes* despised and sought to haue bene brought into slaerie. Hereby it may seeme, that the vision appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himselfe, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subuersion of the *Perjian* Monarchie by the *Greekes*, who, thus prouoked, entred into greater consideration of their owne strength, and the weaknesse of their Enemies.

p. X.

The battaile of Mycale, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the like.

**T**He same day on which the battaile was fought at Platea, there was an other battaile fought at Mycale, a Promontorie, or Head-land in Asia, where the Persian fleet rode. *Leutyches* the Spartan, with *Xantippus* the Athenian, Admirall of the Greeke Naue, at the request of some Ilanders and Ionians did faile into thole parts, to deliuer the Samians, and procure the Ionians to revolt from the Persians. *Xerxes* himselfe at this time lay at Sardis, a Citie in Lydia, not farre from the Sea-side, hauing left threefoorthousand vnder the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of Ionia and the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Artyntes* and *Ithramitres*, Admiralls of the Persian fleet, vnderstood that the Greekes bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their ships a ground, fortifying with *Palisades* and otherwise, as much ground as did seeme needfull for the encamping of all their Land and Sea-forces. *Leutyches* at his arriual, perceiuing that they meant to keepe within their strength, and refusing to force them out of it, rowed with his Gallie clofe aboard the shore, and called vpon the Ionians (who more for feare than good will were encamped among the Persians) exhorting them in the Greeke tongue to remember libertie, and vse the faire occasion which they now had to recouer it. Here in he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Eubaea*; trusting that either these persuasions would preuaile; or if the Persians did happen to vnderstand them, that it would breede some ielousie in them, causing them to fight in feare of their owne Companions. It neede not seeme strange, that this very same stratageme, which little or nothing auailed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succede. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficultie, to perswade thole Inhabitants of Asia to revolt; who now, in his declining estate, gaue a willing eare to the sweet sound of libertie. The Persians likewise, who in their former brauerie, little regarded and lesse feared any treason, to be contriued by their Subiects, were now so warie, that from the Samians, which were amongst them, they tooke away their armes; the Milesians, whom they did suspect, but would not seeme to mistrust, they placed farre from them, as it were for defence of the straight passages of Mycale; pretending that these Milesians did best of all others know thole places. But these devices little auailed them. For the Samians perceiuing that they were held as Traitors, tooke courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold vpon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the Persians manfully within the Camp; which example the Ionians presently followed, being very glad to haue found some that durst beginne. It is said that while the Greekes were yet in march towards the Enemies campe, a rumour suddenly ranne in the Armie that *Mardonius* was overthrowne in Greece, which (though perhaps it was giuen out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of Platea was fought in the morning, and this of Mycale in the euening of the same day.

The like report, of that great battaile, wherein *Paulus Emilius* ouerthrew *Perseus* the last King of Macedonia, was brought to Rome in foure daies, as *Luce* with others doe record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the Riuier *Sagra* in Italie, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the battaile against the *Turquinians* and the *Latines*, presently noised at Rome: And (which is most remarkable) the victorie obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebel to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher Germanie, had corrupted his Armie with gifts and promises,

promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himselfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the Citie of Rome, with feare of a dangerous Warre; it was suddainly reported that *Antonius* was slaine, and his Armie defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the Gods, and shew all manner of publique joy, as in such cases was accustomd. But when better inquirie was made, and the Author of these tidings could not bee found; the Emperour *Domitian* brooke himselfe to his journey against the Rebell; and being with his Armie in march, hee receiued aduertisement by Poile, of the Victorie obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembering the rumour noised before in Rome, of the selfe same victorie, hee found that the report and victorie were borne vpon one day, though twentie thousand furlongs (which make about fife and twentie hundred miles) a-funder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example giues credit vnto many the like. And indeede it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgerie or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not bee found (as happens in dreames among many thousand vaine and fruitles) a few precisely true. Howbeit wee may finde, that God himselfe doth sometimes vse to terrifie those who presume vpon their owne strength, by these light meanes of tumultuous noises; as hee raised the siege of *Samaria*, by causing a sound of Horfes and Chariots to ashaite the *Aramitres*; and as hee threatened *Senacherib*, saying: Behold, I will send a blast vpon him, and hee shall heare a noise, and returne to his owne Land. Wherefore it may well haue beene true, that God was pleased by such a meane as this, to animate the Greekes; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heauie hearts, being in great feare, least their owne aduenture should by no means fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their Countrie of Greece, which was readie to bee subdued by *Mardonius*, whilst they went wandring to seeke out enemies a-farre-off, vpon the coast of Asia. But the fame of the battaile fought at Platea being noised among them; every man desired that his owne valour in the present fight, might bee some helpe to worke out the full deliuerance of Greece. In this alacritie of spirit, they diuided themselves into two Battailions, whereof the Athenians led the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies campe; the Lacedaemonians conducted the other, by the Mountains and straight passages, to winne the higher ground. The Athenians did first set vpon the Campe (ere the Lacedaemonians could arriue on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that they brake way through the *Palisades* and Gabions, and made themselves Masters of the place, slaying all that could not saue themselves by flight. In this fight the Samians did good seruice, as is formerly mentioned.

But the Milesians, who vpon the like ielousie, were placed by the Persians on the tops of Mycale, to defend the passages, did now (as if they had beene set of purpose to keepe them from running away) put as many to the sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except a very few, that fled through by-patches. The Lacedaemonians that day did little seruice, for the businesse was dispatched ere they came in: Only they broke such Companies as retired in whole troupes; making them flie disperfed in very much disorder, whereby the Milesians were enabled to doe the greater execution vpon them. This was the last fight of that huge Armie leaied against Greece, which was now vtterly broken, and had no meane left to make offensive Warre.

## p. XI.

Of the barbarous qualitie of XERXES: with a transition from the Persian affaires, to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthe of regard.



XERXES lay at *Sardis*, not farre from the place of this battaile; but little minde had hee to reuenge either this or other his great losses, being wholly giuen ouer to the loue of his Brothers Wife: with whom when hee could not preuaile by intreatie, nor would obtaine his desire by force, because hee respected much his Brother her husband, he thought it best to make a match betwene his owne Sonne *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to finde occasion of such familiaritie, as might worke out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastitie of the Mother did still reject him, or the beautie of her Daughter allure him; hee soone after fell in loue with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vitious Prince, and asillable to gouerne himselfe in peace, as to guide his Armie in Warre. This young Ladie hauing once desired the King to giue her the Garment which hee then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife; caused the Queene thereby to perceiue her husbands conuersation with her, which shee imputed not so much to the beautie of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon shee conceiued extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royall feast, wherein the custome was that the King should grant euery request, shee craued that the Wife of *Masistes*, her husbands Brother, the young Ladies Mother, might bee giuen into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either haue reformed the abuse of such a custome, or haue deluded the importunate crueltie of his Wife, by threatening her selfe with the like, to whatsoeuer shee should inflict vpon the innocent Ladie, granted the request; and sending for his brother perswaded him to put away the Wife which hee had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seemes, that hee vnderstood how villainously that poore Ladie should bee intreated, whom hee knew to bee virtuous, and whom himselfe had loued. *Masistes* refused to put her away; al-  
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laging his owne loue, her deserting, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reasons important to moue him to keepe her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reuiled him; saying, That hee now should neither keepe the Wife which hee had, nor haue his Daughter whom hee had promised vnto him. *Masistes* was much grieved with these wordes. but much more, when returning home, hee found his Wife most butcherly mangled by the Queene *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Eares, and Tongue to bee cut off, and her Breasts in like manner, which were cast vnto Dogs. *Masistes* enraged with this vilanie, tooke his way with his children, and some Friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Prouince hee was Gouernour, intending to rebell and auenge himselfe. But *Xerxes* vnderstanding his purpose, caused an Armie to bee leauied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Companie to the sword. Such was the tyrannicall condition of the Persian Gouernement; and such are generally the effects of Luxurie, when it is ioyned with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his ouer-throwne, and lying vpon the ground, said, That hee doubted, whether, in regard of his vertue, hee should againe erect it, or, for the mischief done by him to Greece, should let it lie.

But

But surely whatsoeuer his other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently mercilesse.

Therefore wee may firmly beleuee, that the vertue of *Cyrus* was very great; vpon which the foundation of the Persian Empire was so surely laid, that all the wickednesse and vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worst Princes, could not ouerthrow it, vnill it was broken by a vertue almost equall to that which did establish it. In warres against the *Aegyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had bene, very good; but against the generall estate of Greece, neither hee, nor any of his posteritie, did euer make offensive warre, but receiued many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Mycale* serued but as an introduction; reaching the *Greekes*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the Persian was no better Souldier at his owne doores, than in a forraine Countrey: whereof good triall was made forth-with, and much better proofe as soone as the affaires of *Athenes* were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the Historie of Greece, taking in the matters of *Persia*, as also the estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the Persian estate continued in her greatnesse, many Ages following, in such wise that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, representing the Majestie of a great Empire.

But this greatnesse depended only vpon the riches and power that had formerly bene acquired, yielding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxurie, where-with both it, and all, or the most of Empires that euer were, haue bene enuironed, made vnweldie, and (as it were) fattened for the hungrie swords of poore and hardie Enemies. Hereby it came to passe, that *Xerxes* and his Successors were faine to defend their Crownes with money and base Policies; very sel-dome or neuer (vnlesse it were with great aduantage) daring to adventure the triall of plaine battaile with that little Nation of Greece, which would soone haue ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not priuate malice and ielousie vrged euery  
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Citie to enuie the height of her Neighbours walls, and thereby di-  
uerted the swords of the *Greekes* into their owne bowells,

which after the departure of *Xerxes* beganne very well, and might better haue continued, to hew out the way of conquest on the side of *Asia*.

Gggg 3

CHAP.

## CHAP. VII.

## Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

## §. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.



AFTER that the Medes and Persians had received their last blow, and were utterly beaten at Mycale: Leotychides, who then commanded the Grecian Armie, leaving the pursuit of the warre to the Athenians, assisted by the revolted Ionians, returned with the Lacedemonians and other Peloponnesians to Sparta, and other places, out of which they had beene leued. The Athenians in the meane while besieged Sestos, a Citie on the strait of the Hellespont, betweene which and Abydos, Xerxes had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the Greekes, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the Hellespont. In the Spring they drew homeward, and hauing left their wives and children, since the invasion of Attica, and the abandoning of Athens in diuers Islands, and at Troezen, they now found them out, and returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all their houses in Athens were burnt and broken downe, and the walls of the Citie ouer-turned, yet they resolved first on their common defence, and to fortifie their Citie, before they cared to couer themselves, their wives and children, with any priuate buildings: Whereof the Lacedemonians being aduertised, and miliking the fortifying of Athens, both in respect that their owne Citie of Sparta was vnwall'd, as also because the Athenians were growne more powerfull by Sea, than either themselves, or any other State of Greece, they dispatched messengers to the Athenians to dissuade them; not acknowledging any priuate milike or jealousie, but pretending, that if the Persians should returne to invade Greece a third time, the Athenians being in no better state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serue to receiue their enemies, and to be made a Spoil for the Warre, as Thebes had lately beene. To this the Athenians promised to giue them satisfaction by their owne Embassadors very speedily. But being resolved to goe on with their workes by the aduise of Themistocles, they held the Lacedemonians in hope of the contrary, till they had rayled their walls to that height, as they cared not for their milikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they dispatched Themistocles towards Lacedemon, giuing him for excuse, that he could not deliuer the Athenians resolutions, till the arriuall of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the Lacedemonians expectation being conuerted into jealousie (for by the arriuall of diuers persons out of Attica, they were told for certaine, That the walls of Athens were speedily growne vp beyond expectation) Themistocles prayed them not to beleue reports and vaine rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trustie Citizens to Athens, from whose relation they might resolve themselves, and determine

mine accordingly. Which request being graunted, and Commissioners sent, Themistocles dispatched one of his owne, by whom hee aduised the Athenians, first to entertaine the Lacedemonians with some such discourse as might retaine them a few dayes, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himselfe and the other Athenian Embassadors, then at Sparta, had their libertie also to returne. Which done, and being also assured by his associates and Aristides, that Athens was alreadye defensible on all parts, Themistocles demanding audience, made the Lacedemonians know, That it was true that the walls of Athens were now rayled to that height, as the Athenians doubted not the defence of their Citie; praying the Lacedemonians to beleue, That whensoever it pleased them to treat with the Athenians, they would know them for such, as right well vnderstood what appertained to a Commonweale and their owne safetie, without direction and aduise from any other: That they had in the warre of Xerxes abandoned their Citie, and committed themselves to the wooden walls of their shippes, from the resolution of their owne counsels and courage, and not thereto taught or persuaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous warre against the Persians they found their owne iudgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or lesse fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Commonweale among the Greekes: And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Iudges of their owne affaires, and thought it good reason, that either all the Cities confedered within Greece should be left open, or else that the walls of Athens should be finished and maintained.

The Lacedemonians finding the time vsuit for quarrell, dissembled their milike, both of the fortifying of Athens, and of the diuision, and so suffered the Athenians to depart, and receiue backe from them their owne Embassadors.

The walls of Athens finished, they also fortified the Port Pyreus, by which they might vnder couert imbarke themselves vpon all occasions.

## §. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatness, and prosperous warres made by that State vpon the Persians.

THE Athenians hauing settled things in good order at home, prepared thirtie Gallies for the pursuit of the warre against the Persians, to which the Lacedemonians added other twentie; and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of Greece confederated, they set saile for Cyprus, vnder the conduct of Pausanias the Lacedemonian; whereafter their landing hauing possesed themselves of many principall places, they imbarke the Armie againe, and tooke land in Thrace, recouering from the Persians by force the Citie Byzantium, now Constantinople: from whence Pausanias, behauing himselfe more like a Tyrant than a Captaine, especially towards the Ionians lately revolted from Xerxes, was called backe by the Councell of Lacedemon, and not onely accused of many insolent behauiours, but of intelligence with the Medes, and Treason against his Countrey. In his stead they employed Dacotus, who either gaue the same cause of offence; or else the Athenians, who affected the first commandement in that warre, practised the fouldiors to complaine; though indeed the wise and vertuous behauior of Aristides, Generall of the Athenian forces, a man of rare and incomparable sinceritie, had beene able to make a good Commander seeme ill in comparison of himselfe; and therefore was much more auailable in rendering those detected, whose vices afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the Lacedemonians being no lesse wearie of the warre, than the Athenians were eager to pursue it, the one obtained their ease and the other the execution and honor which they desired: for all the Greekes (those of Peloponnesus excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandement of the Athenians, which was both the beginning of

of their greatnesse in that present age, and of their ruine in the next succeeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed vnto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities, they appointed Receiuers and Treasurers, and began to leuie money, according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of Greece, and for the recovering of those places on *Europe* side, in *Asia* the lesse, and the Islands, from the *Persians*. This tribute (the first that was euer payed by the *Greekes*) amounted to foure hundred and threescore Talents; which was rayfed easily by the honest care of that iust man *Aristides*, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of *Aristides*, and other worthy Citizens, brought vnto the *Athenians* great commoditie; so the desire which they conceived of encreasing their commoditie, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the generall loue, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their Citie to the defence of her treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these foure hundred and threescore Talents were rayfed to six hundred, nor long, after that, ere their covetous Tyrannie had conducted their followers into slaues, and extorted from them yearly threene hundred Talents. The Isle of *Lesos* was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these summes were layd vp; and where, at the generall assemblee, the Capitaines of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for forme sake called to consultation. But the *Athenians*, who were stronger by sea than al *Greece* besides, had lockt vp the common treasure in an Island, vnder their owne protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commandeur in this Warre was *Cimon*, the sonne of *Miltiades*, who first tooke *Eion*, vpon the Riuer *Strimon*; then the Isle of *Scaros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they mastered the *Carisij*, and brought into seruitude the *Acaxij*, contrarie to the forme of the confederacie: So did they other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they styled of their contribution, or disobeyed their commandements; taking vpon them and vsurping a kind of soveraigne authoritie ouer the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be resisted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, wearie of the warre in their owne persons, and giuen vp altogether to their ease, made choise rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of warre, or in shippes; leauing the prouision of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weake in all their sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Warres; the other greatly strengthened their Naue and their experiences, being alwayes armed and employed in honourable Seruices, at the cost of those, who hauing lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money, leuied vpon these their confederates, employed so well by the *Athenians* at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded vpon good beginnings) that no great cause of repining was giuen. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admirall scouring the Asiaticke Seas, tooke in the Citie of *Phaselis*; which hauing formerly pretended neutralitie, and refused to relieue, or any way assit the *Greekes*, were enforced to pay tenne Talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he set saile for the Riuer *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Persian* Fleet rode, being of sixe hundred saile, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fiftie, and hauing a great Land-Armie, encamped vpon the shoore, all which forces hauing bene prouided for aduancing the Kings affaires in *Greece*, were vtterly defeated in one day, and two hundred shippes taken by the *Athenians*, the rest being broken to pieces, or sunke, ere euer they had sworne in the *Greekish* Seas. *Cimon* hauing in one day obtained two great victories, the one by the Sea, and the other by Land, was very soone presented with a third.

third. For fourescore saile of *Phenicians* (who were the best of all Sea-men, vnder the *Persian* command) thinking to haue joyned themselves with the Fleet before destroyed, arriued vpon the same Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing lesse than what ensued. Vpon the first notice of their approach *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at a head-Land, called *Hydra*, did so amaze them, that they only fought to runne themselves on ground; by which meane preserving few of their men, they lost all their shippes. These losses did so breake the courage of the *Persian*, that, omitting all hope of preuailing vpon *Greece*, he condescended to whatsoeuer Articles it pleased the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberties vnto all the *Greekes* inhabiting *Asia*; and further couenancing, That none of his shippes of Warre should saile to the Westward of the Isles, called *Cyanea* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the most honourable peace that euer the *Greekes* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any warre that redounded to the profit or glorie of the whole Nation, till such times as, vnder *Alexander*, they ouerthrew the Empire of *Persia*; in which Warre few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but serued altogether vnder the *Macedonians*.

## §. III.

The death of XERXES by the treason of ARTABANVS.

BESIDES these losses, which could not easily haue bene repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time such, as gaue iust cause to the *Persian* of seeking peace vpon any termes not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the vnckle of *Xerxes*, perceiuing, that the King his maister did easily take small occasions to shed the blood of such, as in kindred or place were neere vnto him, began to repose lesse hope of safetie in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Souerainetie, by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his crueltye, and despised for his cowardise and misfortunes. Hauing conceived this Treason, he found meanes to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himselfe had bene innocent) he accused *Darius* the sonne of *Xerxes*, and caused him to suffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickednesse he got the Kingdome, and held it seuen moneths; or whether intending the like euill to *Artabanus* the sonne of *Xerxes*, he was by him preuented and surprisid, it were hard to affirme any certaintie. But all Writers agree vpon this, That taken he was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreame torments, according to the sentence, whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verie.

*Raro antecessentem scelussum  
Deseruit pede panna clauda.*

Seldome the villaine, though much haile he make,  
Lame-footed Vengeance failes to ouer-take.

## §. IIII.

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The banishment of THEMISTOCLES: His flight to ARTAXERXES  
newly reigning in Persia; and his death.

**A**RTAXERXES being established in his Kingdome, and hauing so compounded with the Athenians, as the present necessitie of his affaires required, began to conceiue new hopes of better fortune against the Greekes, than he or his predecessors had euer hitherto found. For the people of Athens, when the Persians were chased out of Greece, did so highly value their owne merites in that seruice, that they not onely thought it fit for themselves to become the Commanders ouer many Townes and Ilands of the Greekes, but, euen within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Government than merely Democraticall. Herein they were so insolent, that no integritie nor good desert was able to preferue the estate of any such as had borne great office, longer than, by flattering the rascall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deedes to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended Themistocles; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatnesse vpon popularitie, yet now presuming vpon his good seruices done to the State, hee thought that with great reason they might graunt him the libertie to cheeke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had receiued from him, that they layed vpon him the punishment of *Ostracisme*, whereby he was banished for tenne yeares, as a man ouer-burthen some to the Commonwealt.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedaemonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Pausanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of Greece vnto *Xerxes*. Hereupon Themistocles finding no place of securitie against the malice of two such mightie Cities, was driuen, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous remouings, to aduerture himselfe into Persia; where he found Artaxerxes newly seated, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which Artaxerxes had conceiued of aduancing his affaires by the counsell and assistance of Themistocles, proued altogether fruitlesse. For when the Athenians, in fauour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infected Egypt, causing it to rebell against the Persian) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Armie in Egypt, and scowring those Easterne Seas, to the great hinderance of Artaxerxes, and (for ought that I can vnderstand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letters to Themistocles, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had giuen, of assuring the Persian estate against the Greekes.

But whether Themistocles perceiued much vnlikelienesse of good successe, in leading a great Armie of dauidly Persians against the warlike people of Greece; or else (as in fauour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the loue of his Countrey would not permit him to seeke honour by the ruine of it: sure it is, that being appointed by Artaxerxes to vndertake the conduct of great forces against the Athenians, he decided the great conflict betwene thankfulness to his well-deseruing Prince, and natural affection to his owne ill-deseruing people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyson.

## §. V.

## §. V.

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they  
had made with the Persian, were shamefully beaten  
in Egypt.

**T**HEN was Artaxerxes driuen to vse the seruice of his owne Captaines in the Egyptian warre, wherein it appeared well, that a iust cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An Athenian Fleet of two hundred sayle strong was sent forth vnder *Cimon*, to take in the Isle of Cyprus: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintain, the Persian being vtterly broken at Sea, and thereby vnable to relieue the Iland. Now although it were so, that a peace had bene concluded, which was likely to haue bene kept sincerely by the Persian, who had made so good proofe of the Grecian valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any shippes of Warre (without which the Greekes could receiue no harme from him) whereof if any one should be found sayling towards Greece, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole estate; yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waite of an enemy too farre ouer-marching him. Yet whether the Athenians were in doubt, lest the league which in his owne worser fortunes hee had made with them, he would breake in theirs; and therefore sought to get such assurance into their hands, as might vtterly disable him from attempting aught against them; or whether the increase of their reuenues and power, by adding that rich and great Island to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profite; they thought it the wisest way, to take whilst they might, whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and he vnable to defend.

The Ile of Cyprus lying in the bottome of the straights betwene Cilicia, Syria and Egypt, is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mightie at Sea, doth either seeke to enrich himselfe by trade with those Countreys, or to inselt one or more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the Athenians, their Ambition which had already deuoured, in conceit, this Iland, was on the sodaine well-nigh choaked with a greater morsell, to snatch at which, they let Cyprus alone, which they might easily haue swallowed and digested. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians* confining Egypt, hauing found how greatly the Countrey was exhaulted by the late warres, and how weakly defended by very slender Persian garisons, conceived rightly, that if such small forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the sodaine of his owne *Gardes*, or leue out of the ordinarie *Garrisons*, were by him defeated, the naturalls of the Countrey, not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a reuolt very lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soone breake faith with him who had no other title to that kingdome than a good sword. Further, he perswaded himselfe that the people, vnable to defend themselves against the Persian without his assistance; would easily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliuerance for king. Neither did this hope deceiue him. For hauing taken and cruelly slaine *Achamenes* the *Viceroy*, diuers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclaiming him king, shewed the most of their endeuour for prosecution of the warre. But hee considering his owne weaknesse, and that the meanes of the Egyptians his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceiued well, that to resist the power of Artaxerxes, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price soeuer he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great Athenian Fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the souldiers therein embarked; he inuited the Commanders to share with him the kingdome of Egypt as a farre greater reward of their aduerture, than such an addition as that of Cyprus could be to their estate. Whether hee or they (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would haue bene contented with an equall share, and not

not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination vnnecessarie. Hee was possided of the peoples love, they were of most power. But the issue of those affaires was such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally. Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good and hopefull successe: For they entered the Land as farre as to *Memphis*, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it selfe they tooke two parts: to the third part, which was called the White wall, they layd such hard siege, that neither those forces of the *Perians*, which then were in *Egypt*, were strong enough to remoue them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well devise what meanes to vse for the recouerie of that which was lost, or for the preferation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by setting the *Lacedemonians* vpon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to looke home-wards to their owne defence. This was the first time that the *Perian* sought to procure assistance of the *Greekes* one against the other, by stirring them vp with gold to the entertainment of priuate quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent *Ctesibius* to *Sparta* with much Treasure; who, after great expence, finding that the *Lacedemonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole force against the *Athenians*, whome in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Arme in *Egypt*; he thought it his wisest way to employ the rest of his money and meane to their reliefe, who had now the space of sixe yeares defended his mailers right in *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the sonne of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Egypt*, was first encountered by the reuolued people; over whome he obtained a victorie, which made him mailer of the Countrey, whilst the *Athenians* lay builed about *Memphis* the great Citie. It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supplie, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: sure it is, that when *Alcibiades*, having reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it selfe, whether his former successe had amended the courage of the *Perians*, or want of necessaries made the *Athenians* inferior to themselves, he chased them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so neere, as they were foor to fortifie themselves in the Isle of *Prosopites*, where *Alcibiades*, after eightent moneths siege, turning away one part of the River by diuers Trenches, assaulted the *Athenian* without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the sword, save a few that saved themselves by flight into *Lybia*; the same entertainment had fiftie other Gallies which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred. For those *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleet and Arme was consumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesum*, and fell vnawares among the *Phanician* Gallies and the *Perian* Arme; so as the *Perians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part belied by *Amirius*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* sixe yeares warre in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanitie and indiscretion to vndertake many enterprises at once.

Prosopites an  
Island between  
the river of  
Nilus and the  
Mendesum, two  
of the outlets  
of Nilus, to-  
wards Alexan-  
dria.  
Mendesum is  
an Island in  
the mouth of  
Nile, between  
the river be-  
longing to the  
Arabians and  
the branch  
of Nile called  
Mendesum,  
runneth into  
the Sea by the  
Citie Pansa-  
phus.

## §. VI.

Of other warres made by the *Athenians* for the most part with good successe, about the same time.

**N**otwithstanding these overthrowes in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-warres waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the *Lacedemonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten neere vnto *Italia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, so they obtained two great victories soone after; the one over the *Peloponnesians*, neere vnto *Cerophalia*; the other over the *Eginets*, neere vnto *Egina*; where they sunke and

carried

carried away threecore and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the Iuddaine, and besieged *Aegina*, from whence they could not be moued, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to diuert them, invaded *Aegina*; where, after a great fight, with equall losse, the *Corinthians*, when they returned againe to set vp their *Trophies*, as Victors in the former battaile, were vterly broken and slaughtered by the *Athenian* Garrisons, and *Atagarians*, to their great losse and dishonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were discomfited neare to *Tanagra* by the *Lacedemonians*, who returned from the succour of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians*, (at which time the *Thebaisian* horse-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought against them) so about threecore daies after, the *Athenians* entred *Bacotia* vnder the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wanne *Phocis* on the gulfe *Oetis*, and euened the walls of *Tanagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Aegina* to render vpon most base conditions; as to beate downe the walls of their Citie, and to giue them hostages for Tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts else where. Besides these victories they sackt and spoiled many places vpon the Sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the *Lacedemonians*; wanne vpon the *Corinthians*, and ouerthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their succour. These were the vndertakings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of those five yeares that a part of their forces made warre in *Egypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Thebes*, perswaded thereunto by *Orestes*, but were resisted by the King *Pharalus*, who had chased *Orestes* out of his Dominions. They also landed in *Sicyonia*, and had victorie over those that resisted, after which they made truce with the *Peloponnesians* for five yeares, and sent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ships, but they were againe allured by *Amirius* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marish and Wooddie parts of *Egypt* from the *Perians*, to whom they sent sixtie of their ships. The rest of their Arme sailing in their enterprise of *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coasted the Iland, encountered a fleet of the *Phoenicians* and *Cilicians*, over both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*; as also those returned safe which were sent into *Egypt*.

## §. VII.

Of ARTAXERXES LONGIMANVS, that he was ARASHVEROSH the husband of Queene HESTER.

**T**hese *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the raigne of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable, whereof the length is by some restrained into twentie yeares, but the more and better Authors giue him fortie, some allow vnto him foure and fortie. He was a Prince of much humanitie, and noted for many examples of gentleness. His fauour was exceeding great to the *Iewes*, as appeareth by the Histories of *Esdraus* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To proue that this was the King who gaue countenance and aide to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needlesse trauaile; considering that all the late Diuines haue taken very much paine, to shew that those two Prophets were licenced by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appeares in their writings.

This was likewise that King *Abasuerus* who married *Hester*. Whereof if it beneedfull to giue proofe, it may suffice; That *Abasuerus* liued in *Susa*, reigning from *India* to *Ethiopia*; and therefore must haue been a *Perian*; That hee liued in peace, as appeares by the circumstances of the Historie, and vied the counsaile of the suen

Hhhh

Princes,

Princes, the authoritie of which Princes beganne vnder *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continuall Warres which exercised King *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, together with the certaintie of his marriages with sundrie wiues, from none of whom he was diuorced, but left his first wife *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, alive in great honour, these being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding King; doe manifestly proue that *Hester* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the Iew, That at the persequition of *Mardocheus*, *Isaiah* the high Priest the sonne of *Isaiah*, caused the feast of *Purim* to be instituted in memorie of that deliuerance. Now the time of *Isaiah* was in the raigne of *Artaxerxes*, at the comming of *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*: *Isaiah* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The same continuance of warres, with other his furious and tragickall louses, wherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time as hee had free from warre, are enough to proue, that the storie of *Hester* pertained not vnto the time of *Xerxes*, who liued but one and twentie yeares, whereas the two & thirtieth of *Abasern*: or *Artasphus* is expressed by *Nehemiah*. Again it is well knowne, that *Xerxes* in the seventh yeare of his raigne (wherein this marriage must haue bene celebrated) came not neare to *Susa*. Of the Princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to proue that none of them could be *Abasern*, it is enough to say, that *Mardocheus* hauing been carried from *Hierusalem* captiue, with *Isachana*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was vnlike to 10 haue liued vnto their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he liued in *Susa*, reigned from *Indus* to *Aethiopia*, liued in peace, was contemporarie with *Isaiah* the high Priest: and further hee had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that seventh yeare of his raigne; which good fortune might well giue occasion to such a Roiall feast, as is described in the beginning of the booke of *Hester*. This is the summe of the arguments, brought to proue the age of *Hesters* storie by the learned and diligent *Krentzenius*, who addes the authorities of *Iosephus*, affirming the same and of *Philo*, giuing to *Mardocheus* eightene yeares more than *Susa* the Patriarch liued, namely one hundred fourecore and eightene yeares in all, which expire in the sixe and thirtieth yeare of this *Artaxerxes*, if wee suppose him to haue bene carried away captiue, being a Boy of ten yeares old. 30

#### §. VII.

Of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponnesian Warre.

**B**Vt it is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the *Greekes*, who from this time forward, more vehemently prosecuting their ciuill warres, suffered the *Perians* for many ages to rest in peace: this *Egyptian* expedition being come to nought. Soone after this the *Lacedemonians* vnderooke the warre called, Sacred, recovered the Temple and Ile of *Delphos*, and deliuered both to the Inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the same, and gaue it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the meane while the banished *Boeotians* reentred their owne Land, and mastered two of their owne Townes possessed by the *Athenians*, which they soone recovered againe from them; but in their returne towards *Athens* the *Boeotians*, *Euboeans*, and *Locreans*, (Nations opprest by the *Athenians*) set vpon them with such resolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all slaine or taken, whereby the *Boeotians* recovered their former libertie, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The Islanders of *Euboea* tooke such courage vpon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to conquer, he was aduerted that the *Megarians* (who first left the *Lacedemonians*, and submitted themselves to *Athens*) being now wearie of their yoke, had slaine the *Athenian* Garrisons, and ioyned themselves with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and 50

*Epidaurians*. These newes hastened *Pericles* homeward with all possible speed; but ere he could recouer *Attica*, the *Peloponnesians*, led by *Plisfomas*, the sonne of *Pausanias*, had invaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whose returne *Pericles* went on with his first intent and recovered *Euboea*. Finally, the *Athenians* beganne to treat of peace with the *Peloponnesians*, and yielded to deliuer vp all the places which they held in the Countrie of *Peloponnesus*: and this truce was made for thirtie yeares. After sixe of these yeares were expired, the *Athenians* (fauouring the *Atleians* against the *Saminians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the citizens were forced to yield themselves vpon most lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliuer vp all their ships, to breake downe their owne walls, to pay the charge of the warre, and to restore whatsoever had bene taken by themselves, or by their practise, from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which followed that long and cruell *Peloponnesian* Warre; wherof I haue gathered this Briefe following: the same contention taking beginning fiftie yeares after the flight of *Xerxes* out of Greece. But because there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this warre, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell: I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Countrie at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, *Athens* and *Sparta*, vpon which all the rest had most dependance.

### CHAP. VIII.

#### Of the Peloponnesian Warre.

##### §. I.

Vpon what termes the two principall Cities of Greece, *Athens* and *Sparta*, stood, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.



**G**REECE was neuer vniued vnder the gouernment of any one Prince or Estate, vntill *Philip* of *Macedonia*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Vnion and League against the *Perians*, whereof they were Captaines, than into any absolute subiection. For euery Estate held their owne, and were gouerned by Lawes farre different, and by their owne Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yeeld obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Perian* warre (deemed the General quarrell of Greece) and tooke the profit and honor of the victorie, to their owne vse and increase of greatnesse. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did so farre enlarge their authoritie, that all Greece was by them brought vnder such obedience, as differed little from seruitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with armes, and sometimes with gifts, preferue their libertie; of whom the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* were chiefe: which two people defrued best the plague of tyrannie, hauing first giuen occasion thereunto, by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Countrie by perpetuall Warre. For vntill these two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* distracted 50

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all Greece, drawing every State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and so gaue beginning to the *Peloponnesian* war (the effects whereof in true estimation called not before the time that *Philip* had ouer-masted all, forasmuch as euery conclusion of one warre afforded henceforth matter to some new distraction of the whole Countrey) the warres, commenced betwene one Citie of Greece and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controuersies were soone decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the generall Councell of Greece; or by the power of the *Lacedaemonians*, whose aide was commonly held as good as the assurance of victorie.

The *Lacedaemonians* had liued about foure hundred yeares vnder one forme of 10  
Gouernment, when the *Peloponnesian* warre beganne. Their education was only to practise feates of Armes; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poore, and cared not much for wealth; euery one had an equall portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintaine him in such manner of life as they vsed. For brauerie they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinarie meales being in common Halls, where all sate alike. They vsed money of yron, whereof they could not be couctous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they liued *Scotian*-like, saue that they vsed no other occupation than Warre, placing all their felicitie in the glorie of 20  
their valour. Hereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all Greece followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrarie to this. For they fought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they vsed mercenary Souldiers in their warres, and exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the most part Islanders, compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in forme of policie, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference betwene these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, suddaine in their conclusions, and as easie in the execution; The *Lacedaemonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of grauitie, but very resolute, and such as would in cold blood performe what the *Athenians* did vsually in flagrant. Whereby it came to passe that the *Lacedaemonians* had all the Estates of Greece depending vpon them, as on men firme and assured, that fought honour and not riches, whereas the *Athenians* were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in flight as the *Subjection*. But the Signorie of the *Athenians* was nothing large, until such time as the Persian Warre had inuaded Greece, pretending only a quarrell to *Athen*. For then the Citizens perceiuing well, that the Townes of *Athen* could not be defended against his great Armie of fenteene hundred thousand men, besewed all their wealth vpon a Naue, and (assisted by the other *Greeks*) ouerthrow the fleet of 40  
*Xerxes*, whose Land forces were soone after discomfited by them, and the *Greekes*, who all serued vnder conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mightie in fleet, reduced all the Ilands of the *Greekish* Seas vnder their obedience; imposing vpon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of warre against the *Persians*; though indeede they imploied their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Ilands, and haue Townes, of their owne Countreymen, as stood out against them. All which was easily suitered by the *Lacedaemonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to bee made farre from home. But afterwards perceiuing the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much ielousie, and were very apt to quarrell with them; but much more willing to breed contention betwene them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebians* would haue oppressed the *Platons*, when they of *Plata* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aide, than this aduise, That they should seek helpe at *Athen*. Hereby it was 50  
thought,

was thought, that the *Athenians* should be intangled in a long and tedious Warre, with their Neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proued otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did only serue to encrease their honour and puissance.

## §. II.

How *Sparta* and *Athen* entred into Warre.

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N Euertheless many Estates of Greece were very ill affected to *Athen*, because that Citie grew very insolent vpon suddaine prosperitie, and maintayning the weaker Townes against the stronger, in-croched apace vpon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much intraged, because the people of the Iland *Corcyra*, their Colonie which had rebelled against them, and giuen them a great ouerthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their fleet by adioyning that of *Corcyra* vnto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that reuenge which else they would haue 20  
taken. Now how soeuer it were so, that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed vpon among the *Greekes*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redresse by warre the iniuries done to their Allies.

First therefore seeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certaine offences committed against the Gods; whereto hauing for answer, That they themselves should expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*, they beganne to deale plainly, and required that the people of some Townes, oppressed by the Estate of *Athen*, should be set at libertie; and that a decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the 30  
*Athenians*, should be reuerfed. This last point they so earnestly pressed, that if they might obtaine it they promised to abstain from their purpose of making Warre.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by seeming to haue obtained somewhat, they might preserve their reputation without entering into a warre, which threatened them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to vnder-goe.

But the *Athenians* would yeeld to nothing; for it was their whole desire that all Greece should take notice, how farre they were from feare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needfull to the 40  
Warre; wherein the *Lacedaemonians* were Superiour, both in number and qualitie, being assisted by most of the Cities in Greece; and hauing the generall fauour, as men that pretended to set at libertie such as were oppressed; but the *Athenians* did as farre exceede them in all prouisions, of Money, Shipping, Engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held; and afterward found of greater vse in such neede, than the willing readinesse of friends, who soone grow wearie, and are not easily assembled.

## §. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.

**T**He first and second year's expedition was very grievous to the Citie of *Athenes*. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut downe; the Countre people driuen to flie, with their Wiues, Children, and Cattel, into the Towne; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the Citie, such as before they had neither felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the reuolt of the *Athenians*, in the Ile of *Lesbos*, and the siege of *Platae* their confederated Citie, which they durst not adventure to raise, besides some small ouerthrowes receiued. The *Lacedaemonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countre of *Attica*, and therein abide, vntill victuals beganne to faile, waiting and destroying all things round about: The Governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their Enemies; but vsed to send a fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which waited as fast all the Seacoast of their Enemies, whilst they were making warre in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wanne the Towne of *Platae*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mightie by Sea, did subdue *Mylae*, which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings, in that Warre, the *Lacedaemonians* beganne to perceiue how vnfit they were to deale with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was thoroughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to such harme as they themselves might, and did receiue. Their Confederates beganne to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiuing well that *Athenes* was plentifully relieued with all necessaries, which came by Sea from the Ilands that were subiect vnto that estate; and therefore these invaders tooke small pleasure in beholding the walls of that nightie Citie, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territorie was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they beganne to set their care to build a strong Nauie, wherein they had little good successe, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skillfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessells of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

## §. IIII.

Of the great losse which the Spartans receiued at *Pylus*.

**A**Mong other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea; they receiued at *Pylus* a very fore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Corcyra*, waiting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrarie windes detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontorie, loying to the maine, by a straight necke of Land. Before it there lies a small barren land of lesse than two miles compasse, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head-Land and Ile. This Promontorie the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in hast they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was supplied by the natural strength and site of the place. By holding this peece of ground, and haue, they reasonably expected many aduantages against their enemies. For the Countre adioyning was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient time had held very strong and cruell warre with *Sparta*; and though quite subdued they were held in straight subiection, yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that

by the neare neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not bee reuied. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedaemonians*, and as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repaire to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily excursions into *Laconia*, which was not farre off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haue, in lying almost in the mid-way betwene them and *Corcyra*, make them able to sur-round all *Peloponnesus*; and wait it at their pleasure. The newes of these doings at *Pylus*, drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all hast out of *Attica*, which they had entered a few daies before with their whole Armie; but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Nauie, to recouer this peece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well foresaw, little fearing the grievous losse at hand, which they there in few daies receiued. For when they in vaine made a generall assault on all sides, both by Sea and Land; finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence: they occupied the haue, placing four hundred and twentie choise men all of them, Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell, that leades into the Port; but so narrow, that only two ships in front could enter betwene the Ile and *Pylus*; likewise but fewen or eight ships could enter at once by the further channell, betwene the Iland and the Main. Having thus taken order to shut vp this new Towne by Sea, they sent part of their fleet to lurch wood, and other stufie, wherewith to fortifie round about, and block vp the peece on all sides. But in the meane season, the *Athenian* fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entering the haue, did breake and linke manie of their Enemies vessels; tooke fire, and enforced the residue to runne themselves a ground.

Now was the Towne secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iland as good as lost. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the camp (as was their custom in great dangers) to advise what were best for the publike safetie; who when they did perceiue that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Ile, then by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedaemonians* should deliuer vp all the ships which were in the coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the Towne, nor the *Athenians* against the camp: That a certaine quantitie of Bread, Wine, and Fleish, should bee daily carried into the Ile, but that no ships should passe into the Iland secretly: That the *Athenians* should carrie the *Lacedaemonian* Embassadors to *Athenes*, there to treat of peace, and should bring them back, at whose returne the truce should end, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point, should be held vtterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the *Athenians* should restore the *Peloponnesian* ships, in as good case as they receiued them. The Embassadors coming to *Athenes*, were in opinion, that as they themselves had begunne the warre, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedaemonians* did sue to them for peace, aduising them to make an end of warre, whilst with such reputation they might. But they found all contrarie to their expectation: For in stead of concluding vpon euentures, or desiring of meeke recompence for losse sustained; the *Athenians* demanded certaine Cities to bee restored to them, which had bene taken from them by the *Lacedaemonians* long before this warre beganne, refusing likewise to continue the treatie of peace, vnlesse the *Spartans* which were in the Ile, were first rendred vnto them as prisoners. Thus were the Embassadors returned without effect, at which time the truce being ended; it was desired of the *Athenian* Captaines that they should, according to their couenant, restore the ships, which had bene put into their hands. Whereto answere was made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all should bee held void; now, (said the *Athenians*) yee haue assaulted our Garrisons; and

and ther-by are we acquitted of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but mere shifts; yet profit so farre o-uer-weighted honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driven to vse many hard meanes, for conuincance of victualls into the Ile; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to *Athen*, where it was decreed, that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, these prisoners should all be slain. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell vpon them; the *Lacedæmonians* were now so farre from wailing *Attica*, that they suffered their owne Countrey to be continually ouer-runne, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendezvous of all that were ill-affected vnto them.

## §. V.

*How the Lacedæmonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.*

**H**erefore they indoued greatly to obtaine peace; which the *Athenians* would not hearken vnto. For they were so puffed vp with the continuance of good success, that hauing sent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold vp a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrells; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Ile were taken away, and their hands returned without either gaine or losse, they banished the Capitaines, as if it had bene meerey through their default, that the Ile of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it selfe, no whit inferiour vnto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their ouer-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters receiued, especially in *Thrace*, where in a battaile which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon*, and *Brasidas*, Generalls of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both slaine; which two had most bene aduersaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation; so the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Naue which they had receiued at *Pylus*, were faine to proceede lamely in the warre, against such as, through commoditie of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were feruently desirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new fauour should reuiue the insulence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that vrged them to bring the treatie of peace to good and speedie effect; but other dangers hanging ouer their heads, and readie to fall on them, which vnlesse they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to auoid. The estate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmitie with them, was now, after a truce of thirtie yeares well-nigh expired, readie to take the benefit of their present troubles, by ioyning with those who alone found them worke enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so vnwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could euer farre preuaile vpon it, when they had little else to doe. This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not bene regarded. For it was then thought that by wailing the Territories of *Athen* with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time have bene ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* should haue bene brought to good order, but the *Corinthians* and others, for whose sake the warre was vnder taken, haue bene so firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should for loue of them haue abandoned the *Argives*, to their owne fortunes. But now the vanitie of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in readie money, and meanes

to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet, from any great harme, that the *Peloponnesians* wanting wherewith to maintaine a Naue, could doe vnto them, yea as Masters of the Sea, to wearie them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither warre nor peace; their daily traualles, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to vse the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a final peace, which with much a-doe they procured, as seemed equall and ealie; but were indeede impossible to be performed, and therefore all their traualle was little effectuall.

The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed vpon; it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* should restore first. These had won more townes vpon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not wonne absolutely. For they had restored some Townes to such of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athen* had taken them; some, and those the most, they had set at libertie (as reason required) which had opened their gates vnto them, as to their friends and deliuerers, and not compelled them to break in a enemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands, but had bene rendered vnto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found meanes to giue some satisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others, which they had gotten in the warre; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themselves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had off-nided by revolting, notwithstanding whatsoever articles were drawn, and concluded, for their securitie, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing those things, which on their part were required; so that restoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the rest, vntill such time as they might receiue the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more straight alliance with the *Athenians*; making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moued by the backwardnesse of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to haue lued for peace at their hands, as soone as things were once compounded betwene *Athen* and *Sparta*; did hew themselves plainly vnwilling to giue care to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make sure worke, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound vnto them by well-deserving in the late warre, or found so troublesome, that their enmitie (if perhaps they durst let it appeare) were little worle than friendship. It bred great jealousy in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceiue such a conjunction betwene two so powerfull Signories: especially one clause threatening eury one, that was any thing apt to keare, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of subduing the whole Countrey, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For besides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutuall consent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their owne pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had borne to the *Athenians* their professed Enemies, was violently throwne vpon the *Lacedæmonians* their vnjust friends; whereby it came passe, that they who had lately borne chiefe sway in *Greece*, might haue bene abandoned to the discretion of their Enemies, as already in effect they were, had the Enemies wisely vsed the advantage.

## §. VI.

## §. VI.

Of the negotiations, and practices, held betwene many States of Greece,  
by occasion of the peace that was concluded.

**T**He admiration wherein all Greece held the valour of *Sparta* as vntextible, and able to make way through all impediments, had bene so excessive, that when by some sinister accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and seeke peace, vpon termes not sounding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens usually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was neuer thought that any *Lacedemonian* would haue endured to lay downe his weapons and yeeld himselfe prisoner, nor that any misfortune could haue bene so great, as should haue drawne that Citie to releue it else otherwise than by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of speciall marke, being ouer-laid by enemies, in the Island before *Pylus*, had rather cholen to liue in captiuitie, than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* it selfe, sticking as a thorne in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred such anguish in that Estate, as vtterly wearying the accustomed *spartan* resolution, had made it sit downe, and seeke to refresh it selfe by dishonourable ease: then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* beginne to conceiue balaies of those men which were vertuous, though vnfürfortunate; but other lesser Cities joining with these in the same opinion, did cast their eyes vpon the rich and great Citie of *Argos*, of whose abilitie, to doe much, they conceiued a strong beleife, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which thorough foolish enuie is become almost naturall in the greater part of mankind. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should haue discerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are iustly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting to our selues.

The first that published their dislike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whose vehement entreaty (though moued rather by enuie at the greatness of *Athenes* daily encreasing) the *Lacedemonians* had entred into the present warre. But these *Corinthians* did only murmur at the peace alleading as grievances, that sometowens of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantineans* who during the time of warre, had procured some part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forsake their dependency vpon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily discover themselves; feare of reuenge to come working more effectually, than indignation at things already past. The *Argives* feeling the gale of prosperous Fortune that began to fill their sailes, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand vnder; giuing for that purpose vnto twelve of their citizens, a full and absolute commission to make alliance betwene them and any free cities of Greece (*Athenes* and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding euery particular businesse to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were set thus open to all comers; the *Mantineans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponnese* following them entred into this new confederacy; some incited by private respects, others thinking it the wisest way to doe as the most did. What inconvenience might arise to them by these courtes, the *Lacedemonians* easily discerned, and therefore sent Embassadors to stoppe the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the mischief had bene hatched. These Embassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough disposition, with a gravity expressing the opinion which they had conceiued of their present aduantage ouer *Sparta*. They had caused all Cities which had not entred yet into the alliance with *Argos*, to send their Agents to them, in whose presence they gaue audience to the *Lacedemonians*; the purport of whose Embaslie was this:

this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forsake the alliance, which they had long since made with *Sparta*, and that reason did as well binde them to holde themselves contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy, inasmuch as it had been agreed betwene the *Spartans* and their associates, that the consent of the greater part, (which had yeelded vnto peace with *Athenes*) should binde the lesser number to performe what was concluded, if no Diuine impediment withstood them. Herevnto the *Corinthians* made answer, that the *Spartans* had first begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had lost many places, without prouision of restitution; & that the very clause, alleiged by the Embassadors, did acquite them from any necessity of subcribing to the late peace, inasmuch as they had sworn vnto those people whom they perswaded to rebell against *Athenes*, that they would neuer abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in reason and religion to vie all meanes of vpholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no lesse to be accounted a Diuine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things vnderaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they said that they would doe as they should finde cause. Hauing dismissed the Embassadors with this answer, they made all haile to ioyne themselves with *Argos*, and caused other States to do the like; so that *Sparta* and *Athenes* were in a manner left to themselves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being also vpon the point to haue entred into this new confederacie. But as the affections were diuers, which caused this halting confluence of sudden friends to *Argos*, it so likewise came to passe that the friendship it selfe, such as it was, had much diueritie both of uncertitie and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the *Lacedemonians*; as the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*: these did firmly betake themselves to the *Argues*, in whom they knew the same affection to be inueterate; others did only hate the peace concluded; and these would rather haue followed the *Spartans* than the *Argues* in warre, yet rather the *Argues* in war than the *Lacedemonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like vnto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the societie of the *Argues*, as they had done: but the diuerse formes of gouernement, vsed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, caused the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by ioyning with such as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This business hauing ill succeeded, the *Corinthians* beganne to bebinke themselves of their owne danger, who had not so much as any truce with *Athenes*, and yet were vnprepared for warre. They fought therefore to come to some temporarie agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all Greece at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment, with one Citie that shewed against them more stomach than force; but gaue them to vnderstand that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which *Athenes* had lately made, with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally they granted vnto these *Corinthians* (which were loath to acknowledge themselves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they desired, but into private confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league betwene them and the *Spartans*, That the one should not make peace nor warre without the other.

Herein, as in many other passages, may clearly be seene the great aduantage which absolute Lords haue as well in peace as in warre, our such as are serued by voluntaries. We shall hardly finde any one Signorie, that hath bene so constantly followed as *Sparta* was, by so many States, and some of them little inferior to it selfe, being all as free: whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulsion meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as Tyrants.

But

But in performance of conditions agreed vpon, the *Athenians* were able to make their wordes good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacie, and giuing vp such places as were agreed vpon: of which the *Lacedemonians* could doe neither the one nor the other. For such Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their meanes in the late warre, could not bee restored without their consent, which had them in present possession, and particularly the Towne of *Panact*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no meanes be obtained from them by the *Lacedemonians* (who earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof vnto the *Athenians*, as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recouer *Pylus*, vnlesse they would agree to make a priuate alliance with *Thebes*, which thereupon they were faine to doe, though knowing it to be contrarie to the last agreement betweene them and *Athen*s.

The *Lacedemonians* hauing broken one article of the league made betweene them & the *Athenians*, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not giue vp the Towne of *Panact*, till first they had vtterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was sought to haue beene executed by the *Lacedemonian* Embassadors, who comming to *Athen*s (whether they had sent home all prisoners that had beene detained at *Thebes*), hoped with gentle wordes to salue the matter; saying, That from henceforth no enemie to *Athen*s should nestle in *Panact*, for it was destroyed. But these Embassadors had not to deale with tame fooles. For the *Athenians* told them in plaine termes, That of three principall conditions agreed vpon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but vsd such base collusion as stood not with their honour: hauing made priuate alliance with the *Thebans*; hauing destroyed a Towne that they should haue restored; and not hauing forced their dependants by warre, to make good the covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deedes to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time, both in *Athen*s and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that yeare, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades* a powerfull young Gentleman in *Athen*s. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the warre, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to bee rendred to them by covenant, especially *Pylus* that had so forcibly troubled them. *Alcibiades* whose Nobilitie, riches, and fauour, with the people, made him desire warre, as the meanes, whereby himselfe might procure some honourable employment, vsd all meanes to set the quarrell on foot, whilst the *Athenians* had yet both aduantage enough, as not hauing rendred ought first their prisoners, and pretence enough to vse that aduantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedemonians* (though indecidentally against their wills) had broken all covenants with them. Now the State of *Athen*s had fully determined to restore *Pylus*, and to performe nothing that the *Lacedemonians* should, and might require, vntill they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles whereunto they were bound, even to the vtmost point. This was enough to make them sweate, who hauing already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the deliuerie of their Citizens, which were prisoners. But *Alcibiades* willing a speedie beginning of open warre, sent priuily to the *Argues*, and gaue them to vnderstand how fitly the time serued for them to associate themselves with *Athen*s, which was enough to giue them securitie against all Enemies.

The *Argues* vpon the first confluence of many Estates vnto their societie, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should haue had the conduct of all *Greece* against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as hauing ill vsed it, and thereby leauing their old enemies in case of much contempt and disability. But these suddaine apprehensions of vaine joy, were suddainly changed into as vaine feare; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately bene conceiued of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their alliance; when the *Cerinthians*

*thians* had sought securitie from *Athen*s; and when a false rumour was noised abroad, that *Athen*s, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement vpon all points of difference; then beganne the *Argues* to iect tall their creits, and sue for peace vnto the *Lacedemonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their grauitie, and were not ouer-hastie to acceptir. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argues*, which were not now consulting how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to saue themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Athen*s, their owne Embassadors, accompanied with the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offensive, and defensive, between their Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this businesse the *Lacedemonians* knew not what to thinke: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it; but to keepe the loue of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done, than stood with their honour, or profit; others held it the wisest way, hauing done so much, not to stick vpon a little more, but rather by giuing full satisfaction to retaine the friendship of that State, which was more to bee valued than all the rest of *Greece*. This resolution preuailling, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who comming to *Athen*s with full commission to make an end of all controuersies, did earnestly labour in the Council-house, to make the truth of things appeare, saying, that their Confederacie with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recouerie of *Panact*: concerning which Towne, or any other businesse, that it much grieved the *Lacedemonians*, to see things fall out in such wise as might giue to the *Athenians* cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters euen betweene them; to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that *Pylus* might bee restored vnto them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the *Argues* might be called a-side. Favourable audience was giuen to this proposition, the rather because they which promised amends, had power to make their wordes good. But all this faire likelihood of good agreement was dasht on the suddaine, by the practise of *Alcibiades*, who, secretly dealing with the *Lacedemonian* Embassadors, perswaded them well of his friendship towards their Citie, and aduised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of *Sparta*, might not be knowne to the Communitie of *Athen*s, least the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptorie, and yeeld to nothing, vnlesse they could draw them to vncreasonable conditions. The Embassadors beleued him, and fashioned their talk in the assembly of the people, as hee had aduised them. Here vpon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the aduantage, which their double dealing afforded, inuighed openly against them, as men of no sinceritie, that were come to *Athen*s for none other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthening themselves with friends, meaning to draw the *Argues* and their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrarie to their oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athen*s, whom a pleasing errand would hardly haue satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedemonians*, (whose honest meanings had so ill bene seconded with good performance) were now so incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadors, and the strong perswasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with *Argos*. Yet for the present so farre did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preuaile with them, that the businesse was put off, till he himselfe with other Embassadors might fetch a better answer from *Sparta*.

It may seeme a great wonder, how so poore a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carrie a matter of such importance, when the *Spartan* Embassadors might haue cast the load vpon his owne shoulders, by discouraging the truth.

But the grauitie which was usually found in the *Lacedemonians*, hindered them (perhaps) from playing their game handsomely against nimble wits; and they might well haue been thought vntruly men, had they protested themselves such as would say and vs-ay for their most advantage.

*Nicias* and his Companions had a fower message to deliver at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the *Lacedemonians* should take the paines to rebuild *Paniste*, and should immediately renounce their alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them vnderstand that otherwise the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into confederacie with the *Argues*, and their Adherents. The *Epheus* at *Sparta* had no minde to forsake the *Thebans*, assured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was sufered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate they would doe no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not seeme to haue effected nothing) sweare a new to keepe the articles of the league betwene them and *Athens*. Immediately therefore vpon returne of the Embassadors, a new league was made betwene the *Athenians*, *Argues*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, with very ample prouision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedemonians* were passed over with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacie did bend it self chiefly against them, as in short while after was proued by effect.

At this time the *Lacedemonians* were in ill case, who hauing restored all that they could vnto the *Athenians*, and procured others to doe the like, had themselves recovered nothing of their owne (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they shoud. But that which did most of all disabie them, was the losse of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late warre by misfortunes, than in fundrie passages betwene them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keepe whole Amicitie, they had left fundrie of their old friends to shift for themselves. Contrariwise the *Athenians*, by the treatie of peace, had recovered the most of that which they lost in warre; all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the access of new Confederates.

## §. VII.

How the peace betwene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

It was not long ere the *Argues* and their fellows had found businesse, wherewith to let the *Athenians* on worke, and make vse of this conjunction. For presuming vpon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So many acts of hostilitie were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did not (as principals) infect each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aide of their severall friends.

By these occasions the *Corinthians*, *Boeotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other people of *Greece*, beganne a new to range themselves vnder the *Lacedemonians*, and follow their ensignes. One victorie which the *Lacedemonians* obtained by their meere valour in a set battaile, neare to *Mantineia*, against the *Argues* side, helped well to reape their decayed reputation, though otherwise it yielded them no great profit. The ciuill disension arising shortly after within *Argos* it selfe, betwene the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost throwne downe the whole frame of the new combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the vpper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded so farre as to renounce the amitie of the *Athenians* in expresse wordes, and forced the *Mantineans* to the like. But in short

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space of time the multitude preuailling, reuerted all this, and hauing chased away their ambitious Nobilitie, applied themselves to the *Athenians* as closely as before.

Beside these vprores in *Peloponnesus*, many assaies were made to raise vp troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewise in *Alaccion*, to the *Athenians*, whose forces and readinesse for execution, preuented some things, reuenged other, and requited all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrell, and the *Lacedemonians* growing wearie, they beganne to be quiet, retaining still that enmitie in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discouered in effects, though not so yet breking out into termes of open warre.

## §. VIII.

The Athenians sending two fleets to sacke *Siracuse*, are put to flight and utterly discomfited.

Vring this intermission of open warre, the *Athenians* re-intertrained their hopes of subduing *Sicily*, whether they sent a fleet so mightie as was heretofore by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all necessities to so great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the tactics in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades* Author of that wing, and one of the Generalls of their fleet, was driuen to banish himselfe, for feare of such iudgement, as else he was like to haue vnder-gone, among the incens'd people; partly by the inuasion which the *Lacedemonians* made vpon *Attica*, whilst the forces of that State were so farre from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of *Peris*, who supplied the *Peloponnesians* with money.

Neither was the successe of things in *Sicilie* such, as without helpe from *Athens*, could giue any likelihood of a good end in that warre. For although in the beginning the enterprize had so well succeeded, that they besieged *Siracuse*, the chiefe Citie of the Island, and one of the fairest Townes which the *Greekes* inhabited, obtaining the better in fundrie battailes by Land and Sea; yet when the Towne was beleagued with strong aide from *Peloponnesus*, it came to passe that the *Athenians* were put to the worke on all sides, in such wise that their fleet was shut vp into the haue of *Siracuse*, and could not issue out.

As the *Athenian* affaires went very ill in *Sicily*, so did they at home stand vpon hard termes, for that the *Lacedemonians*, who had beene formerly accustomed to make wearisome yearly iournies into *Attica*, which hauing piled and foraged, they returned home; did now by counsell of *Alcibiades*, who seeking reuenge vpon his owne Citizens was fled vnto them, fortifie the Towne of *Lecadie*, which was neare to *Athens*, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harrie all the Countrey round about, and sometimes giue alarme vnto the Citie it selfe.

In these extremities, the peruerse obdinate of the *Athenians* was very strange; who leauing at their backs, and at their owne doores, an enemy little lesse mightie than themselves, did yet send forth another fleet into *Sicily*, to inuade a people no lesse puissant, which neuer had offended them.

It often happens that prosperous euent makes foolish counsaile seeme wiser than it was, which came to passe many times among the *Athenians*, whose vaine conceits *Pallas* was said to turne vnto the best. But where vnfound aduise finding had prooffe, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor Fortune can iustly be blamed for a miserable issue. This second fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might haue serued to conuey home the former, that was defelated; after some attempts made to snall purpose against the *Siracusians*, was finally (together with the other part of the Naue, which was there before) quite vanquished, and bard vp into the haue of *Siracuse*.

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case, whereby the campe of the *Athenians*, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for iuaccour or departure, was driven to briake vp and flie away by Land, in which flight they were ouer-taken, routed, and quite ouerthrowne in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischiefe well deservedly fell vpon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pheaeus* Generalls, formerly sent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in *Sed*, whereas indeede there was no meanes or possibilitie to haue made waerie. Her by it came to passe, that *Nicias*, who had the chiefe command in this vnhappie enterprise, did rather chooe to hazard the ruine of his Countrey by the losse of that Armie, wherein consisted little lesse than all the power of *Athen*; than to aduenture his owne estate, his life, and his honour, vpon the tongues of thamelesse accusers, and the sentence of Iudges before his triall resolved to condemne him, by retiring from *Saxa*, when wisdom and necessitie required it. For (said he) *they shall giue sentence vpon vs, who know not the reason of our doings, nor will giue eare to any that would speake in our behalfe, but altogether hearken to suspitions and vaine rumours that shall be brought against vs, yea these our Seales, in whose name we are so desirous to retorne in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.*

This resolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man to doe what reason wilth, not what opinion expecteth, and to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed confidence, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others) yet it may be excused; since he had before his eyes the iniustice of his peoples; and had well understood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked iust, as being like a precedent and patterne, whereby oppression beginning vpon one, is extended as a warrantable vpon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily haue ouer-mastered; but when afterwards the Armie, hauing no other expectation of safetye than the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moone, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to haue the campe brake vntill ten and twentie daies were past. His timorousefne was euen as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not haue thought that the power of the *Hea*, and the course of Nature, would be as vnjust as his *Athenians*, or might pretend lesse euill to the flourishing, than to such as did their best. Neither doe I thinke that any Astrologer can allege this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armes destruction, otherwise than as the folie of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confusion. Had *C. Cæsius* the *Roman*, he, who slew *Iulius Cæsar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retrying the broken remainder of *Cæsius* his Armie deicid, the *Parthian* Archers was aduised, vpon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the signe of *Scorpio*; he made answer, that he stood not in such feare of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So aduenturing rather to abide the frowning of the *Hea*, than the nearer danger of Enemies vpon eard, hee made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his nobler resolution, and giue a faire example to that good rule,

— *Sapiens dominabitur astris.*

Thus wee see that God, who ordinarily workes by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Governours of vnderstanding, when hee intends euill to the multitude; and that the wickednesse of vnjust men is the readie meane to weaken the vertue of those who might haue done them good.

¶ IX.

¶ IX.

of the troubles where into the State of *Athen* fell, after the great losse of the Fleet, and Armie, in *Sicilia*.

The losse of this Armie was the ruine of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little lesse calamitie to that State, than was the subuersion of the walls, when the Citie about seuen yeares after was taken by *Lysander*. For now beganne the Subjects of the *Athenian* State to rebell, of whom, some they reduced vnder their obedience; others held out; some for feare of greater inconvenience were set at libertie, promising only to be their good friends, as formerly they had beene their Subjects; others hauing a kind of libertie offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among these troubles it fell out very vnseasonably, that the principall men of *Athen* being wearied with the peoples insolencie, tooke vpon them to change the forme of that Estate, and bring the gouernement into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Capitaines which were abroad, they caused them to set vp the forme of an Aristocratie in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meane time, some that were most likely to withstand this inuolution, being slain at *Athen*, the Commonaltie were so dismayd that none durst speake against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not, but euery man was afraid of his Neighbour, least he should be a member of the league. In this generall feare the Majestic of *Athen* was vsurped by foure hundred men, who obseruing in shew the ancient forme of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded vnto the people, and concluded vpon by the greater part of voices; but the thinges propounded were only such as were first allowed in priuate among themselves; neither had the Commonaltie any other libertie, than only to approue and giue consent, for whoeuer presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the murder. By these meanes were many decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new Authoritie, which neuertheless indured not long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was at the Ile of *Samos*, did altogether detest these dealings of the foure hundred vsurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they reuoked *Alcibiades* out of banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the *Persian* King had promised vnto the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant, made vnprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the first bene very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilst his seruice done to that State was not growne to be the object of enuie. But when it appeared that in common faile and good performance he so farre excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good success was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens wearie of his vertue; especially *Agis* one of their Kings, whose wife had so far yielded her selfe to the loue of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends there could not forbear to call her yong child by his name. Hereupon order was taken that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discouering the *Spartan* treacherie, conceiued himselfe vnto *Tissaphernes*, whom he so bewitched with his great beautie, sweet conuersation, and sound wit, that he soone became the Master of that barbarous Vice-roys affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings treasures and forces in those parts. Then beganne he to aduise *Tissaphernes*, not so farre forth to assist the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should quite ouerthrow the State of *Athen*; but rather to help the weaker side, and let them one consume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the *Persian*. By this counsaile hee made way to other praistises, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the only fauourite

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of so great a Potentate) hee plaied his owne game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the Armie, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the foure hundred) hee laboured greatly to reconcile the Souldiers to the Gouvernors; or at least to diuert their heat another way, and turne it vpon the common Enemie. Some of the foure hundred approued his motion, as being wearie of the tyrannic whereof they were partakers, partly because they law it could not long endure, and partly for that themselves being lesse regarded by the rest of their companions, than lood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtaine peace of the *Lacedaemonians*, desiring chiefly to maintaine both their owne authority, and the greatness of their Citie, if they might, but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preferre their owne power, or libertie at least, than the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made sundrie ouertures of peace to the *Lacedaemonians*, desiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to bee trusted than the wauering multitude; especially considering that the Citie of *Sparta* was gouerned by an *Aristerate*, to which forme they had now reduced *Atheni*. All these passages betweene the foure hundred (or the most and chiefe of them) and the *Lacedaemonians*, were kept as secret as might be. For the Citie of *Atheni*, hoping without any great cause, to repaire their losses, was not inclined to make compolition; from which vpon iustler ground the enemie was much more auerse, trusting well that the discord of the *Athenians* (not vnknewne abroad) might yeeld some faire opportunitie to the destruction of it selfe, which in effect (though not then presently) came to passe. And vpon this hope King *Agis* did sometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Atheni*, where doing no good, hee receiued some small losses. Likewise the Naue of *Teloponnesus* made shew of attempting the Citie, but seeing no likelihood of successe, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better Fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly haue bene regarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seemes, without any disparagement to their wisdom, they should rather haue forborne to present vnto the Citie, or to the Countreies neare adioyning any tennour of the warre. For the dissention within the walls might soone haue done more hurt than could be receiued from the Fleet or Armie without, which indeede gaue occasion to fit the Citizens at vnitie, though it lasted not very long. The foure hundred, by means of these troubles, were faine to resigne their authoritie, which they could not now hold, when the people hauing taken armes to repell forraine enemies, would not lay them downe, till they had freed themselves from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of gouernement a full restitution of the foueraigne command vnto the people, or whole body of the Citie, but only to fise thousand; which companie the foure hundred (when their authoritie beganne) had pretended to take vnto them as assistants: herein seeming to doe little wrong or none to the Commonaltie, who seldome assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeede into the hands of so many, it was soone agreed that *Alcibiades* and his Companions should bee recalled from exile, and that the Armie at *Samos* should bee requested to vndertake the gouernement: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers desire.

¶ X. 50

¶ X.

*How ALCEBIADES wanne many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their Generall, and againe depofed.*



His establisment of things in the Citie, was accompanied with some good successe in the warres. For the *Lacedaemonians* were about the same time ouerthrowne at Sea, in a great battaile, by the *Athenian* fleet which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joyning such forces as he could raise, obtained many victories. Before the Towne of *Abydos*, his arrinall with eightene ships gaue the honour of a great battaile to the *Athenians*; hee ouerthrew and vterly destroyed the fleet of the *Lacedaemonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*, tooke the Townes of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ranfome their Citie, and fortified *Chrysopolis*. Hecupion letters were sent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians*, intercepting, found to containe the disreille of the Armie in these few wordes: *Alcis lost; MINDARVS is slaine; the Souldiers want victuals; we know not what to doe.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* ouerthrew the *Lacedaemonians* in fight by Land at *Chalcedon*, tooke *Selymbria*, besieged and wanne *Byzantium*, now called *Constantinople*, which euen in those daies was a goodly, rich, and very strong Citie. Hecupion returned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of all the Naue.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and hee driuen to banish himselfe againe; only because his Lieutenant, contrary to the expresse command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the fleet.

The second banishment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmefull than the first; and the losse which thereupon they receiued, was (though more heauie to them, yet) lesse to be pittied of others, than that which ensued vpon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had fought reuenge vpon his owne Citie; now, as inured to aduersitie, he rather pittied their furie, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should haue repaired their weak estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himselfe after iniurie receiued. Before they, who were instituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the fleet, hee presented battaile to *Lyfander* the *Lacedaemonian* Admirall, who was not so confident vpon his former victory, as to vndertake *Alcibiades* himselfe, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former losse of fifteene) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had bene vnder his Lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was published in the Naue, then did *Alcibiades* withdraw himselfe to a Towne vpon *Hellefpont*, called *Bisanthe*, where hee had built a Castle.

¶ XI.

*The battaile at Arginusæ, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captaines by the people.*



After this time the *Athenians*, receiving many losses and discomfitures, were driuen to fle into the Hauen of *Abydene*, where they were straightly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege necessitie inforced them to man all their Vessells, and to put the vttermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battaile. This battaile

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was fought at *Arginusæ*, where *Callistratus*, Admirall of the *Lacedæmonians*, looting the honour of the day, professed his owne reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well have bene expected, that the ten Captaines, who joyntly had command in chiefe over the *Athenian* fleet, should for that good daies service, and so happy a victorie, have received great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise they were forth with called home, and accused, as if they wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and sunke, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessells to take them vp, they might have saved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captaines readily made a very iust answer; That they pursuing the victorie, had left part of the fleet, vnder sufficient men, to save those that were wrackt; which if they were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse availed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himselfe escaping in a meale-tubbe, had bene intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to desire of the people reuenge of their deaths vpon the Captaines. It was very strange that, vpon such an accusation maintained with slender euidence, men that had well deserved of their Countrey should bee overthrowne. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst absolve them, save only *Socrates* the wife and vertuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much ado rescued by other vessells in the forme: but the Captaines which were absent escaped; for when the force of the people was over-past, this judgement was reuersed, and the accusers called into question for hauing deceived and peruerced the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themselves from the infame of iniustice; but the diuine justice was not a sleepe, nor would be so deluded.

## §. XII.

The battaile at *Ægos-Potamos*, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian Warre.

**T**He Peloponnesian fleet vnder *Lysander*, the yeare next following, hauing scoured the *Ægean* Seas, entred *Hellepont*, where (landing Souldiers) it besieged and tooke the Towne of *Lampfacus*. Herupon all the Naue of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourescore saile, made thither in haste, but finding *Lampfacus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Seius*, where hauing refreshed themselves, they sailed to the Riuer called, *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Gaster-brooke*, or the Riuer of the *Gates*; being on the Continent, opposit to *Lampfacus*: and there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lysander*, who rode at *Lampfacus* in the harbour. The next day after their arrivall they presented fight vnto the *Peloponnesians*, who refused it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned againe to *Ægos-Potamos*, and thus they continued five daies, brauing euery day the Enemye, and returning to their owne harbour when it drew towards evening.

The Castle of *Alcibiades* was not farre from the Naue, and his power in those places was such as might haue greatly auailed his Countymen, if they could haue made vse of it. For he had waged Mercenaries, and making warre in his owne name vpon some people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the disorderly course of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired vnto them, and shewed what great inconuenience might grow, if they did not soone foresee and preuent it. For they lay in a roade subject to euery

weather, neither neare enough to any Towne where they might furnish themselves with necessaries, nor so farre off as had become more expedient. *Seius* was the next Market-Towne; thither both Souldiers and Mariners resorted, flocking away from the Naue euery day, as soone as they were returned from brauing the Enemye. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to leaue *Seius*, which was not farre off, or at the least to consider better how neare their enemye was, whose feare proceeded rather from obedience to his Generall, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so farre despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his owne matters, and to remember that his authority was out of date. Had it not bene for these opprobrious wordes, hee could (as hee told his familiars) haue compelled the *Lacedæmonians*, either to fight vpon vnequall termes, or utterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that hee might so haue done, by transporting the light armed *Thracians* to his Confederates, and others his Followers ouer the Straights, who assailing the *Peloponnesians* by Land, would either haue compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leaue their ships to the mercie of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counsaile no better than hath bene rehearsed, hee left them to their fortune, which how euill it would bee hee did prognosticate.

*Lysander* all this while defending himselfe by the aduantage of his Haven, was not carelesse in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was to send forth some of his swiftest Vessells after them, who observing their doings, related vnto him what they had sene. Therefore vnderstanding in what carelesse fashion they romed vp and downe the Countrey, hee kept all his men a-board after their departure, and the fift day gaue especial charge to his Scouts, That when they perceived the *Athenians* disembarking, as their custome was, and walking towards *Seius*, they should forthwith returne, and hang vp a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lysander* being in a readinesse, made all speede that length of Oares could giue, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies a-board their ships, not many neare them, and all in great confusion vpon the newes of his approach.

In so much that the greatest industrie which the *Athenians* then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that losse imported, gaue over *Athens* as desperate, and made a long flight vnto the Ile of *Cyprus*, all the rest were taken, and Inch of the Souldiers as came in to the rescue cut in peeces. Thus was the Warre which had lasted seuen and twentie yeares, with variable success, concluded in one houre, and the glorie of *Athens* in such wise eclipsed, that their neuer after was shone againe in her perfect light.

Immediately vpon this victorie, *Lysander*, hauing taken in such Townes as readily did yeeld vpon the first fame of his exploit, set saile for *Athens*, and ioyning his forces with those of *Agas* and *Paulanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, summoned the Citie, which finding too stubborne to yeeld, and too strong to bee wonne on the suddaine, hee put forth againe to Sea, and rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Islands, and such Townes of the *Ionians*, as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to submit themselves to *Sparta*, hee did thereby cut off all prouision of victuals, and other necessaries, from the Citie, and enforced the people by meere famine to yeeld to these conditions. That the long walls, leading from the Towne to the Port, should be throwne downe; That all Cities subiect to their Estate, should bee set at libertie; That the *Athenians* should bee Masters only of their owne Territories, and the fields adjoining to their Towne; And that they should keepe no more than twelue ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the *Lacedæmonians* did, and follow the *Lacedæmonians* as Leaders in the Warres.

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These articles being agreed upon, the walls were throwne downe with great rejoycing of those who had borne displeasure to *Athenians*; and not without some consultation of destroyng the Citie, and laying waite the Land about it. Which aduise, although it was not entertained, yet were thirtie Countours, or rather cruell Tyrants, appointed ouer the people, who recompensed their former insolencie and iniustice ouer their Captaines, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable flauerie.

The only small hope then remaining to the *Athenians*, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repaire what their owne folly had ruined. But the thirtie Tyrants perceiving this, aduertised the *Lacedaemonians* thereof, who continued, and (as now domineering in euery quarter) soon effected his suddaine death.

Such end had the *Peloponnesian Warre*. After which the *Lacedaemonians* abusing their reputation, and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew venodious to all *Greeces*, and by Combination of manie Cities against them, were disposessed of their high authoritie, euen in that very Age, in which they had subdued *Athenians*. The greatest foile that they tooke was of the *Thebans*, led by *Eponemus*, vnder whom *Philip of Macedon*, Father to *Alexander the Great*, had the best of his education. By these *Thebans*, the Citie of *Sparta* (besides other great losses received) was sundrie times in danger of being taken. But these haughtie attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the severall Estates and Signories of *Greece*, were growne so jealous one of anothers greatnesse, that the *Lacedaemonians*, *Athenians*, *Argues*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker partie, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one Citie could extend the limits of her iurisdiction so farre as might make her terrible to her Neighbours. And thus all parts of the Countrey remained rather evenly balanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*,

Kings of *Macedon*, (whose forefathers had bene dependants, and followers, yea almost meere Vassalls to the Estates of *Athenians* and *Spartans*) found meanes, by making vse of their factions, to bring them all into seruitude, from which they neuer could be free, till the *Romaines* presenting them with a shew of libertie, did themselves indeede become their Masters.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the *Peloponnesian Warre*, or shortly following it.

§. I.

How the affaires of *Persia* stood in these times.

URING the times of this *Peloponnesian Warre*, and those other lesse expeditions forgoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, hauing peaceably enjoyed a long raigne ouer the *Persians*, lett it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the *Basard*, whom the *Greek* Historians (lightly passing ouer *Xerxes*, the second, and *Sogdianus* as Vipers, and for their short raigne little to be regarded) place next vnto him, or to *Xerxes* the second, who, and his brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to haue bene the sonnes of *Hesper*) held the Kingdome but one yere betweene them, the younger succeeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I haue said before) to pursue the Historie of the *Persians* from henceforth, by rehearsal of all the particulars, otherwise then as they shall be incident to the affaires of *Greece*. It may therefore suffice to say, That *Xerxes* the second, being a virtuous Prince, did perill after a month or two, if not by surfeit, then by treacherie of his as riotous brother *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he slew vnjustly *Bagoratus* a principall Eunuch, and would haue done as much to his brother *Darius* the *Basard*, had not lree foreseene it, and by raising a stronger Armie than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leaue, seized at once vpon the King and Kingdome. *Darius* hauing slaine his brother, held the Empire nineteene yeres. *Amartyas* of *Suis* an *Egyptian* rebelled against him, and hauing partly slaine, partly chased out of the Land the *Persian* Garrisons, allied himselfe so firmly with the *Greekes*, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and deliuered it ouer to his posteritie, who (notwithstanding the furie of their ciuill Warres) maintained it against the *Persian*, all the daies of this *Darius*, and of his sonne *Artaxerxes* *Alacmon*. Likewise *Amorges*, a subject of his owne and of the Roiall blood, being Lieutenant of *Caris*, rebelled against him; confederating himselfe with the *Athenians*. But the great calamitie, before spoken of, which fell vpon the *Athenians* in *Sicill*, hauing put new life into the *Spartans*, and giuen courage to the flanders and others, subject to the State of *Athenians*, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedaemonians* being destitute of monney, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Naue, without which it was impossible to aduance the warre against the State of *Athenians*, that remained powerfull by Sea, were driuen to craue his assistance, which he granted vnto them, first vpon what conditions best pleased himselfe, though afterwards the articles of the league betweene him and them were set downe in more precise termes, wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make warre joyntly vpon the *Athenians*, and vpon all that should rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Asia*, which had formerly bene his, or his Predecessours, should returne to his obedience. By this Treatie, and the warre ensuing

fining (of which I have already spoken) he recovered all that his Grand-father and Father had lost in *Ara*. Likewise by assistance of the *Lacedemonians* he got *Amorgos* a-lie into his hands, who was taken in the Citie of *Isus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to succour him. Neuertheless *Aegypt* still held out against him; the cause whereof cannot bee the employment of the *Persian* forces on the parts of *Greece*, for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold, which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his naturall enemies, what the valour of his owne Subjects was insufficient to performe. *Darius* had in marriage *Parysatis* his owne sister, who bare vnto him (besides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Athenion*, that is to say, the Mindfull, or the Remembrer, who succeeded him in the Kingdome; and *Cyrus* the yonger, a Prince of singular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that ever *Persia* bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leave vnto his elder sonne *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a jealousie vpon the doings of yong *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, tooke more vpon him than belitted a Subject: for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to haue taken some very sharpe course with him, had not his owne death preuented the coming of his yonger sonne, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the warre betweene these bretheren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, wee shall haue occasion to speake somewhat in more conuenient place.

## §. II.

How the thirtie Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

**I** Hold it in this place most conuenient to shew the proceedings of the *Greekes*, after the subuersion of the walls of *Athen*, which gaue end to that warre called the *Peloponnesian* warre, but could not free the vnhappie Countrie of *Greece* from ciuill broiles. The thirtie Gouer-  
nours, commonly called the thirtie Tyrants of *Athen*, were chosen at the first by the people to compile a bodie of their Law, and make a collection of such ancient Statutes, as were meetest to be put in practise: the condition of the Citie standing as it did in that so sodaine alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme authoritie, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessity of the times did so require it, wherein the Law being vncertaine, it was lit that such men should giue iudgement in particular causes, to whose iudgement the Lawes themselves, by which the Citie was to bee ordered, were become subiect. But these thirtie hauing so great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deserue it by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them  
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Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellowes, as were odious to the citie, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approued, who considered their lewd conditions, but did not withall betinke themselves, how easie a thing it would bee vnto these thirtie men, to take away the liues of Innocents, by calling them perturbors of the peace, or what else they listed, when condemnation without due triall and proofe had bene once well allowed. Hauing thus plausibly entred into a wicked course of gouernement, they thought it best to fortifie themselves with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders, which they must needs commit for the establishing of their authoritie. Wherefore dispatching two of their owne companie to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedemonians*, that it was the full intent of the thirtie, to keepe the Citie free from all rebellious motions, to which purpose it behoued them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired the *Lacedemonians* to send them

them a Garrison, which they promised at their owne cost to maintaine. This motion was well approued, and a guard sent, the Captaine of which was so well entertained by the thirtie, that none of their misdeedes could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants beganne to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons, invaded the principall men of the Citie, lending armed men from House to House, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely, or able, to make any head against this wicked forme of gouernement: whereby there was such effusion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the thirtie) seemed very horrible, and vnable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discovered, caused his fellowes to betinke themselves, and provide for their owne securitie, and his destruction, least he should make himselfe a Captaine of the ademoniated (which were almost the whole Citie) and redeme his owne peace with their ruine. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gaue vnto them some part of publike authoritie, the rest they disarmed; and hauing thus increased their owne strength, and weakened their opposites, they beganne a-breth to shed the blood, not only of their priuate enemies, but of such whose moncy, or goods, might enrich them, and enable them for the payment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that euery one of them should name one man vpon whose goods he should seize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* vttered his detestation of so wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the thirtie was most tyrannicall, accuse him to the Councell, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one maine priuiledge of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirtie, but haue the accustomed triall) he tooke vpon him to strike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, and so reduced him vnder the triall and sentence of that order. It was well allaged by *Theramenes*, that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the Catalogue, than any other mans, vpon which consideration hee aduised them all to conuie no otherwise of his case, than as of their owne, who were liable to the same forme of proceeding: but (euery man choosing rather to preserve his owne life by silence, than presently to draw vpon himselfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would neuer come neare him) the Tyrants interpreting silence as consent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drinke poison.

## §. III.

The conspiracie against the thirtie Tyrants, and their deposition.



**A**FTER the death of *Theramenes*, the thirtie beganne to vse such outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For hauing three thousand (as they thought) firme vnto them, they robbed all others without feare or shame, despoiling them of lands and goods, and causing them to flie into banishment, for safeguard of their liues. This flight of the Citizens procured their libertie, and the generall good of the Citie. For the banished Citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into consultation, and resolved to hazard their liues in setting free the Citie of *Athen*. The very thought of such a practise had been treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seuentie men, or thereabout, were the first vnder-takers, who with their Captaine *Thrasylus* tooke *Phyle*, a place of strength in the Territorie of *Athen*. No sooner did the thirtie heare of their exploit, than secke meanes to prevent further danger; assembling the three thousand, and their *Lacedemonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyle*, but were with some losse of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to nought by meanes of snow that fell, and other stormie

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weather, against which they had not made prouision. Retiring therefore to the Citie, which at oue all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and two companies of Horle, to weare out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying siege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thrasylbulus* were encreased from leuentie to seuen hundred, which aduentured to giue charge vpon those guards, of whom they cut off aboue an hundred & twentie. These small, but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in *Phyla*, who now with a thousand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the suburbe of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their coming, the thirtie had refused to fortifie the Towne of *Eleusine*, to their owne vse, whereinto they might make an eutie retrait, and saue themselves from any suddaine perill. It may well seeme strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of gouernement had brought them into such danger, they were so farr from seeking to obtaine mens good will, that contrariwise, to assure themselves of *Eleusine*, they got all of the place who could beare armes into their hands by a traine, and wickedly (though vnder forme of iustice) murdered them all. But, *Sceleribus tutum per scelera est iter*, the mischief which they had alreadie done were such, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparant likelihood of safetie, than by extending their crueltie vnto all, seeing few or none were left, whom they could trust. When *Thrasylbulus* and his fellows, who as yet were termed conspirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thousand armed againe by the Tyrants, and brought to assault it; but in this enterprise *Thrasylbulus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom although there were slaine to the number of leuentie, only yet the victorie seemed the greater, because *Critias*, & one other of the thirtie, perished in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the stout defence of *Piræus*, together with some exhortations vsed by *Thrasylbulus* to the Citizens, wrought such effect that the thirtie were depofed. Neuerthelesse there were so many of the three thousand, who hauing communicated with the thirtie in their misdeedes, feared to be called to a sharpe account, that no peace, nor quiet forme of gouernement could bee established. For Embassadors were sent to *Sparta*, who crauing aid against *Thrasylbulus*, and his followers, had fauourable audience, and a power sent to their assistance, both by Land and Sea, vnder the conduct of *Lyfander*, and his Brother; whom *Pausanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raising an Armie of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared first the jealousie, wherein some people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Boeotians*, and *Corinthians*, who in the late warres had bene the most bitter enemies to *Athens*, refused to follow *Pausanias* in this expedition; alleging that it stood not with their oathes, to make warre against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing, indeede, least the *Lacedæmonians* should annexe the Territorie of *Athens* to their owne Demaines. It is not to bee doubted that *Pausanias* tooketh this answer in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to crosse the proceedings of *Lyfander*, whom he enuied. Therefore hauing in some small skirmishes against them of *Thrasylbulus* his partie, made a shew of warre, he finally wrought such means that all things were compounded quietly: the thirtie men, and such others, as were like to giue cause of tumult, being sent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannical faction, hauing with-drawne themselves to *Eleusine*, were shortly after found to attempt some inuouation, whereupon the whole Citie rising against them, tooke their Captaines, as they were coming to Parlie, and slew them: which done, to auoide further inconuenience a law was made that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully obserued, the Citie returned to her former quietnesse.

## CHAP. X.

## Of the expedition of CYRVS the yonger.

## §. I.

The grounds of CYRVS his attempt against his brother.



THE matters of Greece now standing vpon such termes, that no one Estate durst oppose it selfe against that of *Lacedæmon*; yong *Cyrus*, brother to *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, hauing in his fathers life time very carefully profecuted the warre against *Athens*, did send his messengers to *Sparta*, requesting that their loue might appeare no lesse to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous warre against the *Athenians*. To this request, being generally, the *Lacedæmonians* gaue a futable answer, commanding their Admirall to performe vnto *Cyrus* all seruice that hee should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discovered himselfe, and the *Lacedæmonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdome of *Persia* should haue been the recompence of his deserts, or that he perishing in battaile, as after he did, the subuersion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew vnto the *Greekes* the waies, which vnder the *Macedonian* Enignes, the victorious foot-steps of their posteritie should measure; and opening vnto them the riches, and with all the weaknesse of the *Persian*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that conquest, which he refused to an other generation; than to giue into their hands that mightie Kingdome, whose houre was not yet come. The loue which *Parysatis* the Queene Mother of *Persia* bare vnto *Cyrus* her yonger sonne, being seconded by the carnest fauour of the people, and readie desires of many principall men, had moued this yong Prince, in his fathers old age to aspire after the succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath beneene shewed) whose meaning was to curbe this ambitious youth; hee found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* established so surely by the old Kings fauour, that it were not safe to attempt any meanes of displanting him, by whose disfauour himselfe might easily loose the place of a Viceroy, which he held in *Asia* the lesse, and hardly be able to maintaine his owne life. The nearest neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Asia*, was *Tissaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardise, treacherie, craft, and all vices which accustomably branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, vying by the way all shewes of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might well bee thought that Queene *Parysatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mightie Empire. And it was very true that *Parysatis* had vsed the best of her endeuour to that purpose, alleging that (which in former ages had bene much auailable to *Xerxes*, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was borne whilst his father was a priuate man, but *Cyrus*, when he was a crowned King. All which not sufficing, when the most that could bee obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adioyning: then did this *Tissaphernes* discouer his nature, and accuse his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Vpon this accusation, whether true or false, very

easily believed, *Cyrus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreatie of his Mother very hardly deliuered, and sent back into his owne Prouince.

## §. II.

The preparations of *Cyrus*, and his first entrie into the Warre.

**T**He forme of gouernement which the *Persian* Lieutenants vsed in their feuerall Prouinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made Warre and Peace, as they thought it meete, not only for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne reputation; vsually indeede with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their owne heads were held only at the Kings pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings, to his will, whatsoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being settled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himselfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdome; the small assurance of his brothers loue, held only by his Mothers intercession; the disgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the meanes which he had by loue of his owne people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedemonians*, whom he had bound vpon him, to obtaine the Crowne for himselfe. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waiting till occasion should present it selfe: but rather enterprise somewhat which yet his Mother liued, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first beganne to quarrell with *Tissaphernes*, and seized vpon many Townes of his jurisdiction, annexing them to his owne Prouince; which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that hee was of condition somewhat timple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accustomed Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in priuate quarrells. But *Tissaphernes*, whose base conditions were hated, and cowardise despised, although he durst not adventure to take armes against *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Milesians* were about to giue vp themselves into the hands of that yong Prince, as many other Townes of the *Ionijs* had done, thought by terrour to preserve his reputation, and keepe the Towne in his owne handes. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, which was no small part of his desire. In leuying Souldiers he vsed great policie; for heooke not only the men of his owne Prouince, or of the Countries adioyning, whose liues were readie at his will, but secretly he furnished some *Grecian* Captaines with money, who being very good men of warre, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Thessalie*, others *scowhere in Greece*; but all of them readie to crosse the Seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had few instructions to prolong their feuerall warres, that the Souldiers might be held in continuall exercise, and readie in armes vpon the sodaine. *Cyrus* hauing sent a power of men to besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greekes*, who very readily came ouer to his assistance, being thirteenth thousand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Armie, and that which he had leuied before, he could very easily haue forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes* out of *Asia* the lesse: but his purpose was not so to looke time in small matters, that was to be employed in the accomplishment of higher designs. Pretending therefore that the *Phisiens*, a people of *Asia* the lesse, not subiect to the *Persian*, had invaded his Territories, he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched Eastward, leauing *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to reioyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himselfe, when he considered that so great an Armie, and so strong, was neuer leuied against the Routers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which

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cause taking a band of five hundred horse, hee posted away to carrie tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

## §. III.

How *Cyrus* took his journey into the higher *Asia*, and came vp close to his Brother.

**T**He tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queene *Statira*, against *Parysatis*, the Queene-Mother, whom shee called the Author and occasioner of the warre. But whilst the King in great feare was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger halted vpon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, hauing his numbers much increased, by the repaire of his Countreymen, though most strengthened by the access of seuen hundred *Greekes*, and of other four hundred of the same Nation, who revolted vnto him from the King. How terrible the *Greekes* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by triall in a Miltir, which (to please the Queene of *Cilicia*, who had brought him aide) hee made in *Phrygia*, where the *Greekes* by his direction making offer of a charge vpon the reit of his Armie, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Campe (not perceiving that this was but a brauerie) fled a-maine, the victuallers and baggagers forsaking their cabins, and running all away for very feare. This was to *Cyrus* a joyfull spectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed by men of the same temper, and the more vnlike to make resistance, because they were prest to the warre against their will and dispositions, whereas his Armie was drawne long by meere affection and good will. Neuertheless he found it a very hard matter to perswade the *Greekes* to passe the Riuer of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had troden, wearied them with conceit of the tedious returne. Therefore hee was driuen, being yet in *Cilicia*, to seeke excuses, telling them that *Abrocomus* one of the Kings principall Captaines, and his owne great enemy, lay by the Riuer, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such daies, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*, where some of the *Greekes* considering, that who so passed the Riuer first, should haue the most thanks, and might safely returne if the rest should refuse to follow them, they entered the Foords, whereby were all finally perswaded to doe as some had begunne, and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seeke out *Artaxerxes*, where soeuer he was to be found. The King in the meane time hauing raised an Armie of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident vpon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in triall of a plaine battaile. *Abrocomus*, who with three hundred thousand men had vnder-taken to make good the Straights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature, and art, which made the place to seeme impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himselfe toward the Kings forces, not daring to looke *Cyrus* in the face, who despairing to find any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedemonian* flete, by the benefit whereof to haue transported his Armie. I doe not finde that this cowardise of *Abrocomus*, or of his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Campe till fise daies were past after the battaile, receiued either punishment, or disgrace, for they, toward whom hee with-drew himselfe, were all made of the same metall.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was vpon the point of retiring to the vttermost bounds of his Kingdome, vntill by *Zeribazus*, one of his Captaines, he was perswaded not to abandon so many goodly Prouinces to the Enemy, who would thereby haue gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharpe disputation of Title to a Kingdome is most auailable) would haue growne superior in reputation. By such aduice the King resolved vpon meeting with his brother, who now beganne to be se-

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cure, being fully perfwaded that *Artaxerxes* would neuer dare to abide him in the field. For the King hauing callt vp a Trench of almost fortie miles in length, about thirtie foot broad, and eightene foot deepe, intended there to haue encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so fast as to be farre distant from his enemies.

## §. IIII.

The battaile betweene *CYRUS* and *ARTAXERXES*.

**T**He Armie of *Cyrus* hauing ouercome many difficulties of euill waies, and scarcity of victuals, was much encouraged by perceiving this great feare of *Artaxerxes*, and being past this trench, marched carelesly in great disorder, hauing belowed their Armes in Carres, and vpon Bealts of carriage; when on the sodaine one of their Vaunt-curriers, brought newes of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselues, and had ranged their battailes in good order vpon the side of the Riuer *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they saw not till it was after-noon. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their neare approach how well they were marshalled, coming on very orderly, in silence, whereas it had bene expected, that rushing violently with lowd clamours, they should haue spent all their force vpon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so vnequall in distent, being all embattailed in one bodie and square, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the midst of his owne, did not with the corner and vtmost point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greekes* beginne to distrust their owne manhood, which was not accustomed to make prooue of it selfe, vpon such excessive oddes. It was almost incredible, that so great an Armie should bee so easily chased. Neuertheless, it quickly appeared, that these *Persians*, hauing learned (contrarie to their custome) to giue charge vpon their enemies with silence; had not learned (for it was contrarie to their nature) to receiue a strong charge with courage. Vpon the very first offer of on-set, made by the *Greekes*, all that beaulty rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and sithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twentie) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemies gaue so much confidence to *Cyrus*, and his Followers, that such as were about him forth with adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had bene assured vnto him that day, had not he fought how to declare himselfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the *Greekes*, and to set vpon them in the reare, he aduanced with six hundred Horse, and gaue so valiant a charge vpon a Squadron of six thousand which lay before the King, that hee brake it, slaying the Captaine thereof, *Artages*, with his owne hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole companie of six hundred, very few excepted, beganne to follow the chase, leauing *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiving where the King stood in troupe, vncertaine whether to fight, or leaue the field, could not containe himselfe, but said; *I see the man*, and presently with a small handfull of men about him ranne vpon his brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the brest. Hauing giuen this stroke, which was his last, he receiued immediately the fatal blow, which gaue period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded vnder the eye with a dart, throwne by a base fellow, wherewith alotted,

hee fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was vnpossible to haue recovered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his safetie; not caring afterwards for their owne liues, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their Master was slaine. *Artaxerxes* cauled the head and right hand of his brother to bee forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them fled apace, calling vpon the name of *Cyrus*, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troups, and vterly dismayed such *Persian* Capitaines, as were now, euen in their owne eies, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Campe of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned, from whence *Artaxerxes*, making all speede, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greekes*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tissaphernes*, who hauing made way through the battaile of the *Greekes*, was readie now to ioine with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brothers death, bene sufficient to counteruaile all disasters receiued; the exploit of *Tissaphernes* in breaking through the *Greekes* would haue yielded little comfort. For *Tissaphernes* had not slaine any one man of the *Greekes*, but contrariwise, when he gaue vpon them, they opening their battaile, draue him with great slaughter through them, in such wise that hee rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the Squadron of the *Greekes*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greekes*, as Masters of the field, gaue chase to all that came in their light; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these *Greekes*, intending to set vpon them in reare. But these good Souldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued vnto a certaine Village, that lay vnder a Hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a braerie, than with purpose to attempt vpon these bold-fellows any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had secured his estate, whom hee would seeme to haue slaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to giue reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preferre well enough, by shewing a manly looke, halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore hee aduanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displayed on the top of a Speare. This ensigne might haue encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greekes* elpied it, who not meaning that he should abide so neare them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discouering their approach, fled vpon the spur; so that none remained in the place of battaile, save only the *Greekes*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondered that they heard no newes of *Cyrus*, but thinking that hee was pursuing the Armie, they thought it was fittest for them, hauing that day done enough, to returne to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings coming had giuen them no leisure to Dine.

## §. V.

The hard estate of the *Greekes* after the fight; and how *ARTAXERXES* in vaine sought to haue made them yield vnto him.

**T**was now about the setting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe spoiled, little, or nothing being left, that might serue for foode: so that wanting victuals to satisfie their hunger, they refreshed their wearie bodies with sleepe. In the meane season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Camp, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived

perciued that the baseness of his people, and weakenesse of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greekes*; which gaue him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shameful demeanor of his Armie, should liue to carrie tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signorie. Wherefore hee resolved, to trie all means, whereby hee might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carrie tidings of that which hee had seene: to which purpose hee sent them a braue message the next morning. Charging them to deliuer vp their Armes, and come to his Gate, to awaite there vpon his Mercie. It seemes that he was in good hope to haue found their high courages broken, vpon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceiued in that thought. For the *Greekes* being aduertised that morning from *Artaus*, a principall Commander vnder *Cyrus*, that his Master being slaine, he had retired himselfe to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day; awaiting for them so long if they would joyne with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer back to *Artaus*, that hauing beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Artaus* himselfe in the Kings Throne, if he would joyne with them, and pursue the victorie. Before they receiued any reply to this answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Campe, whose errand seemed to the Captaines very insolent: One told them that it was not for the Vanquishers to yeeld their Weapons; another, that hee would die ere hee yeelded to such a motion; a third asked, whether the King, as hauing the victorie, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie hee meant to requite their kindnesse. To this question *Phalimus a Grecian*, waiting vpon *Tissaphernes*, answered; That the King hauing slaine *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the middelt whereof hee held them fast enclosed with great Riues, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold vp their throats, for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These wordes, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalimus*, that hauing nothing left, but their Armes and Valour, whilst they kept their Armes, their Valour would be seruicable, but should they yeeld them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat *Phalimus* laughed, saying; This young man did seeme a Philosopher, and made a pretie speech; but that his deepe speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Armes, and his Valour, to preuaile against the great King. It seemes that *Phalimus* being a Courtier, and imployed in a business of importance, thought himselfe too profound a Statesman, to be cheeke in his Embassage by a bookish discouerser. But his wisdom here failed him. For whatsoeuer hee himselfe was (of whom no more is knowen than that he brought an vnholiest message to his owne Countreimen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons and Liues, to the mercilesse *Babonins*) this young Scholler by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principall Commanders were surprisid by treacherie of the *Persians*, being a priuate Gentleman, and hauing neuer seene the warres before, vnder-tooke the conduct of the Armie, which he brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than *Phalimus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithful to the King, as they had bene to *Cyrus*, offering their cruce in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might haue vse of them. But the finall answer was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalimus* deliuered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing Warre if they stirred thence; Whereunto hee required their answer. *Clearchus* the Generall told him, they liked it. How (saith *Phalimus*) must I understand

stand you? as choosing peace if we stay, otherwise warre, said *Clearchus*. But whether warre or peace? quoth this politike Embassadour. To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose.) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him, no wiser than he came. All that day the *Greekes* were faine to feede vpon their Horses, Asles, and other Beasts, which they rosted with arrowes, darts, and wooden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

## §. VI.

How the *Greekes* beganne to returne home-wards.



At night they tooke their way towards *Artaus*, to whom they came at mid-night, being forsaken by foure hundred foot, and fortie horse, all *Thracians*, who fled ouer to the King, by whom how they were contented, I doe not finde. Like enough it is that they were cut in peeces, for had they been kindly vsed, it may well be thought that some of them should haue accompanied *Tissaphernes*, and serued as Stales to draw in the rest. *Artaus* being of too bale a temper, and birth, to thinke vpon seeking the Kingdome for himselfe, with such assistance as might haue giuen it vnto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make couenant with them for mutuall assistance vnto the last: Whereunto both parts hauing sworn, hee aduised them to take another way home ward, which should bee somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to releuee them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, hauing made a wearisome march, and tired the Souldiers, they found the Kings Armie which had coasted them, lodged in certaine Villages, where they purposed themselves to haue encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, because hee would not seeme by declining them to shew feare, or weakenesse. That the Kings men were contented to remoue, and giue place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behauiour; Nor strange, that the *Gracians* being wearie and hungrie, and lying among enemies in an vnknowne Countreie, should be very fcarefull: but it is almost past beleefe, that the noise which was heard of these poore men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition enforced them to doe, should make the *Persians* sicke out of their Campe, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Armes, he should crace peace of them. The next day very early, came Messengers from *Artaxerxes*, desiring free access for Embassadours, to enreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars doe best open the quality of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to runne ouer the general passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, that when *Clearchus* had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battaile, because the *Greekes* (as he said) wanting wherewith to dine, could not endure to heare of true till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* dissembling the indignitie, was contented sweetly to swallow downe this pill, sending them guides who conducted them to a place where was plentie of victuals to releuee them.

## §. VII.

## B. VII.

How TISSAPHERNES under colour of peace betrayed all the Captaines of the Greekes.



Hereto the *Greekes*, relying vpon their owne vertue, had rather aduanced their affaires, than brought themselves into any straits, or termes of disaduantage. But now came vnto them the subtle Fox *Tissaphernes*, who circumventing the chiefe Commanders by fine feight, did mischicuously entrap them, to the extreme danger of the Armie. He told them, that his Prouince, lying neare vnto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire, that their diuerſe might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countymen at home, would not bee vnthankfull for such a benefit. Herewithall hee forgot not to rehearse the great seruice that he had done to his Master, being the first that aduertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and hauing not only brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battaile shewed his face to the *Greekes*, when all others turned their backs: that hee, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gaue chafe to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth hee) did I alleage to the King, entreating that he would giue me leave to conduct you safe into *Greece*, in which suite I haue good hope to speede, if you will send a milde answer to him, who hath willed me to aske you, for what cause yee haue borne Armes against him. The Captaines hearing this, were contented to giue gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he said) that peace should be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for what they tooke, and committing no spoile: yea that it should be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to afford them an open Market. Hereunto both parties hauing sworne, the League was concluded, and *Tissaphernes* returning to the King to take leave, and end all business, came vnto them againe after twentie daies, and then they set forward. This interim of twentie daies, which *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, ministred great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breed doubt; the Brethren, and Kindred of *Arians*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Souldiers, did worke him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that hee daily grew more strange to the *Greekes*, than formerly he had bene. This caused many to aduise *Clearchus*, rather to passe forward as well as he might, than to relie vpon couenants, and sit still whilst the King laid snares to entrap them. But he on the contrarie perswaded them, to rest contented whilst they were well, and not to call themselves againe into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting withall their owne wants, and the Kings meanes, but especially the Oathes mutually giuen and taken, wherewith hee law no reason why the enemies should haue clogged himselfe if he meant mischiefe, hauing power enough to doe them harme by a haire and open Warre.

*Tissaphernes* was a very honourable Man (if honour may be valued by greatness and place in Court) which caused his Oath to bee the more esteemed; for as much as no enforcement, or base respect, was like to haue drawne it from him. But his fallhood was such, both in substance and in successe, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceedeth from the fountaine of Truth, *I hate a rich man a year*. A lie may finde excuse when it grows out of feare: for that passion hath his originall from weaknesse. But when Power, which is a Character of the Almighty, shall be made the supporter of vntruth, the fallhood is most abhominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, aduancing his owne strength against the diuine Iustice, doth commit that sinne with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable

table effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found meanes to destroy all the Captaines, whom hee subtilly got into his power by a traine; making the Generall *Clearchus* himselfe the meane to draw in all the rest. The businesse was contriued thus: Hauing trauailed some daies together, in such wise, that the *Persians* did not encampe with the *Greekes*, who were very iaculous of the great familiaritie, appearing betweene *Tissaphernes*, and *Arius*; *Clearchus* thought it conuenient to roote out of *Tissaphernes* his braines all causes of distrust, whereof many had growne in that short time. To which purpose obtaining priuate conference with him, hee rehearsed the oath of Confederacie, which had paſt betwene them, shewing how religiously he meant to keepe it, and repeating the benefits, which the *Greekes* did receiue by the helpe of *Tissaphernes*, and hee promised that their loue should appeare to him not vnfruitfull, if he would make vse of their seruice against the *Assyrians* or *Pisidians*, who were accustomed to infect his Prouince, or against the *Egyptians*, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all diuine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not giue place to any close accusation or suspicion, whereby might grow sadaine inconuenience to either of them, vpon no iull ground. The faithlesse *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministred faire occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to minde how many waies hee could haue vsed to bring them to confusion, without perill to himselfe, especially by burning the Countrie, through which they were to passe, whereby they must needs haue perished by meere famine. For which cause hee said that it had bene great folly, to seke by perjurie, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were already in his handes; But the truth was, that his owne loue to them had moued him to worke their faticke, not only for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himselfe, and the King, by their assistance; but for that he might by their friendship, hope to obtaine what *Cyrus* had willed. Finally, hee invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that hee promised to bring all the Captaines with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell openly, which of them had by secret information sought to raise dissention betweene them. *Clearchus* himselfe being thus deceived, with great importunitie drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the campe of *Tissaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had bene to some common Faire. But being there arrived, *Clearchus* with other the five principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, wherethey had not waited long ere a signe was giuen, vpon which they within were apprehended, and the residue slaine. Forthwith certaine bands of *Persian* Horse-men scoured the field, killing as many *Greekes* as they met, and riding vp to the very Campe of the *Gracians*, who wondered much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, elcaping sorely wounded, informed them of all that had bene done. Hereupon the *Greekes* tooke Armes in hast, thinking that the enemy would forthwith haue assailed their Campe. Anon they might perceiue the Embassadors of *Tissaphernes*, among whom were his owne brother, and *Arius*, followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principall men in the Armie, saying, That they brought a message from the King, which *Arius* deliuered to this effect. That *Clearchus* hauing broken his faith, and the league made, was justly rewarded with death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Coronels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to surrender their Armes, which were due to him, as hauing belonged vnto his seruant *Cyrus*. When some alteration had followed vpon this message, *Xenophon* told the Embassadors, that if *Clearchus* had in such sort offended, it was well that he was in such sort punished: but he willed them to send backe

*Menon*

*Antion and Proxenus*, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greekes* might be aduised how to answer the *Persian*. Hereunto the Embassadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. *Clearchus*, and the other foure were sent to *Ataxerxes*, by whose commandement their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amiss to preuent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousness of *Tissaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Province walled by the *Greekes* against whom receiving from his Master conuenient aide of men and money, hee did so ill manage his affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor perjurie (to which he failed not to haue recourse) auailing him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, who tooke it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the seruice which he could not doe, he was thought vpon private ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flee from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. But now let vs returne to the prosperitie, wherein hee triumphed without great cause, hauing betrayed brauer men than himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischiefe vpon the whole Armie.

## §. VIII.

How *Xenophon* heartened the *Greekes*, and in despite of *Tissaphernes* went off safely.

**G**reat was the heaviness of the Souldiers, being now destitute of Leaders, and no lesse their feare of the euill hanging ouer their heads, which they knew not how to auoide. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe sadness of the whole Armie to be such, as hindered them from taking any course of preuenting the danger at hand, beganne to aduise the vnder-Officers of *Proxenus*'s companies, whose familiar friend he had bene, to betinke themselves of some meane, whereby their safetie might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: setting before their eyes whatsoever might serue to giue them hope, and aboue all perswading them in no wise to yeeld to the mercie of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they desired him to take vpon him the charge of that Regiment; and so together with him, the same night calling vp such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succede in the places of those who were slaine, or taken. This being done, and order set downe for disburdening the Armie of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the losse of *Tissaphernes*'s assistance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheape than he had bene wont to sell them; To which purpose they intended to take vp their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentifull Villages, and so to proceede, marching towards the heads of those great Riuer, which lay in their way, and to passe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made vpon them by *Tissaphernes*, whom they, seruing all on foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they received by the *Persian* Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the *Greekes* could reach. For this cause did *Xenophon* provide slings, wherewith he ouer-reached the enemy; and finding some Horses fit for seruice, that were imploied among the carriages he set men vpon them; training likewise his Archers, to shoote compassse, who had bene accustomed to the point blank. By these meanes did hee beare off the *Persians* who assailed him; and sometimes gaue them chase with that band of sifit Horses, which being well backt, with a firme bodie of foemen, and seconded with troups of the light armed-shot and slingers, compelled the enemy to lie a loose. *Tissaphernes* not daring to come to handie-gripes with these

these resolute men, did possesse the tops of Mountaines, and places of aduantage, by which they were to passe. But finally, when their valour made way through all such difficulties, he betooke himselfe to that course, which was indeede the fairest, of burning the Countrie. With great sorrow did the *Greekes* behould the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some aduised to defend the Countrie, as granted by the enemy himselfe to be theirs; others to make more lires, if so perhaps the *Persians* might be ashamed to doe that which were the desire of such as made passage in hostile manner; But these were faint comforts. The best counsaile was, That being neare vnto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Persian*, they should enter into their Countrie, passing ouer some high Mountaines which lay betwene them. This course they followed, which could not haue auailed them if *Tissaphernes* had begunne sooner to cut off their victuals, rather then to seeke to force, or to circumuent them by his fine wit.

## §. IX.

The difficulties which the Greeke Armie found in passing through the Land of the *Carduchi*.

**N**earing vpon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountered with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge Armies of the *Persian*, were no way inferior to the *Greekes* in daring, but only in the Art of warre. They were very light of foot, skilfull Archers; and vsed the Sing well; which weapons in that mountainous Countrie, were of much vse against these poore trauellers, afflicting them in leuen daies, which they spent in that passage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Betwene the Territorie of these *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ranne *Centrites* a great Riuer, vpon which the *Greekes* refreshed themselves one day, rejoycing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would proue easie. But the next morning they saw certaine troups of Horses, that lay to forbid their passage. These were leaued by the Kings Deputies in those parts; *Tissaphernes* and his Companies hauing taken their way towards *Jonis*. The Riuer was broad and deepe, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite banks. To increase these dangers the *Carduchi* following vpon them, lay on the side of a Mountaine, within less than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discouer a Foord, by which the greater number of them passing ouer, did easily chase away the Subjects of the *Persian*, and then sending backe the most expedite men, gaue succour to the Rear ward, against which the *Carduchi* being slightly armed, could not on plaine ground make resistance hand to hand. These *Carduchi* seeme to haue inhabited the Mountaines of *Xiphates*, which are not farre from the Spring of *Tigris*; though *Ptolomie* place them farre more to the East vpon the Riuer of *Cyris* in *Media*, wherein hee differs much from *Xenophon*, whose relation being grounded vpon his owne knowledge, doth best in this case deserve credit. Of the Riuer *Centrites* (as of many other Riuers, Townes, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may indure the severitie of a Critick. For *Ptolomie*, and the whole Nation of Geographers adde small light to this expedition: only of this last, I thinke it the same which falleth into *Tigris*, not much above *Artasgarta* springing out of *Xiphates*, and running by the Towne of *Sardens* in *Gordene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greekes* hauing passed *Centrites* did arrive.

## §. X.

How TERIBAZVS Gouverneur of Armenia, seeking to entrap the Greekes with termes of faimed peace, was disappointed and shamefully beaten.

**T**He Armie finding in Armenia good prouision, marched without any disturbance about fiftie or threecore miles to the head of the River *Tigris*, and passing ouer them, traualled as farre further without resistance, till they were encountered by *Teribazus* at the River *Tielesas*, 10 which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though small, but *Ptoleme* and others omit it. *Teribazus* gouerned that Countrey for the *Perian*, and was in great fauour with *Artaserxes*, whose Court may seeme to haue bene a Schoole where the Art of fillibood was taught as wisdom. He desired peace of the Greekes, which was made vpon this condition, that they should take what they pleased, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their way. As soon as he had made this league, he leauied an Armie, and besetting the straits of certaine Mountaines which they were to passe, hoped w<sup>t</sup> to make such benefit of their securitie, as might giue him the commendations of being no lesse craftily dishonest than *Tissaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of successe. For a great snow fell, which caused the Greekes 20 to make many fires, and scatter themselves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* also made many fires, and some of his men wandred about seeking reliefe. By the fires he was discouered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the Greekes, taking this captiue with them for a guide, fought him out, and conning vpon his Campe, did to alight him, that before the whole Armie could arriue there, the shout which was raised by the Vaunt-currors, chased him away. They tooke his Paulitron, wherein (besides many slaues, that were Artificers of voluptuousnesse) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Armie went north- 30 ward, and passing *Euphrates*, not far below the Springs thereof, traualled with much difficultie through deepe snow, being followed alooke by the enemy, who durst not approach them, but did cut off such as they found stragling behinde. The Inhabitants of the Countrey, through which they marched had their wintering houses vnder ground, wherein was found great plentie of victuals, and of cattaille, which likewise did winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Hauing refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable journey, which had consumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-slaues, and taking away (besides other Horses and Cattaille) some Colts that were bred vp for the great King.

## §. XI.

The passage of the Armie to *Trabizonde*, through the Countreies bordering vpon the River of *Phasis*, and other obscure Nations.

**S**O without impediment they came to the River *Phasis*, neare where- 50 vnto the people called *Phasiens*, *Taochi*, and *Chalybes* were feared. These Nations joynt together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountaine, which the Greekes were to passe, made countenance of warre: but some companies being sent by night to seize vpon a place of equall height to that wherein the enemies lay, making good the peece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused the people to flie, every one retreating to the defence of his owne. The first vpon whose Countrey the

the Greekes did enter were the *Taochi*, who conuaying all their prouision of victuals into strong holds, brought the Armie into much want, vntill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of cattaille were taken; the people, to auoide captiuitie, threw themselves head-long downe the rocks, the very women throwing downe first their owne children, and then casting themselves vpon them. Here was taken a great bootie of Cattaille, which serued to feed them, traualing through the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountered the Greekes hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke prisoners, and cutting 10 off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions liuing; who were glad, when after seuen daies journey they escaped from those continuall skirmishes, wherewith they had been vexed by these barbarians. Hence traualing through a good corne Countrey, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *Sythians*, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoining, vsed them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might discouer the *Euxine* Sea. From *Gomias* (which was the name of his Towne) hee led them through the Territorie of his enemies, desiring them to wait it with sword and fire. After fise daies march, they came to a Mountaine called *Teches*, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called *Atelchus*, 20 whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macians*, (with whom by means of an interpreter, found among themselves, who borne in that place had bene sold into Greece, they made a good peace) they arriued in the land of *Colchis*, wherein stands the Citie of \* *Trabizond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colonie of the Greekes. The *Colchians* entertaining them with hostilitie, were requited with the like; for the Armie, hauing now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did spoile the Countrey thirte daies together, forbearing only the Borderers vpon *Trabizonde*, at the Citizens request.

\* *Trabizond* a Colonie of the Greekes situate in the bottome of the *Euxine* Sea.

## §. XII.

How the Armie beganne at *Trabizond* to prouide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of *Sinape*, and thence prosecuted the same purpose to effect.



**H**Aving now found an Hauent Towne, the Souldiers were desirous to take shipping, and change their tedious Land-journies into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Chersiphos* a *Lacedaemonian*, one of the principall Commanders, promised by means of *Anticibius* the *Lacedaemonian* Admirall, who was his friend, that hee would prouide 40 Vessells to imbarke them. Hauing thus concluded, they likewise tooke order for the staying of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to vse them for their navigation. Least all this prouision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Armie, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adjoining to cleare the waies, and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were vterly vnwilling to giue care, being desirous to returne by Sea: but the Countrey fearing what inconuenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophons* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them failed directly into Greece, forsaking their 50 Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of *Trabizonde*: the other tooke Merchants and Passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessells were failed to increafe the Fleet. After long abode, when victuals beganne to faile, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchians*, neare vnto the Campe, was already quite waited, they were faine to imbarke their sick-men, with

the women, children, and such of the baggage as might be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Armie tooke their way by Land to *Cerjusa*, a Greeke Towne, where the fleet likewise arrived. Here the Armie being mustered was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Countie of the *Masyasi*, who were divided into factions. The stronger partie, despising their friendship, caused them to joyne with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

a *Masyasi* a Nation of Persians adjacent to

b *Cerjusa* a Port-Towne in the same Region.

c *Sinope* a Port-Towne in *Asiatia*, a Colonie of the *Myriani*.

The next place of their abode was *Cerjusa*, a Greeke Towne likewise, and a Colonie of the *Myriani*, as *Trapesus* and *Cerjusa* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sick-men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were like in convenient lodgings, taking into their owne hands the custodie of the Gates. Provision for the Armie they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territorie of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were welcome to *Sinope*, whence Embassadors were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatening to joyne with the *Paphlagonians*, if redresse could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*, that mere necessity had enforced the Armie to teach those of *Cerjusa* good manners in so bad a method: letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagonians* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonians* would be glad to take *Sinope* itselfe, to which, if cause were given, they would lend assistance. Upon this answer the Embassadors grew better aduised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew, and commanding the Towne of *Cerjusa* to releue the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by Land would prove, in regard of the manie and great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsaile, and the faire promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Armie, which well perceived that the Citie of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sea; provided, that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serue to imbarke every one man of them, then would they not put from the shore.

### §. XIII.

Of dissention which arose in the Armie; and how it was imbarked.

**I**t hereto the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firme vnities; which now beganne to dissolve, and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of Greece, warming their heads with priuate respects to their seuerall ends and purposes. Whilst they, who were sent as Agents from the Campe, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunitie of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honorable worke to build a Citie in those parts, which were soone like to proue great and wealthy, in regard both of their owne puilliance, and of the great repaire of the Greekes into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countie, diuining of his successe by the entrails of beastes. The Sooth-sayer, whom he employed, had receiued a great reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Astaxes* would not give battaile in ten daies: hee therefore, having preferred his money carefully, was desirous to be soone at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was diuulged, which was interpreted according to the discretie of mens opinions; some approving the motion, but the greater

greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this consultation, were sore afraid, least the powerie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themselves at home, should giue successe to the project. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the Armie with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the Captaines, who thereupon vnder-tooke to rogue the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set saile for Greece. One of these Captaines being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Trezi*; an other offered to leade them into *Cheronefus*. *Xenophon* who desired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that hee would haue them to set forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a Traitor that should forsake the Armie, before such time as they were arrived at their Iournies end. *Sidarus* the Sooth-sayer, who had vttered *Xenophons* purpose, was hereby staied from our running his fellowes, and druen to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than stood with his good liking. Also the other Captaines were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived, that ships were prepared sufficient for their Nauigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Armie was now re-coloured for the voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution; thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Naue, which they were in good readinesse to depart, but to keepe the money to themselves. The Captaines therefore who being disappointed by these Townes, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with faire hopes, repented much of their hasty offers, and signifying as much to *Xenophon*, praied him to make proposition to the Armie, of taking the ships, and sailing to *Phasis*, where they might seize vpon Lands, and plant themselves in such wiselike should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the business, they began to worke the principall of their owne followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These newes becomming publike, bred a suspicion of *Xenophon*, as if he had wonne the rest of the Captaines to his purpose, and meant now to carrie the Armie quite on other way from their owne home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gaue them satisfaction, and withall complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redresse. A generall inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadors from *Corylas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents desired peace of the Greekes: the Embassadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to haue beene fought, for that the Greekes having now their Fleet in a readinesse, did soone weigh Anchor, and set saile for *Harmene*, the Port of *Sinope*, whether *Chersiphilus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admirall *Anaxibius*, who promised to giue the Armie pay as soone as they came into the parts of Greece.

### §. XIII.

Another great dissention and distraction of the Armie. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and reposed by *XENOPHON*.

**T**he nearer that they approached to Greece, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not returne home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, hee might the more conueniently procure the good of them all, they determined

ned to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose favour as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displeace the *Lacedæmonians* who were jealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitive who forsooke the Armie at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ships) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the entrailes, that threatned ill successe to his gouernement, procured with vehement contention that this honour was laied vpon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedæmonian*. It seemes that *Xenophon*, considering the vexations incident to the conduct of a voluntarie Armie, wanting pay, did wisely in yielding to such tokens as forbad him to accept it; especially, knowing so well their desire, which was, by right or by wrong to get wealth wherefoeuer it might be found, without all regard of Friend or of Foe. *Cherisophus* had bene Generall but sixe or seuen daies, when hee was depose, for hauing bene vnwilling to robbe the Towne of *Heraclea*, which had sent presents to the Campe, and bene very beneficiall vnto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two daies they had failed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Riuer, which would haue giuen impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where, consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one feditious man began to put them in minde of seeking to get somewhat for themselves; telling them that all their prouision would be spent in three daies, and that being now come out of the enemies Countrey, victuals, and other necessities, could not bee had without money; for which cause he gaue aduice to send messengers into the Towne of *Heraclea*, giuing the Citizens to vnderstand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand peeces of money, called *Cyzicenes*, which summe amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the summe raised to ten thousand *Cyzicenes* at least: which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*, as being Generall, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*: but in vaine, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Least therefore either of these should faile in managing the businesse which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudencie and lesse discretion were sent, who in such wise deliuered their insolent message; that the Citizens taking time to deliberate vpon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the walls. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to bee disappointed of their rauenous purpose, they fell to mutinie, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Aradians*, and *Acheians*, they forsooke immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, choosing new Leaders out of their owne number. About foure thousand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten Captaines, sailed vnto the Port of *Calpas*, which is in the mid-way betwene *Heraclea* and *Bizantium*, with purpose to assaile the *Bythinians* on the suddaine. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and foure hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and fortie horse, which small band had done good seruice already, and could not haue bene spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Gouernour of *Bizantium*, to meete him at the mouth of the Riuer *Calpas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to conueigh him ouer into Greece; for which cause hee tooke his way thither by Land, leauing to *Xenophon* such shipping as he had, who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed vpon the Confinnes of *Heraclea*, and *Thracia Asiatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Countrey to the *Propont*. The Mutinies who had landed at *Calpas* by night, with purpose to take spoiles in *Bythia*, diuided themselves into ten Companies, euery Captaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, five or six miles from the Sea; in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered; and so was that part of the countrey surprisid on the suddaine, and sacked all at one time.

The

The place of it enduous was an high peece of ground, where some of them armed, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaping, the rest were all put to the sword. For the *Thracians* which escaped at first out of the Souldiers hands, did raise the Countrey, and finding the *Greekes* loden with bootie, tooke the advantage of their disorder, cutting in peeces those two Regiments: which done they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retreat from these *Aradians* and *Acheians*: who wanting the assistance of horse, and hauing neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driuen to stand meercly vpon their defence, bearing oile with great danger, and many wounds received, the darts and Arrows of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driuen from their watering place, and enforced to craue parlie. Whatfoeuer the articles of composition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all; but pledges for assurance they would giue none, without which the *Greekes* well knew, that all promises of such people, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the meane time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Trauailers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Armie, passing along those parts: and receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which the Gallants had foolishly throwne themselves, hee marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides them who gaue him the intelligence. His horse-men he sent before to discouer, and to scoure the waies; the light armed foot-men tooke the hill-top on either hand; all of them setting fire on whatsoeuer they found combustible, whereby the whole Countrey seemed to bee on a light flame; to the great terror of the enemies, who thought that some huge Armie had approached. That night he encamped on a Hill, within five mile of the *Aradians*, encircling with the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to bee quenched soone after Supper. The enemies perceiuing this, thought certainly that hee would haue come vpon them in the darke, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in very good array, to haue giuen battaile, found that his deuce, to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but hee maruailed that the *Greekes* were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquire, that they remoued at break of day, and perceiued by signes that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calpas*, in which journey hee neuer tooke them. They embaced him, and his, with great joy: Confessing that they themselves had thought the same which the enemies did, looking that hee should haue come by night, wherein finding themselves deceiued, they were afraid least he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away, to ouertake him, and ioyne with him. So they arrived at the Hauon of *Calpas*, where it was decreed, That whofoeuer from thencefort made any motion to dilioyne the Armie, should suffer death.

## §. XV.

Of diuers peeces of seruice done by *XENOPHON*, and how the Armie returned into Greece. The occasions of the warre betwene the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Perssians*.

**T**HE Hauon of *Calpas* lay vnder a goodly head-land, that was very strong, and bounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Oliues. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very conuenient feate for a great Citie. All which commodities, that might haue allured the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant,

caused

caused them to halt away, fearing least *Xenophon* should finde some device to haue feined himselfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to lue at home, neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow *Cyrus* in that Warre, as in regard of his Honour, and the loue which they bare vnto him: the poorer sort were such as left their Parents, Wives, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now detourous to returne. But whether it were so that *Xenophon* found aduantage by their owne superstition, to make them flay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signes appearing in the entrailes, did indeede forbid their departure: so long they were inforced to abide in the place till victualls failed, neither would the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Countrie, vntill the Sacrifices should promise good successe. *Cherisophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joynd to the rest of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more prouision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coronell into the place of *Cherisophus*, would needes aduerture to gratifie the Souldiers with the spoile of some Villages that stood neare at hand; in which enterprife he found ill successe, the whole Countrie lying in wait to entrap him, and an Armie of Horse being sent by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or Vice-roy of *Phrygia*, to the assistance of these *Bythinian Thracians*, which troupes falling vpon the *Greekes* that were scattered abroad in seeking bootie, slew fise hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certaine Mountaine thereby. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Armie to the rescue of those that suruiued, and brought them safe to the Campe; vpon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du garde*, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enimie, together with the present condition of the Armie, so disheartened and vnfurnished of necessities, caused the *Greekes* to remove their Campe to a place of more strength; which hauing intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to indure traunle, *Xenophon* with the fittest and best able men went forth, both to burie those which were lately slaine, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their Assailants. In this journey his demeanour was very Honourable. For hauing giuen buriall to the dead, the Enemie was discouered, lying on the tops of the Hills adjoyning, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough, and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leaue at their backs a wood scarce passable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that hee had rather follow the enimie with halfe the number, than turne his back to them with twice as many, and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Babylonians*, hee would not faile with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the campe, yet what should they doe there, wanting victualls to sustaine them in the place, and ships to carrie them away? wherefore hee willed them rather to fight well that day, hauing eaten their dinners, than an other day fasting; and not to regard the vncertaine returne, which might serue to slay Cowards from running away, but to with vnto the Enemie a faire and easie way, by which hee might fle from them. These persuasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both *Persians* and *Bythinians* being chased out of the field, abandoned the Countrie forthwith, removing their Families, and leauing all that could not soderly be conueighed away, to the discretion of the *Greekes*, who at good leisure gathered the harvest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last fight which they had on the side of *Asia*. For they were not only suffered quietly to enioy the spoile of the Countrie, but when the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colonie on the Port of *Calpas*, Embassadours were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and make

make offer of their best assistance. But the Souldiers had no minde to flay. Wherefore entering further into *Bythinia*, they took a great bootie, which they carried away to *Cyzyopolis*, a Citie neare vnto *Chalcedon*, where they sold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly feare, least their long flay in that Countrie might breed in them a desire to vilifie his Prouince, where they might haue found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore hee sent to the *Lacedemonian* Admirall, entreating him with much influence and large promises to wait them ouer into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admirall condescending, promised to giue the Souldiers pay, as soone as they arrived at *Bizantium*. So were they carried out of *Asia* at the intreatie of the *Persians*, who in the height of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mightie Riuers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their Armes into his handes, and so to yeeld their lues to his direction. How discourteously they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they seized vpon *Bizantium*, which by *Xenophon*'s persuasion they forbore to sack, I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertaine little to the generall course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discouer the secrets of *Asia*, and stirre vp the *Greekes* to thinke vpon greater enterprises, than euer their forefathers had vnderaken. Likewise it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of *Italia*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedemonians* ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seedes of the Warre shortly following, which the *Lacedemonians* made vpon *Artaxerxes*, were already sowne, before these companies returned out of the high Countries of *Asia*. For the Townes of *Ionia*, which had sided with yong *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, if not against the great King, prepared to rebell, which they thought safer, than to fall into the handes of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Prouince, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* besought the *Lacedemonians* to send them aide, whereby to recouer their liberties; and obtained their request.

For a power was sent ouer, vnder conduct of *Thimbro* a *Spartan*, who bestowed his men in such Townes as had already revolted, to secure the Citie and their Fields, but not to make any offensive Warre.

## CHAP. XI.

Of the affaires of Greece, whilst they were menaged by  
the Lacedæmonians.

## §. I.

How the Lacedæmonians took courage by example of XENOPHONS  
Armie, to make Warre vpon ARTAXERXES.



IT seemes that the Lacedæmonians did well perceiue in how ill part *Artaxerxes* took their fauour thewed vnto his brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open warre against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no aduantage might slip, which could serue to strengthen their estate, by finding the *Perſian* worke beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophon* Armie had reucaled the basenesse of those effeminate *Asiatiques*, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselves had gotten, vpon termes of extreme disadvantage; then was all Greece filled with desire of vndertaking vpon this huge vnweldie Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joyn't-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to *Susa*, whercof one handfull had opened the passage to *Babylon*, and further, finding no power that was able to give them resistance, in all that long journey of foure and thirtie thousand two hundred and fiftie furelongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about foure thousand two hundred foure score and one, a very painefull march of one yeare and thre moneths. Neuerthelesse the ciuill distraction wherewith Greece was miserably torne, and especially that hot fire of the *Theban* Warre, which, kindled with *Perſian* gold, brake forth sodainly into a great flame, drew back out of *Asia* the power of the Lacedæmonians, to the defence of their owne estate; leauing it questionable whether *Agessius*, hauing both the same, and farre greater forces, could haue wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two yeares, which he spent in *Asia*, his deedes procured more commendation of magnanimitie and faire behauiour, than of stout courage, and great, or profitable atchieuements. For how highly so euer it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other warres, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being only a few incursions into the Countries lying neare the Sea, carrie no proportion to *Xenophons* owne journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retreat of *Canon* the *Briton* with fix thousand men from *Aquileia*, to his owne Countrey, through all the breadth of *Italie*, and length of *France*, in despite of the Emperor *Theodosius*, being rather like it than equall. But of *Agessius* and his warres in *Asia* and Greece, we shall speake more in due place.

## §. II.

## §. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the warre in Asia.



HIMERO receiuing *Xenophons* men, beganne to take in Townes, and to entertaine all such as were willing to reuolt from the *Perſian*, who were many, and some of them fact, as had bene highly beholding to the King; who seeme to haue had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to liue vnder the gouernment of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Master did loue him. The managing of the warre begonne by *Himero*, was for his oppressions taken out of his handes, and committed to *Dercyllides* a *Spartan*, who behaued himselfe as a good man of Warre, and a wise Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries of *Asia* was diuided betwene *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes fauour the greater, and hauing the chiefe command in those warres against the *Greekes*; *Dercyllides* who did beare a priuate hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischeuous nature, and would not be forre to see his Countie throughly beaten, though to the Kings losse) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Æolis*, which was vnder the iurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, and forthwith in few daies, he brought into his owne power.

That Countrey of *Æolis* had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gaue eadie successe to the attempts of *Dercyllides*. *Zenis* a *Lacedæmonian* had been Deputie to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death his wife *Antia* procured his Office, wherein she behaued herselfe so well, that she not only was beloued of the people vnder her gouernment: but enlarged her Territorie, by the conquest of certayne Townes adioyning; and sundrie times gaue assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his warres against the *Myſians* and *Pisidians*. For shee had in pay some Companies of *Greekes*, whose valour by her good vſage did her great seruice. But somewhat before the arriual of *Dercyllides* in those parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called *Alcidas*, whom shee trusted and loued much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to fluster her, and kill her sonne of seuentene yeares old; which done, he seized vpon two of her principall Townes, wherin her treasure lay, hoping to haue bene admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers, that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him Gouernour in the place of *Antia*. His presents were not only rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but reuenge of his fowle treason threatned; whereby the wicked villaine was driuen into tearmes of almost vtter desperation. In the meane time came *Dercyllides*, to whom the Townes of *Antia*, that held against *Alcidas*, did quickly open their Gates. One only Towne stood out foure daies (against the will of the Citizens, who were couetous of libertie) the Gouernour striving in vaine to haue kept it to the vſe of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities *Gergebe* and *Sepeſis*, which the Traitor held, who fearing all men, as being loued of none, sent Embassadors to *Dercyllides*, desiring leaue to speake with him, and pledges for his securitie: vpon the deliuerie of which hee issued out of *Sepeſis*, and coming into the Campe, made offer to ioyn with the *Greekes* vpon such conditions, as might seeme reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllides*, that other condition there was none, than to set the Citizens freely at libertie. And presently vpon these wordes they marched toward *Sepeſis*. When *Alcidas* perceiued that it was in vaine to strive against the Armie, and the Townes men; who were all of one minde; he quietly went along with *Dercyllides*, who remaining but a few houres in the Citie did a sacrifice to *Minerua*, and then leading away the Garrison of *Alcidas*, he left the Citie free; and departed toward *Gergebe*. *Alcidas* did not forsake his Companie, but followed him, earnestly intreating that he might be suffered to re-  
taine

taine *Gergeithe*: but coming to the Gates he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened, for (quoth *Dercyllides*) I must here likewise doe a sacrifice to *Athena*. The Traitor, not daring to make denial, cauld his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllides*, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not chuse to serue vnder his Ensignes. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized vpon, as belonging to one that had bene subiect to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemie to the *Greekes*: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World hee might finde any place to hide his detested head. *Dercyllides*, having in eight daies taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in *Bythnia*, to which end hee tooke Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of Warre. That Winter, and the Sommer ensuing, the Truce being recontinued held; in which time, besides the walking of *Bythnia*, the neck of *Læd* joyning *Cheronea* to the Maine, was fortified, being foure or five miles in breadth, by which meanes eleuen Townes with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wild *Thracians*, and made fit and able to victuall the Campe. Likewise the Citie of *Marne* was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with prouision. After this, *Dercyllides* had command from *Sparta*, to ouert the warre into *Caria*, where was the seat of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not vneale to recouer all the Townes of *Ionis*. *Pharax* the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yearly Office) being appointed to ioyne with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessitie, yet was he not in his owne danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus* hauing respect to the Kings seruice, came to assist his priuate enemie *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into *Caria*, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards *Ionis*, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for resistance. As these *Persians* were delirous to keepe the warre from their owne dores, so was *Dercyllides* willing to free his Confederates the *Ionians* from the spoile and danger of the warre, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cause he passed the Riuer of *Meander*, and not looking to haue been so soone encountered, marched carelessly through the Countrey: when on the very sodaine the whole Armie of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of *Persians*, *Carians*, and some Mercenary *Greekes*, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battaile. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readinesse, as also in advantage of ground: for the *Persian* had a great multitude of Horse, the *Greekes* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the Ilanders and others, of such places as bordered vpon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight; or abiding a while for shame did plainly discouer by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wise. Only *Dercyllides* with his *Peloponnesians* regarding their honor, prepared to endure the fight: which must needs haue brought them to destruction, if the counsaile of *Pharnabazus* had bene followed, who perceiving the opportunitie of so great a victorie, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, beganne to consider what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed and thinking that all the *Greekes* were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to craue parley; the conclusion of which was, That a truce should be made, to last vntill *Tissaphernes* might receiue answer from the King, and *Dercyllides* from *Sparta*, concerning the demands propounded in the Treatie, which were on the one part that all the *Greekes* in *Asia* might enjoy their owne libertie and lawes, but contrariwise on the other side, that the *Lacedæmonians* should depart *Asia*, and leaue the Townes to the Kings pleasure. This Treatie was of none effect; only it serued to free the *Greekes* from the present danger, and to gaine time vnto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to auoid the warre by procrastination, which he durst not adventure to finish by triall of a battaile.

¶ III.

## ¶ III.

How the Lacedæmonians tooke reuenge vpon the Eleans for old displeasure. The discontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, concerned against the State of Sparta.

**I**N the meane season the *Lacedæmonians*, who found none able to withstand them in *Greece*, beganne to call the *Eleans* to account for some disgraces receiued by them during the late warres, when leifure was wanting to the requittall of such petite injuries. These *Eleans* being Presidents of the *Olympique* games, had set a fine vpon the Citie of *Sparta*, for non-payment of which, they forbade them to come to the solemnities, and publicly whipt one of them, that was a man of note, for presuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindred *Agis* King of *Sparta*, from doing sacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points vied great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no balincelle that could hinder them from taking reuenge: and therefore sent a peremptorie message to the *Eleans*, commanding them to let at libertie the Cities which they held in subiection. This was the vsuall pretence which they made the ground of all their warres: though little they cared for the libertie of such Townes, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than mere Vassalls of the *Lacedæmonians*. In their late warres with *Athenis*, the strong opposition which they found caused this goodly Title of libertie to worke very slowly: but hauing now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gaue present successe to their desires. Two yeares together they sent an Armie into the Countrey of the *Eleans*: the first yeare an earthquake (held in those times a prodigious signe, and which did alwaies forbid the prosecution of any enterprize in hand) caused them to retire: the second yeare, all the Townes of the *Eleans* did hastily revolt, and the Citie it selfe was driuen to submision; consenting both to suffer their old subiects freely to enioy their libertie, and to haue her owne walls throwne downe. Only the Presidentship of the *Olympian* games was left vnto them, which, it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming vse modestly, finding themselves to stand at the mercie of *Sparta*. In this expedition all the *Greekes* were assisitant to the *Lacedæmonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Beotians*, whose aide hauing bene of as much importance in the late *Peloponnesian* Warre, as the force of *Sparta* it selfe, they could not smother their dislike of their vnequall diuision following the victorie; which gaue to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*, to *Thebes*, and *Corinth*, only securitie against *Athenis*, but such a securitie as was worfe than the danger. For when the equall greatnesse of two mightie Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutral Common-weales to adhere to either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to reuenge injuries, they had by mortall hatred prosecuted the warre to extremitie, leauing the one Citie naked of power and friends, the other mightily encreased in both, it was then (if not necessarie to obay the greatnesse which themselves had made yet) foolish and dangerous to prouoke it. Neuertheless, it was not the purpose of the *Spartans* to take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victorie or compulsion made some good end with the *Persian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

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¶ IIII.

## B. II. III.

The passage of AGESILAVS into Asia. His warre with TISSAPHERNES.  
How TISSAPHERNES was put to death, and the warre diuerted into an  
other Prouince, through perswasion and gifts of TITHRAUSTES  
his successor. How carelesse the Persian Lieutenants  
were of the Kings good.



AGESILAVS newly made King of Sparta, was desirous to haue the honour of the victorie, which, not without cause, he expected vnto those of Asia; and therefore procuring a great Armie to ioyne with that of Lercylidas, he took his way in great pompe to Aulis in Boeotia, a Haven, lying opposite to the Iland of Euboea, in which place Agamemnon (leading the power of all Greece to the warre against Troy, many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of Agamemnon hee meant also to doe sacrifice in Aulis, which the Thebans, Lords of that Countrey, would not permit, but saying that the performance of such ceremonies in that place, belonged vnto their Officers, they were so vnable to conceale their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw downe his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for Agesilavus to entangle himselfe and his Countrey in any new warre; therefore, waiting better opportunitie of reuenge, he quietly swallowed the contumelie, and followed his maine intendment. Having landed his men at Ephesus, he was entertained by Tissaphernes with a Treatie of peace, wherein Agesilavus peremptorily requiring that the Persian should restore to liberall all the Greeke Townes in Asia, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make truce. Truce was therefore made, which Tissaphernes had sought only to winne time of making prouision for the warre, and getting supply of men and money from Artaxerxes; whilst Agesilavus was busie in seeing the Estates of his Confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from warre was at the coming downe of these forces which Artaxerxes had sent: at what time Agesilavus received a plaine message from Tissaphernes, that either hee must forth-with depart out of Asia, or make good his abode by strong hand. Agesilavus returning word that he was glad to heare that his enemies had by perjurie deferred vengeance from Heauen, prepared to invade them; and sending word to all the Townes which lay betwene him, and Caria, that they should provide victuals, and other necessaries for his Armie, did easily make Tissaphernes beleue, that his intent was to invade that Prouince wherein Tissaphernes dwelt, and which was vnto for Horie, in which part of his forces the Persian had most confidence. Therefore Tissaphernes bestowing all his Companies of foot in Caria, entred with his horse into the plaine of Maander, hoping thereby to stoppe the passage of a heauie foot-Armie, not suffering them to passe into that Countrey which was fittest for their seruice. But the Greekes left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into Phrygia, where they tooke great spoile without resistance, till such time as the Horse-men of Pharnabazus met him, who in a small skirmish hauing the better of the Greekes, were the occasion that Agesilavus returned to Ephesus. Although in this last fight only twelue men were lost, yet Agesilavus perceiving by that triall how hard it would be to preuaile, and hold the maiestie of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, rooke all possible care to encrease that part of his forces. By which meanes hauing enabled himselfe, whilst winter lasted, hee entred vpon the Countrey of Tissaphernes, as soone as the season of the year would permit, and not only tooke a great bootie, but finding the Horse-men of Tissaphernes in the plaine of Maander, without assistance of their infanterie, hee gaue them battaile, and had a great victorie, taking their Campe in which hee found great riches. The blame of this losse fell heauie vpon Tissaphernes

Tissaphernes, who either vpon cowardise had absented himselfe from the battaile, or following some other buisnesse, was then at Sardes. For which cause his Master hauing him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which hee much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the Greekes, were taken out of the way, he sent into those parts Tithraustes a Persian, to cut off the head of Tissaphernes, and succede him in the gouernement. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heauen, when by perjurie hee could aduance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much overweening of his owne wisdom, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himselfe most perfect. For supposing, that by his great skill in subtle negotiation hee should one way or other circumuent the Greekes, and make them wearie of Asia; he did not seeke to finish the warre, and, according to his Masters will, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to temporise till he might finde some opportunitie of making such end as best might stand with the Kings honour and his owne. Wherein it seemes that he much mistooke his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aduice which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would hee much more gladly haue taken it, if he could haue found such means whereby the danger it selfe might haue bene auoided: as not louing to haue warre whilst by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtaine peace. And this appeared well by the course which Tithraustes tooke at his first possession of the low-Countries. For he sent Embassadors to Agesilavus, in very friendly sort, letting him know, that the man who had bene Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the Greekes enjoy their owne lawes and libertie, vpon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Armie be forthwith dismissed. The answer to this proposition, was by Agesilavus referred to the Council of Sparta; in the meane season he was content to transcribe the warre into the Prouince of Pharnabazus, at the request of Tithraustes, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

This was a strange manner of Warre, both on the offensive and on the defensive part. For Agesilavus hauing entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbear his feuerall Prouinces, at the entreatie of the Lieutenants: and those Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintaine his Estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed they knew that their heads might easily bee taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any losse that fell on their next Neighbour-Prouinces, which were subiect likewise to the same Crowne of Persia, so long as their owne gouernement could be preserved free from waite and danger. The cause of this disorder on the Persian side I can ascribe to nothing so deuersely, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Eunuchs, Concupines, and Ministers of pleasure, were able by partiall construction to countenance, or disgrace, the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so vsuall that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Prouinciall Gouernour, according to the benefit or losse, which the Countrey giuen in charge vnto each of them receiued, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to passe, that as every one was desirous to make his owne Territories yeeld a large increase to the Kings treasure; so no man was careful to assist his borderers, if losse or danger might thereby grow to himselfe and his; but fate still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces it had not bene vncleane to recompence the spoile of one Countrey, by conquering another, or defending a third from farre greater miseries.

## §. V.

The Warre and Treatie betwene AGESELAUS and  
PHARNABAZUS.

AGESELAUS having thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and wasting the Countrey without resistance. Hee tooke the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant draue him out of his Campe. These actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not winne Cities and Places of strength, which might haue encreased his power, and giuen assurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew vnto him some that were discontented and stood vpon bad termes with the great King, whom hee lost againe as easily, by meanes of some slight iniurie done to them by his vnder-Captaines. *Pharnabazus* did not enclose himselfe in any Towne for feare of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as neere as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which hee found not vncauie to doe. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their most necessitie, had bene so great, that when hee (obtaining parley) did set before their eyes his boundtie towards them, and his loue (which had bene such, that besides many other hazards of his person, hee had for the rescue of their fleet, when it was driuen to runne a shore at *Abydos*, adventured to ride into the Sea as farre as he could finde any ground, and fight on horse-back against the *Athenians*) together with his faith which had neuer bene violated in word or deede: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise then by telling him, That hauing warre with his Master, they were enforced, against their will, to offend him. *Ageseilus* did make a faire offer to him, that if hee would reuolt from the King to them; they would maintaine him against the *Persian*, and establish him free Prince of the Countrey wherein hee was at that time only Deputie to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make warre against them, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and hee commanded to obey another, hee would then shift side, and betake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parlie was, That the Armie should no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor againe returne into it, whilst employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by *Ageseilus*, and the with-drawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more necessarie business else here; but because his Countrey would yeeld great bootie; and for the hire of thirtie Talents. By this meanes the *Lacedemonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their vnthankfulness with full reuenge.

## §. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that  
were hired with gold from the Persian.

IN the meane while *Tithraustes*, perceiuing that *Ageseilus* meant nothing lesse than to returne into Greece, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in *Asia*, tooke a wife course whereby the Citie of *Sparta* was not only driuen to looke to her owne, and giue ouer her great hopes of subuerting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had bene gotten by many late victories, and saw her Dominion restrained vnto the narrow bounds of her

her owne Territorie. He sent into Greece fittie talents of silver, to bee employed in raising warre against the *Lacedemonians*; which treatise was, by the subtilie practise of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed, among the principall men of the *Thebans*, *Argines*, and *Corinthians*, that all those Estates hauing formerly borne secret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now desirous of nothing so much as of open war. And kall this great heate of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercise, beginne to faine, and vanish away in idle wordes, occasion was found out to thrust the *Lacedemonians* into Armes, that they themselves might seeme Authours of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claime; but the *Phocians* either hauing the better title, or finding the greater fauour, had it adjudged vnto them, and received yearly money for it. This money the *Locrians* were either hired or perswaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning so to loose their Rent, made a distresse by strong hand, recouering a great deale more than their owne; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tennants) requited with an inuasion made vpon *Phocia*, waiting that Countrey in the manner of open warre. Such were the beginnings of professed hostilitie betwene *Thebes* and *Sparta*, and the first breaking out of their close enmitie, that had long time, though hardly, been concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embassadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, and requesting succour, they had very fauourable audience, and readie consent to their suite; it being the manner of the *Lacedemonians*, to deferre the acknowledgment of injuries received, vntill occasion of reuenge were offered, and then to discouer their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunitie to worke their owne wills, hauing no other war to disturbe them in Greece, and hearing out of *Asia* no newes, that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lysander* to raise all the Countreies about *Phocia*, and with such forces as he could leaue, to attend the coming of *Pausanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath bene shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of *Peloponnesus*. *Lysander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to reuolt from *Thebes*. *Pausanias* likewise raised all *Peloponnesus*, except the *Corinthians*, (who refused to assist him in that enterprize) meaning to ioyne with *Lysander*, and make a speedie end of the war. The consideration of so great a danger, approaching so swiftly, caused the *Thebans* to seeke what helpe they could abroad, forasmuch as their owne strength was farre too little to make resistance against such mightie preparations. It was not vnknowne to them, that many followers of the *Lacedemonians* were otherwise affected in heart than they durst vtter in countenance; but the good willes of such people were little available, considering that the most which could be expected from them was, that they should doe as little hurt as they could by which manner of tergiversation, the *Corinthians* did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the safest course to procure the assistance of some Estate that might presently declare it selfe on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, & make their partie strong. To this end they sent Embassadors to *Athens*, excusing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompenced with friendship lately shewen in their refusal of assisting *Pausanias*, when he came in behalfe of the thirtie Tyrants, against the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their owne Honours sake, they requested them of aide in the present warre, offering to doe the best that they could for the restoring of *Athens* to her former Estate and Dignitie. *Thrasybulus* and his Friends, who persecuted by the thirtie, had bene well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the Citie to make a large requittall of the courttesie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* should not only refuse to aide the *Lacedemonians* in this Warre; but that it should assist the *Thebans*, and engage it selfe in their cause. Whilst *Pausanias* lay

still, waiting the arrivall of his Confederates; *Lysander* being desirous to doe some-  
what that might advance the buisnesse in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, though  
*Pausanias* did not meete him, as had beene appointed yet he attempted the Towne,  
and was slaine in fight by the *Thebans*, who came hastily to the rescue. As this vi-  
ctorie did encourage the *Thebans*, so the coming of *Pausanias* with his great Armie  
did againe amaze them, with presentation of extreme danger; but their spirits were  
sooner reuiv'd by the strong succour which was brought from *Athens*, in considera-  
tion of which, and of the late battaile, *Pausanias* durst not hazard a new fight with  
them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slaine, by composition, departed  
out of their Territorie, for which, either cowardise or indiscretion, he was at his re-  
turne to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitor, and driven to flee into *Teges*, where hee  
ended his daies in banishment.

## §. VII.

How *Agessilaus* was called out of *Asia* to helpe his Countrey. A victorie  
of the *Spartans*. *Conon* the *Athenian*, assisted by *Pharnabazus*,  
over comes the *Lacedaemonian* fleet; recovers the mastery of the  
Seas; and rebuilds the walls of *Athens*.

**T**His good successe, and the confederacie made with *Athens*, gave such  
reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubaeans*, *Lo-  
crisians*, and *Acarnians*, did iorth with side with them, and raising a strong  
Armie, determined to give battaile to the *Lacedaemonians*, as neare as  
they might, to their owne dores; Considering that the force of *Sparta*  
it selfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adunction of their Confe-  
derates. The Magistrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, sent for *Agessilaus*, who  
readily obeyed them, and promising his friends in *Asia* to returne speedily to their  
assistance, passed the straights of *Hellepont* into *Europe*. In the meane time the Ci-  
ties of the new league had given battaile to the *Lacedaemonians*, and the remainder of  
their Associates, but with ill successe. For when the right-wing of each part had got-  
ten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the chace in some disor-  
der, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedaemonians*, who meeting them in good  
order, wonne from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left  
wing of the *Lacedaemonians*, and made the victorie of that day entirely their owne.  
The report of this battaile meeting *Agessilaus* at *Amphipolis*, were by him sent over  
into *Asia*, where it is not likely that they brought much comfort vnto his friend,  
who had since his departure scene the *Spartan* fleet beaten, and *Lysander* the Admi-  
rall slaine. The same man, whose endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into order,  
by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedaemonians* with money, and all manner of  
supplies, was now the occasion that the power of *Athens* grew strong at Sea, when  
the Citie was depoyled of her old reputation, and scarcely able to maintaine an Ar-  
mie by Land for her owne defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it impor-  
ted the King his Master, to have the *Greekes* diuided into such factions, as might ve-  
terly disable them from vndertaking abroade, though it the safest way for himselfe,  
during these broiles, to take such order, that he should not neede any more, to seeke  
peace by entreatie and commoration of old benefites, at their hands, who vn-pro-  
voked had sold his loue for thirtie Talents. To which purpose he furnished *Conon*  
the *Athenian* with eight ships, who had escaped, when the fleet of *Athens* was fur-  
nished by *Lysander* at *Agos-Potamos*; giuing him the command of a great Naue,  
wherewith he requited the losse received at *Agos-Potamos*, by repaying the *Lace-  
daemonians* with the like destruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victorie *Conon*  
sailed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberaltie of *Pharnabazus*, partly  
as the fruit of his victorie, so strong a Naue, and so much gold, as encouraged the  
*Athenians*

*Athenians* to rebuild their walls, and thinke more hopefully vpon recovering the  
Signorie which they had lost.

## §. VIII.

Of sundrie small victories gotten on each part. The *Lacedaemonians*  
loose all in *Asia*; The *Athenians* recover some part of  
their old Dominions.

**N**Euerthelessse the *Lacedaemonians*, by many victories at Land, maintai-  
ned for some yeares the honour of their estate, endangered very  
greatly by this losse at Sea. For *Agessilaus* obtained the better with  
his horse-men, from the *Thessalians*, who were accounted the best ri-  
ders in *Greece*: He waited *Baotia*, and fought a great battaile at *Coro-  
nea* against the *Thebans*, and their Allies, whom hee ouerthrew; and by his Marshall  
*Gylis* forraged the Countrey of *Locris*: which done, he returned home.

The gaine of these victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by ma-  
ny losses, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battailes of *Coronea* vanquish  
the *orebomenians*, who stood opposite vnto them, and retired vnbroken to Mount  
*Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agessilaus* charged them in their returne from  
the pursuit. Likewise *Gylis* was slaine with a great part of his Armie by the *Locrians*;  
and some other exploits by the *Lacedaemonians* performed against the *Corinthians*,  
were repaid with equall damage received in the parts adjoining; many Townes  
being easily taken, and as easily recovered. The varietie of which enter-faits was  
such, that the *Thebans* themselves were drawne, by the losse of the Haven of *Corinth*,  
to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the newes came of a  
great victorie obtained by *Iphicrates*, General of the *Athenian* forces at *Lechaeum*;  
whereupon the *Theban* Embassadors being sent for, and willed to doe their mes-  
sage, required only in forme, to haue a safe conduct giuen them, that they might  
enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the Warre was made for a while only  
by incursions, wherein the *Athenians*, confederates of *Sparta*, felt most losse, their whole  
state being endangered by the *Acarnians*, who held with the contrarie side, vntill  
*Agessilaus* repaid these invaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought vpon  
their owne Lands, which did so afflict the *Acarnians* that they were driven to sue  
for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of most consequence, vpon which the suc-  
cesse of all depended. For when the Townes of *Asia* perceived, that the *Lacedae-  
monians* were not only intangled in an hard warre at home, but almost disabled to passe  
the Seas, hauing lost their fleet at *Cnidus*; they soone gaue care to *Pharnabazus*,  
who promised to allow that they should vie their owne lawes, if they would expell  
the *Spartan* Governours. Only the Citie of *Abdus* did stand firme, wherein *Dercyl-  
lus* lay, who did his best to continue all the Townes about *Hellepont*, in the alli-  
ance of the *Lacedaemonians*; which he could not doe, because the *Athenian* fleet vn-  
der *Thrasylulus* tooke in *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, redu-  
cing the Ile of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgement of *Athens*.

## §. IX.

The base conditions offered vnto the Persian by the *Lacedaemonians*. Of  
sundrie fights and other passages in the warre. The peace  
of *ANTALCIDAS*.

**A**Bout this time the *Spartans* beganne to perceiue, how vnease a thing it  
would bee, to maintaine the warre against men as good as themselves,  
assisted with the treasures of *Persia*: wherefore they craued peace of  
*Artaxerxes*, most basely offering, not only to renounce the *Greekes* in-  
habiting

habiting *Asia*, and to leaue them to the Kings disposition, but withall to let the Ilanders, and euery Towne in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute libertie, whereby they said that all the principall Estates of their Countrey would be weakened, that no one, nor all of them should be able to stirre against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Countrey being so broken, and rent into many small peeces, could neither haue disquieted the *Persian*, by an onelike warre, nor haue made any good defence against him, but would haue left it ealie for him in continuance of time, to haue taken the Cities one after another, till hee had made himselfe Master of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with enuie, that perceiving how the Dominion of the Seas was like to returne to *Athens*, they chose rather to giue all from themselves and others, and make all a-like weake, than to permit that any of their owne Nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalfe joyined together against the *Lacedemonians*, did by their seuerall Embassadors oppose themselves vnto it, and for that it was thought fittest for *Artaxerxes*, rather to weaken the *Lacedemonians* yet more, than by interpoling himselfe to bring friends and foes on the suddaine to an equalitie. Especially *Struthus*, whom *Artaxerxes* did send as his Lieutenant into the low-Countries, did seeke to repay the harme done by *Agessilus* in those parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, *Timbro* was sent into *Asia* to make war vpon *Scathrus*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the warre, being scattered about, all the Iles and Townes on the firme Land grew almost to the manner of piracie and robbery, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthe of remembrance. *Timbro* was slaine by *Struthus*, and in his place *Diphridus* was sent, who demeaned himselfe more warily. *Dercyllides* was removed from his charge at *Abydos*, because hee had not impeached *Thrasylulus* in his enterprises about *Hellepont*; *Anaximus*, who succeeded him, was surprisid and slaine in a skirmish by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thrasylulus*, departing from *Lesbos* toward *Rhodes*, was slaine by the way at *Apendus*. The Citie of *Rhodes* had long before joyined with the *Lacedemonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Aristocratic*, or the Governement of a few the principall Citizens, where as contrariwise the *Athenians* were accustomed to put the Soueraigntie into the handes of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselves, by erecting in the Townes of their Confederates a Governement like vnto their owne: which doing (where more especiall cause did not hinder) caused the Nobilitie to fauour *Sparta*, and the Commons to incline to *Athens*. The people of *Egina* roued vpon the coast of *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to land an Armie in *Egina*, and besiege their Towne: but this siege being raised by the assistance of the *Lacedemonian* fleet, the Ilanders beganne a new to molest *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to man their ships againe, that returned beaten, hauing lost foure of thirteene. The losse of these ships was soone recompensed by a victorie which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* Generall had in *Egina*, where vpon the Ilanders were faine to keepe home, and leaue to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well seeme strange that the Citie of *Athens*, hauing but newly raised her walls; hauing not by any fortunate and important battaile secured her estate from dangers by land; but only depending vpon the assistance of such Confederates, as carried vnto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause; would send a fleet and an Armie to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Euzgoras*, when the maistrie of the Seas was so ill assured, that an Iland lying in the cie of *Pisagrus*, had abilitie to vex the coast of *Attica*. But as the ouer-weening of that Citie did cause it usually to embrace more than it could compasse, so the infolencie and shamelesse injustice of the people, had now bred in the chiefe Commanders, a desire to keepe themselves farre out of sight, and to seeke employments at such distance as might secure them from the eies of the enuious, and from publick iudgements, out of which few

few or none escaped. For which cause *Timotheus* did passe away much part of his time in the Ile of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carrie away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Countrey well could haue spared, with which hee returned not when the businesse in *Cyprus* came to an end, but fought new adventures in *Egypt*, whereby arose neither thanks to himselfe, nor profit to his Citie, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus carelesse of things at hand, had a notable blow giuen vnto them, shortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, euen within their owne Haven. For *Teleclitus*, a *Lacedemonian*, being made Gouvernour of *Egina*, conceived a strong hope of surpriuing the Naue of *Athens*, as it lay in *Pisus*; thinking a right that it was a harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twentie lying in harbour, whose Mariners were a sleepe in their Cabbins, and other Vessells in *Tauerns*. Wherefore hee sailed by night vnto the mouth of the Port, which entering at the breake of day, he found (according to his expectation) molt of the men on shore, & few or none left aboard to make resistance: by which meanes hee tooke many ships laden with marchandizes, many fisher-men, passengers, and other Vessells, also three or foure Gallies, hauing sunke or broken, and made vnersieuable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time *Phanibazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters giuen to him in marriage, with whom hee liued about the Court; and many Officers that fauoured the *Lacedemonians* were placed in the lower *Asia*; by whose assistance, the fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Hellepont*, in such wise, that perhaps they should not haue needed the peace, which they themselves procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giuing freedom to all the Cities of *Greece*, and diuiding the Countrey into as many seuerall States as there were petty Boroughs in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* hauing bought his owne peace with money, did likewise by his money become arbitrator and decider of Controuersies between the *Greekes*, disposing of their businesse in such wise as stood best with his owne good. The tenor of *Artaxerxes* his decree was, That all *Asia* and *Cyprus* should be his owne, the Iles of *Lesbos*, *Imbros*, and *Scios* be subiect to *Athens*; all other *Greece* Townes, as well the little as the great, bee sit at libertie; and that whoeuer should refuse this peace, vpon them the approuers of it should make warre, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The *Athenians* were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the *Lacedemonians* by rebott of their Confederates, and the necessity of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miseries of the warre, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did consent vnto these Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedemonians* taking vpon themselves the execution, did not only compell the *Aegians* to depart out of *Corinth* (which vnder pretence of defending they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords); and the *Thebans* to leaue *Boeotia* free, of which Prouince *Thebes* had alwaies held the government: the *Thebans* themselves being also comprehended vnder the name of *Boeotians*; but caused the *Mantineans* to throw downe their owne Citie, and to dwell in Villages: alleging that they had formerly beene accustomed so to doe, though purposing indeede to chastise them, as hauing bene ill affected to *Sparta* in the late war. By these courses the *Lacedemonians* did hope that all the small Townes in *Greece* would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their warres, as Authors of their libertie; and that the great Cities hauing lost all their dependants, would be vnable to make opposition.

## §. X.

The warre which the Lacedæmonians made vpon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason; and Olynthus by famine.



Hilest these warres, which ended without either victorie or profit, consumed the riches and power of Greece, the Citie of Olynthus in Thracæ was growne to mightie, that shee did not only command her Neighbour-Townes, but was become terrible to places farre removed, and to Sparta it selfe. Great part of Macedonia, together with Pelis, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the Olynthians, who following the vsual preence of the Lacedæmonians, to set at libertie the places over which King Amyntas did tyrannize, had almost now driuen him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of Acanthus and of Apollonia, being nearest vnto the danger of these incroching neighbours, acquainted the Lacedæmonians with their feare, affirming that this Common of the Olynthians would bee too strong for all Greece, if some continuance of time should giue it reputation, which only it wanted, wherefore they requested assistance, but in such termes as did sound of compulsion; professing that either they must warre vpon Olynthus, or become subject vnto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a halitie leaue of men, two thousand being presently sent away with promise to be seconded by a greater Armie. Whilest these two thousand gaue such beginning to the warre, as agreed with their small number, the bodie of the Armie following them surprised the Cittadell of Thebes, which was betraied into the handes of Phæbidas the Lacedæmonian, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the slaucerie of their Countrey. The Thebans were ill affected to Sparta, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made betwene them; which caused the Lacedæmonians to doubt whether this act of Phæbidas were more worthie of reward or of punishment; In conclusion, profit so farre ouer-weighed honestie, that the deede was approved, many principall Citizens of Thebes condemned to death, manie driuen into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the gouernment of the Citie: by whose authoritie, and the force of the Garrison, the Thebans were compelled to serue the Lacedæmonians, in all, and more than all that they could require. This access of power hauing strengthened the Lacedæmonians, caused them to entertaine the greater forces about Olynthus, which (notwithstanding the losse of one great battaile, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it selfe to their obedience.

## §. X I.

How the Thebans recovered their libertie, driving out the Lacedæmonian Garrison.



After this Olynthian Warre, which endured almost three yeares, it seemed that no Estate in Greece was able to make head against that of Sparta: but it was not long ere the Thebans found meanes to shake off their yoke, and gaue both example and meanes to others to doe the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a Scribe of the Theban Magistrates comming to Athens, that the tyrannie wherewith his Countrey was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for feare of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laied betwene these two, that soone found very good successe, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men forooke Athens priuily, and entred by night into the fields of Thebes; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the euening to the Gates like husband-men returned

turned from worke, and so passed vndiscovered vnto the house of Charon, whom Phylidas the Scribe had drawne into the conspiracie. The day following, a sollemne kait being then held in the Citie, Phylidas promised the Gouernours, who were insolent and lustfull men, that hee would conueigh vnto them that night the most beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they should take their pleasure. Hauing cheared them with such hope, and plentie of good wine, hee told them when the time of performance (which they vrged) came, that hee could not make good his promise, vnlesse they would dismisse their followers; because the Gentlewomen, who attended without in a chamber, would not endure, that any of the seruants should see their faces. Vpon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; who taking aduantage of the Gouernours loose behaviour, flew them all vpon the sodaine with Daggers, which they brought hidden vnder their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where fining themselves to come to the Gouernours vpon business, they got admittance, and slew those which were of the Lacedæmonian faction. By the like device they brake into the prison; slew the Gaolers; and set at libertie such as they thought meete, and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants knowne. The Captaine of the Castle hearing the proclamation, thought the Rebels to bee stronger than indeede they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a practise to discouer such, as would be forward vpon occasion of reuolting. But as soone as day-light revealed the plaine truth, all the people tooke armes and besieged the Castle, sending hastily to Athens for succour. The Garrison also sent for aide vnto the Townes adioyning, whence a few broken troupes comming to the rescue, were defeated on the way by the horse-men of Thebes. On the other side the banished Thebans did not only make speede to assist their Countreymen, but procured some Athenians to ioyne with them, and thereby came so strong into the Citie, that the Castle was yeilded, more through feare than any necessitie, vpon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which composition the Captaine at his returne to Sparta was put to death. When the newes of the doings at Thebes, and the successe arrived at Sparta, an Armie was raised forth-with, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recouering of that Citie, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had bene taken from the Lacedæmonians, and not a Towne perfidiously vsurped by them, restored to her owne libertie. Cleombrotus, one of the Kings, was sent on this expedition, who haping wearied his followers, with a toilsome Winters journey, returned home without any good or harme done; leaving Sphodrias, with part of his Armie, at Thebes, to infect the Thebans; who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt vpon the Hauens of Athens, which failing to take, hee waisted the Countrey adioyning, and draue away Cattel, causing by this outrage the Athenians to enter with all their power into the Warre, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how to with-draw themselves.

## CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battaile  
of Leuctra to the battaile of Mantinea.

§. I.  
How Thebes and Athens toyed together against Sparta. How the Athenians made  
peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were exclu-  
ded. The battaile of Leuctra, and beginning of  
the Theban greatness.



THE Lacedæmonians were men of great resolution, and  
of much grauitie in all their proceedings, but one dis-  
honorable rule they held, That all respects withstand-  
ing the commoditie of Sparta were to be neglected;  
the practise of which doctrine, euen by the best and  
wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate, but  
when it was put in execution by insufficient over-  
weening men, it seldome failed to bring vpon them in  
stead of profit vnjustly expected, both shame and losse.  
And so it befell them in these enterprises of *Phibalas*,  
vpon the Castle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* vpon the *Piræus*.  
For howsoeuer *Agellaus* did spoile the Countrie about *Thebes*, in which hee  
spent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good  
successe of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The *Athenians* likewise beganne to looke abroade, failing to the Ile of *Ceræra*,  
where they ordered things at their pleasure, and hauing in some fights at Sea pre-  
uailed, began as in the *Peloponnesian* warre, to surround *Peloponnesus* with a Naue;  
afflicting so the *Lacedæmonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their insolencie wearied  
their friends, and caused them to seeke for peace, it had bene very likely that the  
end of this warre, should haue soone come to a good end, which neuertheless, be-  
ing persecuted by the *Thebans* (who opposed at once both these two great Estates)  
lett the Citee of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous.  
But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroched every day vpon her  
weake Neighbours, not sparing such as had bene dependants vpon *Athens*, and find-  
ing themselves, whilst engaged in such a warre, vnable to relieue their complain-  
ing friends, resolued to settle the affaires of *Greece*, by renewing that forme of peace  
which *Anticidas* had brought from the *Persian*. Wherefore they sent Messengers  
to *Thebes*, perceptibly signifying, That it was their intent to finish the Warre; to  
which purpose they willed the *Thebans* to send Embassadors along with them to  
*Sparta*; who readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of  
the Treatie of peace, which came to passe, being so wrought by the courageous wis-  
dome of *Epaminondas*, who vnderstood farre better than his Countreymen, what was  
to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did soone  
agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to sweare to the Articles in the name of the  
*Boeotians*, *Agellaus* required them to sweare in their owne name, and to leaue the  
*Boeotians* free, whom they had lately reduced vnder their obedience. Whereunto  
*Epaminondas* made answer, That the Citee of *Sparta* should giue example to *Thebes*  
by setting the *Lacæmonians* free; for that the Signorie of *Boeotia* did by as good right ap-  
pertaine to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly  
spoken; but was heard with no patience: For *Agellaus* bearing a vehement hatred  
vnto those of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawne back out of *Achaia* into *Greece*, and disap-  
pointed of all the glorie which he had hoped to archiue by the *Persian* Warre, did  
now

now very passionately vrge that point of setting the *Boeotians* at libertie, and finding  
that obstinately refused, he dashed the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the  
same time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta* lay in *Phocis*, who receiued com-  
mand from the Gouernours of *Sparta* forthwith to enter vpon the Land of the *The-  
bans* with all his power, which he did, and was there slaine at *Leuctra*, and with him  
the flower of his Armie. This battaile of *Leuctra* being one of the most famous that  
euer were fought betwene the *Greekes*, was not so notable for any circumstance  
forgoing it, or for the managing of the fight it selfe, as for the death of the King,  
and many Citizens of *Sparta*, but especially for that after this battaile (betwene  
which and the conclusion of the generall peacethere passed but twentie daies) the  
*Lacedæmonians* were neuer able to recouer the strength and reputation which had  
formerly made them redoubted farre and neare; whereas contrariwise the *Thebans*,  
whose greatest ambition had in former times confined it selfe vnto the litle Region  
of *Boeotia*, did now beginne to vndertake the leading and command of many People  
and Estates, in such wise that soone after they brought an Armie of threecore and  
ten thousand strong vnto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much doe the afflictions of an  
hard warre, valiantly indured, aduance the affaires of the distressed, and guide them  
into the way of Conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which  
wealth and ease had through luxurie, rechelessnesse, and many other vices or vani-  
ties, made ruttie and effeminate.

§. II.  
How the Athenians tooke vpon them to maintain the peace of Greece. New  
troubles hence arising. *EPAMINONDAS* invaded and wresteth  
the Territories of *Lacedæmon*.



THE *Athenians*, refusing to take advantage of this ouerthrow fallen vpon  
their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*, did  
neuertheless finely giue them to vnderstand, that their Dominion was  
expired and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking  
vpon themselves the maintenance of the peace lately concluded,  
which *Agellaus* (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had  
lett imperfect, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at *Athens*;  
where the generall libertie of all Townes, as well small as great, was ratified, vnder  
the stile Of the *Athenians*, and their Associates. Hereupon beganne fresh garboiles.  
The *Mantineans*, claiming power by this decree to order their affaires at their owne  
pleasure, did (as it were) in despite of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raise  
their towne, reedifie it, and allie themselves with such of the *Arcadians* as stood worst  
affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were  
distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondence with the *Lacedæmonians*,  
some to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The  
*Lacedæmonians* durst not giue impeachment to the *Mantineans*; nor take vpon them  
to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till such time as the factions brake  
out into violence, and each part called in foraine helpe. Then was an Armie sent  
from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegæ*, against the *Mantineans*, but  
indeed against them both. *Agellaus* had the leading off, but effected nothing. The  
*Thebans* had by this time subdued the *Phocians*, & were become head of the *Locrans*,  
*Arzians*, *Eubæans*, and many others; with the power of which Countries they en-  
tered *Peloponnesus* in fauor of the *Arcadians*, who had vpon expectation of their com-  
ing, abstained from giuing battaile to *Agellaus*. The Armie of the *Spartans* being  
dismissed, and *Epaminondas* joyned with the *Arcadians*, the Region of *Laconia* was  
invaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could haue found beliefe if a-  
ny had foretold it. Almost fixe hundred yeares were spent, since the *Dorians*, vnder  
the posteritie of *Heracles*, had seized vpon *Laconia*, in all which time the found of an  
Nnnn enemies

enemies trumpet was not heard in that Countrey: Ten yeares were not fully past since all Greece was at the dictation of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Armie could once looke vpon, nor the mightie forces of *Athens*, and other Enemie States had dared to set foot on, sauing by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoke whereof the women of *Sparta* were alhamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithstanding, the *Lacedaemonians* did not illue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preferre the Towne, setting at libertie as many of their *Helotes* or Slaves, as were willing to beare Armes in defence of the State, and somewhat pittifully entreated the *Athenians* to giue them succour. From *Corinth* and some Townes of *Peloponnesus* they receiued speedie assistance, the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaminandus* returned without battaile, hauing rebuilded the Citie of *Mefene*, and peopled it a new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the *Lacedaemonians* many Ages before had chased away into other Countries, possessing their Territories themselves.

## §. 111.

*The composition betweene Athens and Sparta for command in warre against the Thebans; who againe inuade and spoile Peloponnesus. The vsurpatione presumption of the Arcadians.*

**T**His iourne therefore vtterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raised, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, vnto *Athens*, they offered to yeld the Admiraltie to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselves might bee Generals by Land. This had become a composition well agreeing with the situation and qualitie of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to haue cruied vnder the *Lacedaemonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the authoritie should be diuided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five daies, the *Lacedaemonians* other five, & so successiue,ly that each of them should haue command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vaine ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which must of necessitie be very slowly aduanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second inuasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies so vnable to impeach them, that hauing fortified *Hilum* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their strength by *Epaminandus*, who foraged the Countrey without resistance. But as the Articles of this league betweene *Athens* and *Sparta* did by diuiding the conduct in such manner, disable the societie, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the *Arcadians* considering their owne numbers which they brought into the field, and hauing found by many trials that their people were not inferior to others in strength of bodie, in courage, or in good Souldieriship, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the gouernment, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by encasing whose greatness they should strengthen their owne yoke. Here vpon they began to demean themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbours, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a motion of generall peace hauing been made (which tooke not effect, because the Citie of *Mefene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedaemonians*) the next enterprise of the *Spartans* and their friends was vpon these *Arcadians*, who relying too much vpon their owne worth, were ouerthrowne in a great battaile, their calamitie being as pleasing to their Confederates as to their Enemies.

## §. 1111.

## §. 1111.

*The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embassages of the Greekes to the Persian; with the reasons why he most fauoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitlesse issue of the Embassages.*

**T**He *Thebans* especially rejoyced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, considering, that, without their aide, the successe of all enterprises proved so ill; whereas they themselves had by their owne power accomplished very well whatsoeuer they tooke in hand, and were become not only victorious ouer the *Lacedaemonians*, but Patrons ouer the *Thebians*, and moderators of the great quarrells that had risen in *Macedonia*, where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleased them best, they carried *Philip* the Sonne of *Amyntus*, and Father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hostage vnto *Thebes*. Hauing therefore obtained such reputation that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all Greece, they sought means of alliance with the *Persian* King, to whom they sent Embassadors the great and famous Captaine *Pelopidas*, whose reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant vnto the *Thebans* all that they desired; whereof two especiall points were, That *Alexander* should remaine free from the *Lacedaemonians*, and that the *Athenians* should forbear to send their ships of Warre to Sea; only the later of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further aduice. The other States of Greece did also send their Embassadors at the same time, of whom few or none receiued much contentment. For the King hauing found by long experience, how rare it concerned him to maintaine a sure partie in Greece, did vpon many waightie considerations resolve, to binde the *Thebans* firmly vnto him; justly expecting, that their greatnesse should bee on that side his owne securitie. The *Athenians* had bene ancient enemies to his Crowne, and, hauing turned the profit of their victories vpon the *Persian* to the purchase of a great Estate in Greece, maintained their signorie in such perniciouse manner, that (seuerall grievous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a ten yeare warre, wherein the *Lacedaemonians* being followed by most of the *Greeks*, and supplied with treasure, and all sorts of aide by *Darius* the *Old*, were not able to vanquish them, till their owne indifferenoe brought them on their knees. The *Lacedaemonians* being victorious ouer *Athens*, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they undertooke the conquest of *Asia*, from which though, by the commotion raised in Greece with *Persian* gold, they were called backe, yet hauing renewed their power, and settled things in Greece, it was not unlikely, that they should vpon the next aduantage haue pursued the same enterprise, had not they bene emperched by this *Theban* Warre. But the *Thebans* contrariwise had alwaies discouraged a good alliance to the Crowne of *Persia*. They had sided with *Xerxes* in his inuasion of Greece, with *Darius* and the *Lacedaemonians* against *Athens*; And finally hauing offered much contumely to *Alexander* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Besides all these their good deseruings, they were no Sea men, and therefore unlikely to looke abroad; whereunto if perchance they should haue any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good hauen townes, which they could not seize vpon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giuing libertie to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condescend vnto the requests of *Pelopidas*, as farre forth as hee might without giuing open defiance to the rest of Greece; and by that meane he purchased his owne quiet, being neuer afterward molested by that Nation in the lower *Asia*. The ill meanes which the *Greeks* had to disturb *Artaxerxes* was very beneficiall to the Estate of *Persia* shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Prouinces. For had then the

affaires of Greece beene so composed, that any one Citie might without emperchment of the rest have transported an Armie, to assit the reuolting *Satrapes*, or *Viceroyes* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phoenicia*; humane reason can hardly finde the meane, by which the Empire could haue been preferred from that ruine, which the diuine Councell had deterred vnto the daies of *Alexander*. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthie Prouinces, wanting a firme bodie of good and hardie Souldiers, was in short space dissolued and vanithed like a mist, without effect: these elemmated *Alatages* wearied quickly with the trauailes and dangers incident to warre, forsaking the common cause, and each man strining to bee the first that by treason to his companie should both redeem the former treason to his Prince, & purchase with all his owne promotion with encrease of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I haue rather chosē to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; both for that it was like a suddaine storme, rashly commenced, idly followed, and foolishly laied downe, hauing made a great noise without effect, and hauing small reference to any other action regardabie; as also because in the whole raigē of *Alexander*, from the warre of *Cyros*, to the inuasion of *Aegypt*, I finde nothing (this insurrection and a fruitlesse journey against the *Cassians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much lesse of digestion from the course of the buisines in Greece. All, or the most of his time, passed away so quietly, that he enjoyed the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could afford vnto so absolute a Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were only or chiefly Domestical; growing out of the hatred which *Laryssa* the Queen-Mother bare vnto his wife *Statira*, and to such as had been the greatest enemies to her sonne *Cyros*, or gloried in his death: vpon whom, when by poison and mischieuous practises shee had satisfied her feminine appetite of reuenge, thenceforth the wholly applied her selfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the leud desire of marrying his owne Daughter, and filling him with the persuasion, which Princes, not ended with an especiall grace doe readily caterraine. That his owne will was the supreme law of his subject, and the rule by which all things were to be measured, and adjudged to be good or euill. In this imaginarie happinesse *Pelopidas*, and the other Embassadors of Greece, both found and left him, but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of his Treatie with them, being altogether to his owne aduantage, did seeme to promise, if not the perpetuall, a long endurance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full securitie of danger from Greece, whence only could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternitie laied by mortall men in this transitorie world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from heauen, or made vaine and vnprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other states of Greece that had sent Embassadors to the *Persian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Townes, as well the little as the great, should bee set at libertie, and the *Thebans* made protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Iudges of all controveries that might arise, and Leaders in warre of all that would enter into this Confederacie; the Kings letters being solemnly published at *Thebes*, in the presence of Embassadors, drawne thither from all parts of Greece; when an oath was required for obseruation of the forme of peace therein set downe, a dilatorie answer was made by the Embassadors, who said that they were sent to heare the articles; not to swear vnto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driuen to send vnto each of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vaine. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refused it, saying, That they did not neede it; others tooke courage by their example to doe the like, disappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Alexander* gaue neither addition nor confirmation of greatnesse, but left them as it found them to relie vpon their owne swords.

§. V.

§. V.

Now all Greece was diuided, betweene the *Athenians* and *Lacedaemonians*, on the one side, and *Thebans* on the other. Of the great tumult arising in *Acadia*.

The condition of things in Greece at that time did stand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each vpon enuie of the others greatnesse drawne all her followers into a cruell intestine warre, by which the whole Countrey, and especially the Estate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conioyne their forces against the *Thebans*, who sought to make themselves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaians*, followed the partie of the seancient governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits receiued, or in dislike of those who by strong hand were readie to become Rulers, to which authoritie they could not sodainly aspire without some iniurie and much enuie. The Citie of *Thebes* abounding with men whom necessitie had made warlike, and many victories in few yeares had filled with great spirits, & being lo mighty in dependants, that mee had reduced all the continent of Greece without *Peloponnesus* (the Region of *Arcia*, and very little part beside excepted) vnder such acknowledgements, as wanted not much of meeere Vassallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already shee had set good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Acadia*. The *Argues* had beene alwaies bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre vnder them in valour, hauing beene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of loosing all: which caused them to suspect and enuie nothing more than the greatnesse and honor of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when shee was arest and had leisure to bend her whole force against them, but firmly joyning with her enemies whenloeuer they found her entangled in a difficult Warre. As the *Argues* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, sure friends of *Thebes*, so the *Acadians*, transported with a great opinion of their owne worthinesse, had formerly renounced and prouoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedaemonians*, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought conuenient by *Epinomondas*, and the State of *Thebes*, to send an Armie into *Peloponnesus*, before such time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*; which was very strange, and seemed no lesse to the *Athenians* themselves, who holding a firme league with *Sparta* at the same time when the *Acadians* treated with them, did neuertheless accept this new Confederacie, not relinquishing the old, because they found that, howloeuer these *Acadians* were enemies to the *Lacedaemonians*, they should hereby be drawne somewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was vnlike to inuade *Peloponnesus* with a strong Armie. But this did rather hasten, than by any meanes stay, the coming of *Epinomondas*; who finding the way somewhat more cleare for him (because the Citie of *Corinth*, which lay vpon the *Isthmus*, and had beene aduerse to *Thebes*, was now, by miseries of this grievous warre, driuen to become Neutrall) tooke occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the *Acadians*, to visit *Peloponnesus* with an Armie, consisting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had risen in *Acadia* about consecrated money, which many principall men among them had laied hands on, vnder pretence of employing it to publike vses. In compounding the differences growne vpon this occasion, such, as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captaine of some *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take prisoners many of their Countymen, as people desirous of inuolution. This was done: but the vp-roare thereby

thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the *Aradians*, who had in great numbers taken *Armes*, with much a doe scarce pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame vpon them who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them, to judge of their fidelitie, by the assistance which they should giue him, in that warre, which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These Lordly wordes did greatly amaze the *Aradians*, who needing not the aide of so mightie a power as he drew a-long with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to bee made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before fought meane to settle the affaires of their Countrey, by drawing thinges to some good conclusion of peace, did now forth-with send to *Athens* for helpe, and withall dispatched some of the principall among them as Embassadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of *Peloponnesus*, now readie to be invaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the *Lacedaemonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, against whom they well knew that all their forces, and best prouisions, would bee no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they (who had bene accustomed into such a supremacie, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerful Citie of *Athens*, till other hope of securing their owne Estate could not be thought vpon) did now verie gently yeeld to the *Aradians*, that the command of the Armie in chiefe, should be giuen, for the time, to that Citie, in whose Territorie it lay.

## §. VI.

A terrible inuasion of *Peloponnesus* by *EPAMINONDAS*.

**E**rtaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a verie firme consent, and vniforme care of the common saluicie. For beside the great forces raised out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argines*, and *Alcians*, prepared with all their strength to ioine with *Epaminondas*; who hauing lien a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, receiued there intelligence, that the Armie coming from *Athens* would passe by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to *Trigee*, which Citie, and the most of all *Aradians* besides, forth-with declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the *Thebans*, would be vpon such of the *Aradians* as had revolted; which caused the *Lacedaemonian* Captaines to fortifie *Manitinea* with all diligence, and to send for *Agellus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men, which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held so good espiall vpon his Enemies, that had not an vnknowne fellow brought hastie aduertisement of his purpose to *Agellus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Manitinea*, the Citie of *Sparta* had sodainly bene taken. For thither with all speede and secrecie did the *Thebans* march, who had iurely carried the Citie, notwithstanding anie defence that could haue bene made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that *Agellus* in all flying hast got into it with his Companies, whom the Armie of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arrivall of the *Lacedaemonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, so it presented him with a faire aduantage vpon *Manitinea*. It was the time of Haruest, which made it very likely that the *Manitineans*, finding the warre to be carried from their walls into an other quarter, would vse the commoditie of that vacation, by fetching in their corne, and turning out their cattail into their fields, whilst no enemy was neare that might empetch them. Wherefore hee turned away from *Sparta* to *Manitinea*, sending his horse-men before him, to seize vpon all that might

be found without the Citie. The *Manitineans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were scattered abroad in the Countrey; farre more intent vpon their hairell-buinesse, than vpon the warre, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattail, being vnable to recouer the Towne, were in a desperate case; and the Towne it selfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy should haue taken all their prouision of victuals with so many of the people, as had not ouer-dearely bene redeemed, by that Citie returning to societie with *Thebes*. But at the same time, the *Athenians* coming to the succour of their Confederates, whom they thought to haue found at *Manitinea*, were very earnestly entreated by the Citizens to rescue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any courageous aduerture to deliuer those who otherwise were giuen as lost. The *Thebans* were knowne at that time to bee the best Souldiers of all the *Greekes*, and the commendation of good horsemanship had alwaies bene giuen to the *Thebians*, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations; yet the regard of honour wrought vpon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this warre, vpon no necessity of her owne, but only in desire of relieuing her distressed friends, they issued forth of *Manitinea*, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves, or their horses with meat, and giuing a lustre charge vpon the enemy, who as brauely receiued them, after a long and hot fight they remained masters of the field, giuing by this victorie a safe and calie retreat to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Boeotians* arrived in the place soone after this battaile, whom the *Lacedaemonians* and their Alliants were neere sure to hindre.

## §. VII.

The great battaile of *Manitinea*. The honourable death of *EPAMINONDAS*, with his commendation.

**E**PAMINONDAS, considering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprising *Sparta* and *Manitinea* hauing failed, the impression of terror which his name had wrought in the *Peloponnesians*, would soone vanish, vnlesse by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, and leaue some memorable character of his expedition, resolved to giue them battaile, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtfull affections of his owne Associates, and to leaue the *Spartans* as weak in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subjection. Hauing therefore warned his men to prepare for that battaile, wherein victorie should be rewarded with Lordship of all *Greece*; and finding the alacritie of his Souldiers to be such, as promised the accomplishment of his owne desire, he made leue of declining the enemy, and intrenching himselfe in a place of more aduantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heate of their valour, and afterward strike their senses with amazement, when hee should come vpon them vnexpected. This opinion deceiued him not. For with verie much tumult, as in so great and sodaine a danger, the enemy ranne to *Armes*, necessity enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that daies seruice vrging them to doe as well as they might. The *Theban* Armie consisted of thirte thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Lacedaemonians* and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The *Manitineans* (because the warre was in their Countrey) stood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedaemonians*; the *Athenians* had the left wing, the *Achaens*, *Eleans*, and others of lesse account, filled the bodie of the Armie. The *Thebans* stood in the left wing of their owne battaile, opposite to the *Lacedaemonians*,

*Lacedaemonians*, having by them the *Arcadians*; the *Eubaeans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Megarians*, and *Thebaisians* with others, compounding the maine battaile; the *Argives* held the right wing; the horse-men on each part were placed in the flankes, only a troupe of the *Eleans* were in reare. Before the footmen could joyne, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were over-laid with numbers, and so beaten upon by the *Thebaisians* slings, that they were driven to forsake the place, and leave their infanterie naked. But this retreat was the lesse disgracefull, because they kept themselves together, and did not fall backe upon their owne foot-men; but finding the *Theban* horse to have given them over, and withall discouraging some Companies of foot, which had bene sent about by *Epinondas*, to charge their battaile in the reare, they brake upon them, routed them, and hewed them all in peeces. In the meane season the battaile of the *Athenians* had not only to doe with the *Argives*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* Horse-men, in such wise that it beganne to open, and was ready to turne back, when the *Elean* Squadron of Horse came vp to the reliefe of it, and restored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the *Lacedaemonians* and *Thebans* meete, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour, so that equall courage and equall losse on both sides made the hope and appearance of victorie to either equally doubtfull: unless perhaps the *Lacedaemonians* being very firme abiders, might seeme the more likely to prevaile, as having borne the first brunt, and fume of the on-set, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by Discipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practise of a few yeares, cannot bee thought to have gotten a habite so sure and generall. But *Epinondas* perceiving the oblitrate stiffness of the Enemies to bee such, as neither the badde successe of their owne horse, nor all the force of the *Boeotian* Armie, could abate so farre, as to make them give one foot of ground; taking a choise Companie of the most able men, whom he cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure against a Squadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their rankes, and cleave the whole battaile in despite of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day wonne by the *Thebans*, who may justly bee said to have carried the victorie, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the battaile was fought, having driven the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alleged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victorie was partly theirs, the slaughter of those Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their owne flight, finding them behinde their Armie, and the retaying of their dead bodies; it was a Ceremonie regardable only among the *Greekes*, and served merely for ostentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained somewhat, which the Enemy could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the *Thebans* arrived at the generall immediate end of battaile, none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is exprest from them, who forsake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for triall of their abilitie and prowess. This was the last worke of the incomparable vertue of *Epinondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the *Lacedaemonian* Squadron, and forced it to give back in disaray, was furiously charged on the sodaine, by a desperate Companie of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, hee neuertheless with a singular courage maintayned the fight, vying against the Enemies many of their Darts, which hee drew out of his owne bodie; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Antistater*, hee received so violent a stroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the yron and a peece of the troncheon in his brest. Hereupon hee sunke downe, and was soone conveyed out of the fight by his friends; having by his fall

fall somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who faine would have got his bodie) but much more inflamed with reuengefull indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heauie mischance did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed not the chafe, being wearied more with the sadnesse of this disaster, than with all the traualle of the day. *Epinondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the *Philitians*, That when the head of the Dart should bee drawne out of his bodie, hee must needs die. Hearing this, hee called for his shield, which to haue lost was held a great dishonour: It was brought vnto him. Hee bad them tell him which part had the victorie; and answer was made, that the *Spartans* had wonne the field. Then said hee, it is faire time for mee to die, and withall sent for *Solidas*, and *Diaphantes*, two principall men of Warre, that were both slaine; which being told him, hee aduised the *Thebans* to make Peace, whilist with aduantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a Generall. Herewithall hee willed that the head of the weapon should be drawne out of his bodie; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of issue, by telling them that the victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantineas* were two faire Daughters, in whom his memorie should liue.

So died *Epinondas*, the worthiest man that euer was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to bee matched in any Age or Countrey: for hee equaled all others in the severall vertues, which in each of them were singular. His Iustice, and Sinceritie, his Temperance, Wisdome, and high Magnanimitie, were no way inferior to his Militarie vertue; in every part whereof hee so excelled, That hee could not properly bee called a Warre, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Industrious, and a Proudient Captaine; all these Titles, and many other, being due vnto him, which with his notable Discipline, and good Conduct, made a perfect composition of an Heroique Generall. Neither was his private Conversation vnswearable to those high parts, which gaue him praise abroad. For hee was Graue, and yet very Affable and Curious; resolute in publique businesse, but in his owne particular case, and of much mildnesse; a lover of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, wittie and pleasant in speech, farre from insolence, Master of his owne affections, and furnished with all qualities that might winne and keepe loue. To these Graces were added great abilitie of bodie, much Eloquence, and very deepe knowledge in all parts of Philosophie and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, rested not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gaue vnto *Thebes*, which had euer more bene an vnderling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adjoining, and the highest command in *Greece*.

#### ¶ VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battaile of *Mantineas*. The voice of *Agesilaus* into *Egypt*. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made betwene him and *Pompey the Roman*.

His battaile of *Mantineas* was the greatest that had euer bene fought in that Countrey betwene the Naturals; and the last. For at *Marathon*, and *Plataea*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gaue rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the *Graecian* valour; neither were the practise of Armes and Art Militarie so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted

excepted which were vnder taken against forraigne enemies, prouing for the most part vnfortunate. But in this last night all Greece was interceded, which neuer had more able Souldiers, and braue Commanders, nor euer contended for victorie with greater care of the successe, or more obstinate resolution. All which notwithstanding, the issue being such as hath bene related, it was found better for every particular Estate, that a generall peace should be established, every one retaining what hee presently had, and none being forced to depend vpon another. The *Messians* were by name comprised in this new league; which caused the *Lacedaemonians* not to enter into it. Their standing out hindered not the rest from proceeding to concunion; considering that *Sparta* was now too weak to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to shew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it selfe in execution. This peace, as it gaue some breath and respite to all the Countrey, so to the Cities of *Athen* and *Sparta* it afforded leisure to seeke after wealth by forraigne employment in *Egypt*, whither *Agesslaus* was sent with some small forces to assist, or indeede, as a Mercenarie, to serue vnder *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his warre vpon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded vnder *Sicarus* King of *Egypt*, went now as a voluntarie, with such forces as he could raise, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the same seruice. These *Egyptian* Kings descended from *Amphyreus* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius* the *1<sup>st</sup>*, hauing retained the Countrey notwithstanding all intestine dissensions, and forraigne inuasion, during three Generations of their owne race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the *Greekes*, that by their helpe (easily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not only to assure themselves, but to become Lords of the Prouinces adjoining, which were held by the *Persians*. What the issue of this great enterprise might haue been, had it not fallen by Domestically rebellion, it is vncertaine. But very likely it is that the rebellion it selfe had soone come to nothing, if *Agesslaus* had not proued a false Traitor, joyning with *Nectanebus* who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebelle with that Arme which the money of *Tachos* had waged. This faithhood *Agesslaus* excused, as tending to the good of his owne Countrey; though it seeme rather, that hee grudged because the King tooke vpon himselfe the Conduet of the Arme, vsing his seruice only as Lieutenant, who had made full accompt of being appointed the Generall. Howsoeuer it came to passe, *Tachos* being shamefully betraied by them, in whom he had reposed his chiefe confidence, fled vnto the *Persian*, who vpon his submission gaue him gentle entertainment; and *Nectanebus* (who seemes to haue bene the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his stead. At the same time the Citizens of *Mendes* had set vpon another King, to whom all, or most of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Agesslaus* fighting with him in places of aduantage, preuailed so farre, that hee left *Nectanebus* in quiet possession of the Kingdome; who in recompence of his treason to the former King *Tachos*, and good seruice done to himselfe, rewarded him with two hundred and thirtie Talents of silver, with which bootie failing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant and a good Leader in warre, free from couetousnesse, and not reproched with any blemish of lust; which praises are the lesse admirable in him, for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endure euerie one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent frame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe, of these good qualities. Hee was neuertheless very arrogant, peruerse, vnjust, and vaine glorious, measuring all things by his owne will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* should be ouerthrowne; with which conceipt being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans*, and their Allies, hee did euer after beare such hatred vnto *Thebes*, as compelled that Estate by meere necessity to grow warlike, and able, to the vtter dishonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable losse of all her former greatnesse. The commendations giuen to him by *Xenophon*

*Xenophon* his good friend, haue caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance against *Pompey* the Great; whose actions (the isleme grauitie of carriage excepted) are very disproportionable. Yet we may truly say, That as *Pompey* made great warres vnder sundrie Climates; and in all the Prouinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imployments all that were before him; so *Agesslaus* had at one time, or other some quarrell with euerie Towne in Greece, had made a Warre in *Asia*, and meddled in the businesse of the *Egyptians*, in which varietie he went beyond all his Predecessours; yet not winning any Countreys, as *Pompey* did manie, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* neuer tooke. Herein also they are very like; Each of them was the last great Captaine which his Nation brought forth in time of libertie, and each of them ruined the libertie of his Countrey by his owne Lordly wilfulness. We may therefore well say, *Similitudo est omnia quam pars; There resemblance was nearer than the equalitie*. Indee the freedome of *Rome* was loit with *Pompey*, falling into the handes of *Cesar*, whom he had enforced to take Armes; yet the *Roman* Empire stood, the forme of Gouernement only being changed, But the libertie of Greece, or of *Sparta* it selfe, was not forsaken vnto the *Thebans*, whom *Agesslaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious warre; yet the Signiorie, and ancient renowne of *Sparta* was presently lost: and the freedome of all Greece being wounded in this *Theban* warre, and after much blood lost ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soone vpon the death of *Agesslaus* giue vp the Ghost, and the Lordship of the whole Countrey was seized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose actions are now on foote, and more to bee regarded than the Contemporarie passages of things, in any other Nation.

*Finis Libri Tertij.*



10 THE FIRST PART OF  
THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:  
INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM  
the raigne of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the  
establisshing of that Kingdome, in the race  
of ANTIGONVS.

20 THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of PHILIP, the Father of ALEXANDER the  
Great, King of Macedon.

§. I.

What Kings raigned in Macedon before PHILIP.



40 HE *Greeks*, of whom wee haue alreadye made  
large discourse, not as yet wearied with in-  
tinue Warre, nor made wise by their vaine con-  
tention for superiortie, doe still, as in former  
times, continue the inuasion and vassation of  
each other.

Against *Xerxes*, the greatest Monarch of that  
part of the World, they defended their liber-  
tie, with as happie successe, as euer Nation had,  
and with no lesse honour, than hath euer beene  
acquired by deeds of Armes. And hauing had  
a triall and experience, more than fortunate, a-  
gainst those Nations, they so little regarded what might come from them; who had  
50 so often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatsoeuer could be spared from  
their owne distraction at home, they transported ouer the *Hellaspont*, as sufficient, to  
entertaine and buile them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with euery man of marke in the world, that they  
vnderfall, and perish, by the hands and harmes, which they least feare, so fared it at

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this that with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip of Macedon* (of whom we are now to speake) they had so little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the fast growing greatneesse of such a Neighbour-King, should, in regard of their owne safeties, haue serued them for a strong argument of vnion and accord. But the glorie of their *Persian* victories, wherewith they were pampered and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and therather to value at little the power and purposes of the *Macedonians*, because those Kings and States, which fate nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the Father of *Philip*, so much weakened them, and wonne vpon them, that they were not (as the *Graecians* perswaded themselves) in any one age, likely to recouer their owne much lesse to work any wonders against their borders. And, indeede, it was not in their Philosophie to consider, That all great alterations are storme-like, suddaine, and violent; and that it is then ouer-late to repaire the decayed and broken banks, when great Riueres are once swollen, fast-running, and enraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather employ themselves, in breaking downe those defences, which stood between them and this inundation: than seeke to rampare and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the Leuell of reason they might haue found to haue lien vnder it. It was therefore well concluded by *OROSIUS*: *Græciæ Civitates dum imperare singula cupiunt, imperium omnes perdidit; ut Citiæ of Greece lost their command, by striving each of them to command all.*

The Kingdome of *Macedon*, so called of *Macedon*, the Sonne of *Oristes*, or, as other Auditors affirme, of *Amphi*, and *Elira*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the East, the *Ægean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-west, by *Thessalie* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the familie of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by nation *Argiues*; who are listed as followeth. About some fixe years after the translation of the *Assyrian* Empire, *Arbaces* then governing *Media*, *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colonie into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Countrey, the weather being raynie and tempestuous, he espied a great heard of Goats, which fled the storme as fast as they could, hasting them to their knowne place of couert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to minde, that he had also by an other Oracle bene directed, to follow the first troupe of those beastes, that should either lead him, or sic before him: He pursued these Goats to the Gates of *Elessa*, and being vndiscovered by the Inhabitants by reason of the darknesse of the aire, he entred their Citie without resistance and posselt it. Soone after this, by the ouerthrow of *Cisseus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the rest of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twentie years. *Carus* succeeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelue years. *Tyrinus* followed *Carus*, and ruled eight and twentie years.

*Perdiccas* the first, the sonne of *Tyrinus*, governed one and fiftie years: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. *Solinus*, *Plinius*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, *Theophrastus*, *Arinarchus*, and others, affirme, that he appointed a place of buriall for himselfe, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Successours, at *Ægeæ*: assuring them, that the Kingdome should so long continue in his line and race, as they continued to lay vp their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the posteritie of the *Temenides* failed in him: a thing rather deused after the event, as I conceine, than foretold by *Perdiccas*.

*Argæus* succeeded vnto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twentie years.

*Philip* the first, his succellour, reigned eight and twentie years.

*Europus* followed *Philip*, and governed fixe and twentie years: in whose infancie the *Illyrians* inuaded *Macedon*, and hauing obtained a great victorie they pursued the same to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians* gathering new forces, and resolving either to recouer their former losse, or to loose at once both

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their Kingdome and their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten (their King present;) or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their natural Lord, being an Infant, and no way (but by the bandes of his seruants) able to defend him selfe from destruction. The like is reported by *Simeonides*, of *Clotarius* the sonne of *Eredogunda*.

*Alextas* succeeded *Europus*, and ruled nine and twentie years.

*Amyntas* the first succeeded *Alextas*, and reigned fiftie years; Hee liued at such times as *Darius Hystaspes*, after his vniuersal returne out of *Scythia*, sent *Megabazus* with an Armie into *Europe*, who in *Xerxes* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yielding vnto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as you haue heard before, were, for their insolent behaviour towards the *Assacanian* Ladies, slaine by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the sonne of *Amyntas*, and his Succellour.

*Alexander*, surnamed the rich, the sonne of *Amyntas*, gouerned *Macedon* three and fiftie years. He did not only appeale the wrath of *Orontobates* for the slaughter of the *Assacanian* Embassadors, by giuing *Cyzax* his Sister, to *Babares* of the blood of *Persia*, but by that match he grew to great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of *Olompus* and *Themus*, to bee vnto the Kingdome of *Macædon*. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the *Greekes*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Asia*, and *Mardonius* made General of the *Persian* Armie; *Alexander* acquainted the *Greekes* with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three Sonnes, *Perdiccas*, *Alextas*, and *Philip*.

*Perdiccas* the second, the sonne of *Alexander*, liued in the time of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, and reigned in all eight and twentie years. The Warre which hee made were not much remarkable: the Storie of eacm is found here and there by peeces, in *Thucydides* his first fixe bookes. He left behinde him two Sonnes; *Perdiccas*, who was very yong, and *Archelaus* who was base borne.

*Perdiccas* the third, being deliuered to the custodie and care of *Archelaus*, was at seven years of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the Mother of the yong King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily fell thervnto by misadventure. But *Archelaus* staied not here: for hauing thus dispatched his Brother, hee slew both his Vncle *Alextas* the sonne of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the sonne of this *Alextas*, his Cousin Germane, and enioyed the Kingdome of *Macedon* himselfe foure and twentie years.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though hee made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he sought by all means to draw *Socrates* vnto him, and that he greatly loued and honoured *Empyrides* the *Trageedian*. He had two Sonnes, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

*Archelaus* the second succeeded his Father, and hauing reigned seven yeares, hee was slaine in hunting, either by chance or by purpose, by *Clætus*.

*Orestes* his yonger sonne was committed to the education of *Europus*, of the roiall blood of *Macedon*, and had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measured to his Pupill, for *Europus* murdered him and vsurped the Kingdome, which he held some fixe yeares: the same who denied passage to *Agesilaus* King of *Sparta*, who desired after his returne from the *Asian* expedition, to passe by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

This vsurper left three Sonnes, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Europus*, and hauing reigned one yeare, hee was driven out by *Amyntas* the sonne of *Philip*, the sonne of the first *Perdiccas*, the sonne of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preferred, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his brother *Perdiccas*, his Vncle *Alextas*, and his sonne *Alexander*. This *Amyntas*

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reigned

reigned (though very quietly) foure and twentie yeares; for he was not only infilled by *Paulanias*, assisted by the *Thracians*, and by his brother *Argæus*; incouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the said *Argæus*, for two yeares dispossest of *Macedon*: but on the other side, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbours neare the *Ægean Sea*, made themselves for a while Matters of *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*.

*Amyntas* the second had by his Wife *Eurydice*, the *Illyrian*, three Sonnes; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great; and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Esiene*: He had also by his second wife *Gyges* three Sonnes; *Archeleus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward slaine by tiir brother *Philip*. He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomee*, surnamed *Alorites*, of the Citie *Alorits*, wherein he was borne.

*Alexander* the second reigned not much about one year, in which time he was invaded by *Paulanias*, the sonne of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Albanian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great summe of money) to leaue his yongest brother *Philip* in Heltage with the *Illyrians*, who had subjected his Father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander*, being invited by the *Alcædes* against *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessalie*, hauing redeemed his brother *Philip*, to draw the *Thracians* to his assistance entred into confederacie with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same Countre, with whom he also left *Philip* with diuers other principall persons for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his Mother failing in loue with her Sonne-in-law, who had married her Daughter *Euryone* or *Esiene*, practized the death of *Alexander* her sonne, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which *Ptolomee Alorites* did put in execution: by meanes whereof hee held *Macedon* for three yeares, but was soone after slaine by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diod. l. 15. c. 16*

*Perdiccas* the third, after he had slaine *Alorites* his base brother, gouerned *Macedon* siue yeares, and was then slaine in a battaile against the *Illyrians*, according to *Tirolonius*, but *Iustin* affirmeth, that he perished by the practise of *Eurydice* his Mother, as *Alexander* did. *Iust. l. 7.*

### §. II.

The beginning of *PHILIP*'s raigens, and how he deliuered *Macedon* from the troubles wherein he found it entangled.

*PHILIP* the second, the yongest sonne of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, hauing bene instructed in all knowledge requisite vnto the gouernement of a Kingdome, in that excellent education which hee had vnder *Egymionidas*, making an escape from *Thebes* returned into *Macedon*, in the first yeare of the hundred and fifti Olympiad, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourescore and thirteene yeares: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was inuironed, hee tooke on him, not as King (for *Perdiccas* left a sonne, though but an Infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of Warre. Yet his fruitfull ambition soone ouer-grew his modelltie, and he was easily perswaded by the people to accept both the Title of King, and withall the absolute Rule of the Kingdome. And to say the truth, The necessitie of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and actiue. For, besides the incursions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did set vp in opposition *Paulanias*; the *Athenians*, *Argæus*, *sonnes*

sonnes of the late *Vürper* *Æropus*: each of these labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their owne Election. These becaue burdens when *Philip* could not well beare, he bought off the weightiest by money, and by faire promises vnloosed himselfe of so many of the rest, as he ranne vnder the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with foure thousand *Macedonians*, beside these that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the *Pannonians* were destroying all before them in *Macedon*, and that the *Athenians* with a fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land vnder *Antanis*, did beate vpon him on all sides and quarters of his Countre: Yet after he had practised the men of warre of *Pannonia*; and corrupted them with gifts, and had also bought the King of *Thrace* from *Paulanias*, he forthwith made head against the *Athenians* his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he preuented their recouerie of *Amphipolis*, a Citie on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then pursue *Argæus* the sonne of *Æropus*, set against him by the *Athenians*, and followed him so hard at the heeles, in his retreat from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battaile: which *Argæus* loth, hauing the greatest part of his Armie slaine in the place. Those of the *Athenians*, and others which remained vnbroken, tooke the aduantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet auoiding thereby the present furie of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquishers life and libertie to returne into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded betwene him and the *Athenians* for that present, and for this clemencie hee was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greekes*. *20 Attica*

### §. III.

The good successe which *PHILIP* had in many enterprises.

*PHILIP* had leisure to looke Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, his irreconcilable enemies and borderers: both which hee invaded with so prosperous successe, as hee (slow *Bardilis*, King of the *Illyrians*, with fiftie thousand of his Nation, and thereby recouered all those places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*; and withall, vpon the death of the King of *Pannonia*, hee pierst that Countre, and after a maine victorie obtained, hee enforced them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without slaying to take longer breath) hee hastied speedily towards *Larissa*, vpon the Riuer *Peneus* in *Thessalie*, of which Towne hee soone made himselfe master; and thereby got good footing in that Countre, wherof he made vse in time following. Now although hee reloued either to subdue the *Thessalians*, or to make them his owne against all others, because the horse-men of that Countre were the best, and most feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it most for his safetie to close vp the entrances out of *Thrace*, lest while hee invaded *Thessalie* and *Greece* towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or ouer-runne *Macedon* as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous Riuer of *Sirmon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*, and wonne it. He also recouered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the Citie of *Oreides* (sometime *Datus*) and called it after his owne name *Philippi*: to the people whereof *St. Paul* afterward directed one of his *Epistles*. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in Mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philippi* affaires, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make fixe hundred thousand French Crownes.

And that hee might with the more ease disburden the *Thracian* shores of the *Athenian* Garrison, to which hee had giuen a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into league with his Fathers malicious enemies the *Olynthians*: whom the better to sauen vnto him, he gaue them the Citie of *Pydna* with the Territorie, mean-

ning nothing lesse than that they should enjoy it, or their owne Estate, manie years.

Now that he might by degrees winne ground vpon the *Greekes*, he tooke the faire occasion to deliuer the Citie of *Pheres* in *Theſſalie*, from the tyrannie of *Lycophron* and *Tiphonius*. Who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the Wife of *Alexander*, who vsurped vpon the libertie of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former libertie. Which act of *Philip* did for-euer after fasten the *Theſſalians* vnto him, and to his exceeding great aduantage, binde them to his seruice.

### §. IIII.

Of the Phocian Warre which first drew PHILIP into Greece.



About this time, to wit, in the second year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, eight yeares after the battaile of *Maninæ*, and about the eighth yeare of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, beganne that Warre, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concurre towards the execution of eternall Providence, and of eury great alteration in the World there is some preceeding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this reuengefull hatred by the *Thebians*, *Theſſalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived against the *Phocians*, nor only teach *Philip* how he might with halfe a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greekes* themselves beating downe their owne defences, to giue him an easie passage, and beating themselves, to giue him victorie without perill, left nothing vnperformed towards their owne slauerie, sauing the tide and imposition. Of this Warre the *Thebians* (made ouer-proude by their victorie at *Leuctra*) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the generall Estates of *Greece*, in which, at that time, they swaied most, they caused both the *Lacedemonians* and *Phocians* to bee condemned in greater summes of money than they could well beare; the one for surprisling the Cattle of *Cadmeis* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing vpon a peece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphes*. The *Phocians* being resolved not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on and encouraged by the *Lacedemonians*; and for refusal were exposed as *Sacrilegiers*, and accursed, to all their Neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to invade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captaine of their owne, cast the same dice of hazard that *Cæsar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an vngratious quarrell, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolved to sack the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of a peece of *Apollis* ground, they had so much offended their neighbour-God, and their neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than already was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perill for all, or to preuaile against all that had communion to call them to accompt. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the warre was ten thousand talents, which in those daies serued them to wage a great many men, and such was their successe in the beginning of the warre, as they wonne three great battailes against the *Thebians*, *Theſſalians*, and *Locrians*, but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himselfe head-long over the Rocks.

In the meane while the Cities of *Cherſoneſus*, both to defend themselves against their bad-Neighbour *Philip*, who encroched vpon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his handes, and at the siege of *Methone* lost one of his cies. It is said, That hee

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that thot him did purposely direct his Arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: *After PHILIPPO; After to PHILIP*; for so he was called that gaue him the wound. This Citie he euened with the soile.

Plat. Vſpian.  
Strab. 18.

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was buſied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Theſſalians* engaged in the holy Warre, entred *Theſſalie* with new forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Armie, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped lo to entertaine the *Theſſalians* at home, as they should nor finde leisure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time called into *Theſſalie*, but both the *Theſſalians*, and *Macedonians*, (*Philip* being present) were vtterly ouerthrowne by *Onomarchus*; and great numbers of both Nations lost. From *Theſſalie*, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Beotia*, and with the same victorious Armie brake the forces of the *Boeotians*, and tooke from them their Citie of *Coronea*. But *Philip* impatient of his late misadventure, after hee had reinforced his Armie, returned with all speede into *Theſſalie*, there to finde againe the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time incournt by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twentie thousand foote, and five hundred horſe. All this great preparation sufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armie ouerturned, sixe thousand slaine, and three thousand taken: of which number himselfe being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled were in part receiued by the *Athenian* Gallies, which sailed along the coast, commanded by *Chares*, but the greatest number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein deuoured as they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now againe driuen out of *Theſſalie*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

### §. V.

Of the Olynthian Warre. The ambitious praictises of PHILIP.



From hence *Philip* resolved to inuade *Phocis* it selfe, but the *Athenians* did not fauour his entrance into those parts, and therefore with the helpe of the *Lacedemonians* they retrencht his passage at the Straits of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon hee returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other Townes, hee quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had euermore both braued and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is said that *Philip* hauing put to death *Archelaus* his halfe brother (for *Amyntus* had three sonnes by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other sonnes by *Gygis*: but *Philip* elder brothers by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himselfe also of the rest) the two younger held themselves witian *Olynthus*; and that the receiuing of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the warre, *Isidore* affirmeth. But just quarrels are ballanced by just Princes, for to this King all things were lawfull that might any way serue his turne; all his affections, and passions, how diuers foucer in other men, were in his ambition swallowed vp, and thenceinto conuerted. For hee neither forbore the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelitie, hee esteemed no place strong where his Asse loaden with gold might enter, Nor any Citie or State vnconquerable, where a few of the greatest lo be made greater, could loose the sense of other mens sorrow and subjection. And because hee thought it vaine to practise the wining of *Olynthus*, till hee had inclosed all the power they had within their owne walls, he entred their Territorie, and by the aduantage of a well-compounded and trained Armie, he gaue them two ouerthrowes hee fate downe before the Citie it selfe: which done, hee bought *Eubulides* and *Asithenes* from their people, and from the seruice of their Countrey and Common-weale, by whose treason hee entred the Towne, slew his brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the Inhabitants for slaves by the

Just. 18. ✕

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the drum. By the spoile of this place he greatly enriched himselfe, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was hee advised by the Oracle in the beginning of his vndertaking, *That hee should make his assaults with silver speeres*: Whereupon *him* see well and truly said.

Hor. Carm. 3.  
Od. 16.

Diffidit Urbium  
Portas vir Mucelo, & subruit amulos,  
Reges muneribus.

By gifts the Macedon claue Gates a-sunder,  
And Kings enuying his estate brought vnder.

And it is true that he wonne more by corruption and fraude than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of Greece his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by Philip the second of Spaine:) So when in the contention betweene the Competitors for the Kingdome of Thraee, he was chosen the Arbitrator, he came not to the Councell accompanied with Pietie, and Iustice, but with a powerfull Armie, and hauing beaten and slaine both Kings, gaue sentence for himselfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

§. VI.

How Philip ended the Phocian Warre.

**T**He warre still continuing betweene the Phocians, and the Associates of the holy Warre, the Boeotians, finding themselves vnable to subliſt without some present aide, ſent vnto Philip for succour, who willingly yielded to their necessities, and ſent them ſuch a proportion of men as were neither ſufficient to maſter their enemies, nor to aſſiſt themſelues; but yet to inable them to continue the warre, and to waite the ſtrength of Greece. They alſo ſent to Antaxerxes Ochus for ſupply of treaſure, who lent them thirtie talents, which makes a hundred and foureſcore thouſand Crownes, but when with theſe ſupplies they had ſtill the worſt in all their attempts againſt the Phocians, who held from them three of their ſtrongelt Cities within Boeotia it ſelfe, They then beſought Philip of Macedon that hee would aſſiſt them in perſon, to whom they would giue an entrance into their Territorie, and in all things obey his commandments in that Warre.

Now had Philip what he longed for; for he knew himſelfe in ſtate to giue the law to both, and ſo quitting all his other purpoſes towards the North, he marched with a ſpedie pace towards Boeotia, where being arriued, Phalceus who commanded the Phocian Armie, fearing to thack with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and with-drew himſelfe with a Regiment of eight thouſand ſouldiers into Peloponnelus, leauiſng the Phocians to the merce of the Conquerour, and for conſolation he had the glorie of that Warre called *Sared*, which the Grecians with ſo many mutuall ſlaughters had continued for ten yeares, and, beſides the glorie, he poſſeſſed himſelfe of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corſia*, in the Countrie of the Boeotians, who inuited him to be victorious ouer themſelues. Hee brought the Phocians into ſeruitude, and waſted their Cities, and gaue them but their Villages to inhabite, reſeruing to himſelfe the yearly tribute of threeſcore talents, which make fixe and thirtie thouſand French Crownes. He alſo hereby (beſides the fame of pietie for ſeruice of the Gods) obtained the ſame double voice in the Councell of the Amphictyones, which the Phocians had, with the ſuperintendencie of the Pythian games, forfeited by the Carinthians, by being partakers in the Phocian ſacrilege.

§. VII.

§. VII.

How Philip with ill ſucceſſe attempted vpon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.



Philip after his triumphant returne into Macedon, by the Lieutenant of his Armie *Parmentis*, ſlaughtered many thouſands of the *Illyrians*, and *Dardaniens*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their reuenues. But his next enterpriſe againſt the *Perinthians* ſtaied his iurie. *Perinthus* was a Citie of *Thraee*, ſeated vpon *Propontis*, in the mid-way betweene *Seſtor* and *Byzantium*, a place of great ſtrength, and a people reſolued to defend their libertie againſt Philip, where the *Athenians* encouraged and aſſiſted them. Philip ſate downe before it with a powerfull Armie, made many faire breaches, gaue many furious aſſaults, built many ouer-topping and commanding Towers about it. But hee was repel'd with equall violence. For whereas Philip thought by his continuall aſſaults to wearie them, and waite both their men and munition, they were ſupplied, not only from the *Perſians* with men and money, and ſuccoured from *Byzantium* which ſtood vpon the ſame Sea-coaſt, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatſoeuer was wanting to their neceſſitie. But becauſe thoſe of *Byzantium*, by reaſon of their Neighbourhood, and the eaſie paſſage by water, gaue them often and readie helpe; Philip remoued with the one halfe of his Armie and beſieged it, leauiſng fiſtene thouſand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could, but to be ſhort, hee failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that vnder-take diuers enterpriſes at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no leſſe diſhonour than loſſe: whereupon he made an Ouerture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly deſired it, to which though *Phocion* perſwaded them in all he could, and that by the occaſion offered they might greatly aduantage their conditions; Yet *Demagheues* with his eloquence prevailed in the reſuſall. In the meane while, Philip hauing digeſted his late affront, and ſupplied his expence by the taking of an hundred and threeſcore and ten Marchants ſhips, hee gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his ſonne *Alexander*, lead them into *Scythia*; but he was alſo vnproſperous in this enterpriſe: For the *Triballi*, a people of *Mefia*, ſet on him in his returne, wounded him, and tooke from him the greateſt part of the ſpoiles, which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How Philip overthrowing the Greeks in the battaile of Cheronas, was choſen Captaine-Generall of Greece. The death of Philip.



Among theſe Northern Nations (part of which hee ſuppreſſed, and part quieted) hee ſpent ſome eight yeares; and in the ninth year, after the end of the holy Warre, he was to his great aduantage inuited againe by the Grecians to their aſſiſtance. For the Citizens of *Amphibia* hauing diſobeyed the decree of the *Amphictyones*, in which Philip had a double voice, and who by reaſon that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gaue countenance and aide to the *Amphictyones*, the reſt were not of themſelues able to conſtraine them, they beſought Philip to come in perſon to their aſſiſtance. Now you muſt thinke that Philip was not long in reſolving vpon this enterpriſe; hee needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe back; nor other diſſuaſion that a maſtering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Armie forthwith to march; the ſame being compounded of thirtie thouſand foote, and two thouſand horſe; and with as much expedition

expedition as could be made, he entered *Phocis*, wanne *Plataea*, and brought into subjection all that Region.

The rest, and especially the *Athenians*, although they had good cause to feare that a great part of this storme would fall on them selves, yet were they dissuaded by *Demosthenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choise (having drawne the *Thebans* to joyn with them) to leave the injoying of their states and their freedom to the chance of one battaile, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Orators eloquence cost them deare. It is true that he could farre more easly misde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, then make them to be such as they were. Hee might repeat vnto them (with words mouing passion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but hee could not transforme the *Macedonians* into *Perfians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Mitridates*, an *Artilles*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had paid with the greatest ingratitude that euer Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrarie faction hee was at this time in disgrace, and not imploied: in so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the *Confederates* incountred, although some thousand of the *Athenians* abid the killing, and the like number well heare of the *Theban* died with them; yet the want of worthe men on that side to hold vp the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choise Captaines of the *Macedonians*, incouraged by a King of growing fortune, as it gaue to *Philip* so shining a victorie that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despite of all the Nations intercept) into *Perfia*, *India*, and *Egypt*; so he cut to the ground, and gaue end and date to all the *Grecian* glorie: Yea their libertie (saith *Cicero*) with their large Laminion womne with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages. and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for euer lost.

Now this aduiled King (neuer passionate to his disadvantage) to the end hee might obtaine the Soueraignetie ouer all *Greece* and be acknowledged for their Capitaine-Generall against the *Perfians*, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let goe those *Athenians* that were taken at this battaile of *Cleoneas*, as he also forbore to attempt any thing against their Citie: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the vertue of *Eparinondas* triumphed ouer the rest) hee lodged a Garrison of *Macedonians*. And being sooner after (according vnto the long desire which hee had nourished of this Soueraignetie) by the generall States at *Cornith*, titled The first Commander of all the *Grecians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, hee compounded an Armie of great strength, and vnder the commandement of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, transported the same ouer the *Hellepont* into *Asia*, to beginne the Warre. Of his enterprise against *Perfia* hee sought the successe from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence hee received such an other conuertible riddle, as *Cicero* did when hee attempted *Cyprus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discern and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites, so did *Philip*s ambitious desire to invade *Perfia* abuse his judgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himselfe was threatned, he understood to be deliuered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to invade. Before his purposed departure into *Asia*, hee prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, to which Rust and pastimes thereat appointed hee invited all his Friends, and Allies, with the principall persons of the *Grecian* Cities, from whom hee received much honour and many rich presents; but this was indeede the feast of his Funerall. For hauing refused to doe iustice to one *Pausanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly fauoured by *Philip*) had first made drunke, and then left to be carnally abused by diuers base persons, This *Pausanias* grew into so great detestation of the Kings partialitie in so fowle a fact, as when *Philip* was passing towards the *Theater*, he drew a sword from vnder his long garment and wounded him to death, when hee had liued fixe and fortie yeares, and reigned fixe and twentie.

*In fine*

*In fine* reports it, that *Olympias* incouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband, which after his death shee boldly auowed, by the honour thee did vnto *Pausanias* in crowning his dead bodie, in consecrating his sword vnto *Apello*, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

### ¶ I X.

What good foundations of ALEXANDERS greatnesse were laied by PHILIP.  
of his inaudable qualities, and issue.

10 **N**OW although hee were then taken from the World, when hee had mastered all opposition on that side the Sea, and had seene the fruits of his hopes and labours, changing colour towards ripenesse, and perfection, yet hee was herein happie that hee liued to see his sonne *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himselfe been an eye-witnesse of his resolution, and singular valour in this last battaile.

The foundation of whose future greatnesse hee had laied so foundly for him, with so plaine a patterne of the buildings which himselfe meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more calie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings were vnto *Philip*, though lesse famous. For besides the recoverie of *Macedon* it selfe, in competition betwene him and the sonnes of *Aegropus*, the one assisted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*, and besides the regaining of many places posselt by the *Illyrians*, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the ouerthrow of *Olympus*, a State that dispised the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedom, and the subjection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for so many Ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and woune vpon them; Hee left vnto his sonne, and had bred vp for him, so many choise Commanders, as the most of them both for their valour and judgement in the Warre were no lesse worthe of Crownes, than himselfe was that wore a Crowne: For it was said of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, vngratefull to so great vertue, impiously murdered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternall fame, without the King, but the King, without *Parmenio*, neuer did any thing worthe of renowne; as for the rest of his Captaines, though content to obey the Sonne of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature, and his excellent Education had enriched him with vertues. For besides that Hee was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Afflictions, hee had this fauour of Pietie, that hee rather laboured to satisfie those that were grieved, than to suppress them, Whereof (among many other) wee finde a good example in his dealing with *Arsadon*, and *Alexander*; whom, when for their euill speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; Hee answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gaue him ill language, or in himselfe: Secondly, that it was in currey mans owne power to bee well spoken off; and this was shortly proued, for after *Philip* had relieved their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon hee told those that had perswaded him to vse violence, that hee was a better Philition for euill speech than they were.

10 His Epistles to *Alexander* his sonne are remembered by *Cicero*, and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Chrysostome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyxenus* and *Frontinus*, his wife sayings by *Plutarch*. And albeit hee held *Macedon* as in his owne right, all the time of his raigne, yet was he not the true and next Heire thereof: for *Amyntus* the sonne of his Brother *Perdiccas* (of whom hee had the protection

*Cic. Off. 1.  
Gell. 10. c. 2.  
Dion. de Reg.*

protection during his infancie) had the right. This *Amyntas* hee married to his Daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a Daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philip* base sonne *Aridaus*, her Vncle by the mothers-side: both which *Olympias*, *Philip* first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Aridaus* by extreme torments; *Eurydice* shee strangled.

*Philip* had by this *Olympias* the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Molossians* (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Vncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her Brother *Alexander* death slaine at *Sardis*, by the commandment of *Antigonus*.

By *Andania*, an *Illyrian*, his second wife, hee had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Neapolis*, the Sister of *Isaon*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, hee had *Thestylis*, whom *Cassander*, after hee had taken *Ptolema*, married, but shee was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

Athen. l. 13. c. 2.  
128. l. 3.

By *Cleopatra*, the Niece of *Attalus*, hee had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him, *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be rofled to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder on *Alexander* himselfe. By the same *Cleopatra* hee had likewise a Daughter, called *Eurydice*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers brest.

By *Phila* and *Meda* hee had no issue.

Hee had also two Concubines, *Asine*, whom, after hee had gotten with child, hee married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptoleme*, King of *Aegypt*, called the sonne of *Lagus*, but esteemed the sonne of *Philip*: by *Phelania*, his second Concubine, a publike Dancer, hee had *Aridaus*, of whom wee shall haue much occasion to speake hereafter.

## CHAP. II.

### Of ALEXANDER the Great.

#### §. I.

A briefe rehearsal of ALEXANDERS doings, before hee invaded Asia.



ALEXANDER, afterward called the Great, succeeded vnto *Philip* his Father, being a Prince no lesse valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and enriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his raigne ouer the *Macedonians* foure hundred and seuenteen yeares after *Kene* built, and after his owne birth twentie yeares. The strange dreames of *Philip* his Father, and that one of the Gods, in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, (I omit as foolish tales; but that the Temple of *Dion* burnt vpon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three seuerall victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable.

remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and foretelling the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Vpon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had opprest, beganne to consult about the recouerie of their former libertie, and to aduenture it by force of Armes. *Alexanders* young-year gaue them hope of preuailling, and his suspected seueritie increased courage in those, who could better resolve to die, than to liue slavishly. But *Alexander* gaue no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily haue endangered the health of his state. For after reuenge taken vpon the Conspirators against his Father, whom hee slew vpon his Tomb; and the celebration of his Funerals, hee first fastened vnto him his owne Nation, by freeing them from all exactions, and bodily slaueerie, other than their seruice in his warres; and used such Kingly austeritie towards those that contemned his young yeares, and such clemencie to the rest that perswaded themselves of the clemencie of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, He made a present journey into *Peloponnesus*, and so well excecuted his spirits among them, as by the Counsell of the States of *Greece*, he was according to the great desire of his heart, elected Capitaine-Generall against the *Persians*, vpon which warre *Philip* his Father had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported vnder the leading of *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*, a part of his Armie, to recouer some places on Asia-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Persian* occupied all *Alexanders* affections; those faire marks of riches, Honour, and large Dominion, hee now shot at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts and imaginations were either grieuous or hatfull. But a contrarie wind carsteth; for hee receiued aduertisement that the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedemonians*, had vniued themselves against him, and by assistance from the *Persian*, hoped for the recouerie of their former freedome. Hereto they were perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himselfe being thereto perswaded by the gold of *Persia*; the deuse he used was more subtile than profitable; for hee caused it to be bruted that *Alexander* was slaine in a battaile against the *Triballer*, and brought into the assemblie a Companion whom hee had corrupted to affirme, That himselfe was present and wounded in the battaile. There is indeede a certaine Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now a daies defined by falsehood and knauerie) that deuised rumours and lies, if they serue the turne, but for a day or two, are greatly auailable. It is true that common people are sometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarms in the Warres; but in all that I haue obserued, I haue found the successe as ridiculous as the inuention. For as those that finde themselves at one time abused by such like brutes, doe at other times neglect their duties, when they are vpon true repores, and in occasions perilous, summoned to assemblie; so doe all men in generall condemne the Venters of such trumperie, and for them feare vpon necessitie occasions to entertaine the truth it selfe. This labour vnllooked for, and losse of time, was not only very grieuous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which hee had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Gracians*, of whose assistance hee thought himselfe assured, his present vnder-taking was greatly disordered. But hee that cannot indure to strue against the winds, shall hardly attaine the Port which hee purpoeth to recouer; and it no lesse becòmeth the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to beaule them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Reuolters, as that himselfe, with the Armie that followed him, brought them the first newes of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moued, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadors to pacifie the King, and to be receiued againe into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the *Persians* perswaded him to pardon the *Gracians*. Wise men are not easily drawne from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King

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cuer brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intangled himselfe in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certaine end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agrians*, and other salvage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his Predecessours, but euen *Philip* his Father: with all which after diuers ouerthrows giuen them, hee made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good successe, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more naturall to man than libertie; the *Greekes* had enjoyed it ouer-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once againe. The *Thebans*, who had in their Citadell a Garrison of a thousand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* buileth to their succour, and presents himselfe with thirre thousand foot, all old Souldiers, and three thousand horse, before the Citie, and gaue the Inhabitants some daies to resolute, being euen heart-like with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So vnwilling, indeede, he was to draw bloud of the *Gracians*, by whom hee hoped to serue himselfe elsewhere, that hee offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliuer into his hands *Phanix* and *Procles*, the stirrers vp of the Rebellion. But they, oppoling the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking-in of the Ocean-Sea) in stead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should haue made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to bee deliuered vnto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then laied in the balance of Fortune with the Kingdome of *Macedon* and many other Prouinces, could either haue euened the scale or swaied it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obtinacie. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Armie assailable, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their Citie taken and rased to the ground, sixe thousand slaine, and thirte thousand sold for slaves, at the price of four hundred and fortie talents. This the King did to the terror of the other *Gracian* Cities.

Many Arguments were vsed by *Cleadas* one of the prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He praised the King to beleuee that they were rather misle-led by giuing halfe credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of *Alexanders* death, they rebelled but against his Successour. Hee also besought the King to remember, that his father *Philip* had his education in that Citie, yea that his Ancestor *Hercules* was borne therein: but all perswasions were fruitlesse, the times wherein offences are committed, doe greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at libertie *Timoclea*, the sister of *Theogenes*, who did in defence of the libertie of *Greece* against his Father *Philip*. This Noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him rauished, hee threatened to take her life vnclesse shee would confesse her treasure, shee led the *Thracian* to a Well, and told him that shee had therein cast it, and when the *Thracian* stooped to looke into the Well, shee suddainly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now because the *Athenians* had receiued into their Citie so many of the *Thebans*, as had escaped and fled vnto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but vpon condition to deliuer into his hands both their Orators which perswaded this second reuolt, and their Captaines; yet in the end it being a torment vnto him to retard the enterprise of *Persia*, he was content that the Orators should remaine, and accepted of the banishment of the Captaines wherein he was exceeding ill aduised, had not his fortune, or rather the prouidence of God, made all the resistance against him vnpromisable: for these good Leaders of the *Gracians* becooke themselves to the seruice of the *Persian*, whom after a few daies he inuadeth.

How *ALEXANDER* passing into *Asia*, sought with the *Persians* vpon the River of *Granicus*.



When all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did passe the *Hellespont*, and being readie to disembark, hee threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waite in their owne Territorie, or to burne, or deface those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possesse. He landed his Armie, consisting of two and thirte thousand foot, and hue thousand horse, all old Souldiers, neare vnto *Troy*, where he offered a solemne sacrifice vpon *Achilles* Tombe, his maternall Ancestor.

But before he left his owne coast, he put to death, without any offence giuen him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly aduanced, not sparing such of his owne as he suspected. Hee also tooke with him many of his tributarie Princes, of whose fidelitie he doubted; thinking by vnjust crueltie to asser all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrarie to the policie which his Ambition had commanded vnto him, though agreeing verie well with the iustice of God, for all that he had planned, was soone after withered, and rooted vp; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traitterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercurie sword as his owne, and all manner of confusion followed his dead bodie to the graue, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexanders* landing on *Asia*-side was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the Armie of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himselfe, as hauing stiled him his seruant on a letter which hee wrote vnto him, reprehending his disloyaltie and audacitie (for *Darius* intitled himselfe King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the Gods) hee gaue order withall to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* a liue, whip him with rods, and then conuoy him to his presence: that they should sinke his ships, and send the *Macedons* taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea, belike into *Ethiopia*, or some other vnhealthfull part of *Africa*.

In this sort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartlesse, multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already vanquished *Macedonians*. But the ill definitions of men beare them to the ground, by what strong confidence sooner armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heape into the field, gaue rather an exceeding aduantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men verily vnacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to preuaile against those of lesse courage than themselves, men that tooke more care how to embroder with gold and siluer their vpper garments, as if they attended the inuasion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themselves with yron and Steele against the sharpe-pikes, swordes, and darts of the hardie *Macedonians*; I say besides all these, euen the opinion they had of their owne numbers, of which euery one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled euery of them with the care of their owne safetie, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horse, in running away. The *Macedonians* as they came to fight, and thereby to inrich themselves with the gold and Jewells of *Persia*, both which they needed, so the *Persians* who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obaied the King; who had power to constraime them in assembling themselves for his seruice; but their owne feares and cowardice, which in time of danger had most power ouer them, they only then obaied, when their rebellion against so scruple a passion did iustly and violently

violently require it. For saith VEGEVIVS: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles praelium cupit, ita formidat inductus; nam sciendum est in pugna esse summi prodesse quam vires.* As the well-practised Soldier desires to come to battaile, so the raw one fears it: for we must understand, that in fight it more awailes to have bene accustomed into the like, than only to beate wile strength. What manner of men the Persians were, Alexander discovered in the first encounter, before which time it is said, by those that writ his Storye, That it was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the Conquest of an Empire so well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the successe he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of Granick, which severeth the Territorie of Tre from Propontia, the Persians sought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and bank of the river to defend, which Alexander was forced (as it were) to clime vp vnto, and scale from the Leuell of the water; Great resistance (saith Curtius) was made by the Persians, yet in the end Alexander prevailed. But it seemes to mee, that the victorie then gotten was exceeding easie, and that the twentie thousand Persian foot-men, said to be slaine, were rather kil'd in the back, in running away, than hurt in the bosomes by resisting. For had those twentie thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horse-men, or, after Plutarch, two thousand and five hundred horse-men, died with their faces towards the Macedonians, Alexander could not have bought their livers at so small a rate, as with the losse of foure and thirtie of all sorts of his owne. And if it were also true, that Plutarch doth report, how Alexander encountered two of the Persian Commanders, Spithridates and Perseus; and that the Persian horse-men fought with great furie, though in the end scattered; and lastly how those Gracians in Darius his pay holding themselves in one bodie vpon a peece of ground of advantage, did (after mercie was refused them) fight it out to the last; how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance having bene made, yet of Alexanders Armie there fell but twelve Foote-men, and two and twentie Horse-men.

## §. III.

A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battaile of Granick.

**T**He winning of this passage did greatly encourage the Macedonians, and brought such terror vpon all those of the lesser Asia, as hee obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, some one or two Townes excepted. For in all invasions, where the Nations invaded have once bene beaten vpon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights, and Mountaines, they will soone have perswaded themselves, that such an enemy, vpon equal termes and euen ground, can hardly be resisted. It was therefore Aschines counsel, that he which resoluth to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that Armies, of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the naturall difficultie of the waies. One passage or other is commonly left vnguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Countrey be distracted, and yet lightly, some one place will be found that is defended very weakly. How often haue the Alpes given way to Armies, breaking into Italie? Yea, where shall we finde that euer they kept out an invadour? Yet are they such, as (to speake briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that trauaile ouer them; but they giue no securitie to those that lie beinde them: for they are of too large extent. The Townes of Lumbardie perswaded themselves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the Switzers had undertaken to hinder Francis the French King from descending into the Duchie of Milan: but whilst these Patrons of Milan, whom their owne dwelling in those

Mountaines

Mountaines had made ittself of all other for such a service, were busied in custodie of the Alpes; Francis appeared in Lumbardie, to so much the greater terror of the Inhabitants, by how much the lesse they had expected his arrivall. What shall we say of those Mountaines, which locke vp whole Regions in such fort, as they leaue but one Gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the Gates of Tanus in Chicia, and those of Thermopylae, haue seldom bene attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable: but how seldom (if euer) haue they been attempted in vaine? Xerxes, and long after him, the Romans, forced the entrance of Thermopylae; Cyrus the younger, and after him Alexander, found the Gates of Chicia wide open; how strongly looser they had bene locked and barred, yet were those Countreies open enough to a fleet that should enter on the back-side. The defence of Rivers how hard a thing it is, wee finde examples in all histories that beare good witness. The deepeft haue many Foords; the swiftest and broadest may bee passed by Boates, in case it be found a matter of difficultie to make a Bridge. He that hath men enough to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath also enough to beate his enemy; and may therefore goe better to let him come ouer, to his losse, than by striving in vaine to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his owne disadvantage, till the heads of his Soldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, hauing their meanes of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly if a River were sufficient defence against an Armie, the Ile of Mon, now called Angleser, which is diuided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea; had bene safe enough against the Romans, inuading it vnder conduct of Iulius Agricola. But he wanting, and not meaning to spend the time in making vessels to transport his forces, did assay the foords. Whereby hee so amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like prouision by Sea, that surely beleeuing nothing could bee hard or inuincible to men, which came so minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yielded the Island. Yet the Brittaines were men stout enough; the Persians verie daltards.

It was therefore wisely done of Alexander, to passe the River of Granick in face of the enemy; not marching higher to seeke an easier way, nor labouring to conuey his men ouer it by some safer meanes. For hauing beaten them vpon their owne ground, hee did thereby cut off no lesse of their reputation, than of their strenght, leauing no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such vnable Protectors.

Soone after this victorie he recovered Sardis, Ephesus, the Cities of the Trallians and Milyetians, which were rendred vnto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrey, hee received with great grace, suffering them to be gouerned by their owne lawes. For hee obserued it well; *Neuam Imperium inchoantibus: his clementia summa; it is commodious vnto such as lay the foundations of a new Soueraigntie to haue the same of being mercifull.* Hee then by Parmenio wanne Miletus, and by force mastered Hilaricarnus, which, because it resisted obstinately, hee razed to the ground. From thence hee entred into Caria, where Ada the Queene, who had bene cast out of all that shee held (except the Citie of Alinda) by Darius his Lieutenants, perswaded her selfe vnto him, and adopted him her sonne and successor; which Alexander accepted in so gracious part as hee left the whole Kingdom to her disposing. Hee then entred into Lycia, and Pamphilia, and obtained all the Sea coasts, and subiecting vnto him Paphlagonia, he directed himselfe towards Darius (who was said to be aduanced towards him with a maruallous Armie) by the way of Phrygia: For all the Prouince of Asia the lesse, bordering vpon the Sea, his first victorie laied vnder his feet.

While he gaue order for the gouernment and setting of Lycia, and Pamphilia, he sent Cleander to raise some new Companies in Peloponnesus, and marching towards the North, he entred Celenas, seated on the River Meander, which was abandoned vnto him, the Castle only holding out; which also after fortie daies was giuen vp: for so long time he gaue them to attend succour from Darius. From Celenas hee past on

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through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a Citie called *Gordium*, the Regall-seate, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this Citie it was that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to vndoe, hee cut it a-funder with his sword. For there was an ancient propheticke did promise to him that could vntie it, the Lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himselfe the fulfilling of the propheticke, by hewing it in peeces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the lesse towards the East, hee tooke care to cleare the Sea-coast on his backe, and to thrust the *Persians* out of the Ilands of *Lesbos*, *Sio*, and *Cos*, the charge whereof he committed vnto two of his Captaines, giuing them such order as he thought to be most convenient for that seruice; and deliuering vnto them fiftie talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his first spoile gotten, he sent threecore talents more to *Antipater* his Licutenant in *Greece*, and *Macedon*. From *Celenas* he remoued to *Ancira*, now called *Anguiri*, standing on the same Riuer of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there hee multried his Armie, and then entred *Babylagonia*, whose people submitted themselves vnto him, and obtained freedome of tribute: where hee left *Critus* Gouvernour with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Here hee vnderstood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to passe on towards him, for of this only Captaine hee had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders hee had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath vnderaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conquest of Kingdomes and Empires guided handfulls of men against multitudes of equall bodily strength, contriued victories beyond all hope and discouree of reason, conuered the fearefull passions of his owne followers into magnanimitie, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits haue bene stirred vp in sundrie Ages of the world, and in diuers parts thereof, to erect and cast downe againe, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States; to the same certaine ends, which the infinite spirit of the *Finis* fall, piercing, mouing, and gouerning all things hath ordained. Certainly the things that this King did were maruailous, and would hardly haue bene vnderaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to haue invaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would haue contented himselfe with some part thereof, and not haue discouered the Riuer of *Indus*, as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ranne ouer so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may iustly be imputed vnto this, that he was neuer encountered by an equall spirit, concurring with equall power against him. Hereby it came to passe that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, than Desert places, and the meere length of tedious Iournies could make, were like the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discouer as braue a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no lesse exquisitely, though the effects were lesse materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would finde the exact patterne of a noble Commander, must looke vpon such as *Epinomenus*, that encountering worthie Captains, and those better followed than themselves, haue by their singular vertue ouer-topped their valiant enemies, and still preuailed ouer those, that would not haue yielded one foot to any other. Such as these are doe become liue to obtaine great Empires. For it is a worke of more labour and longer time, to matter the equall forces of one hardie and well-ordered State, than to tread downe and vtterly subdue a multitude of feeble Nations, compounding the bodie of a grosse vniuersitie Empire. Wherefore these *Paruo Potentes*, men that with little haue done much vpon enemies of like abilitie, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerors, to be rather admired for the substance

substance of their actions, than the exquisite menaging: exactnesse and greatnesse concurring so seldome, that I can finde no instance of both in one, save only that braue *Roman Caesar*.

Having thus farre digressed, it is now time that wee retorne vnto our Easterne Conqueror; who is traailing hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recouer the Streights thereof before *Darius* should arrive there. But first making a dispatch into *Greece*, he sent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* Targets which he had recovered in his first battaile; vpon which, by certaine inscriptions, he made them partakers of his victorie. Herein hee well aduised himselfe, for he that doth not atwell impart of the honour which he gaineth in the Warres, as hee doth of the spoiles, shall neuer be long followed by the better sort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and haue more of wealth than of reputation, doe as often satisfie themselves with the purchase of glorie; as the weak in fortune, and strong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and siluer.

The Gouvernour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexander* coming on, left some Companies to keepe the Streights, which were indeede very defensible; and withall, as *Curcius* noteth, hee beganne ouer-late to prise and purin execution the Counsell of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Warres aduised him to waitt all the provisions for Men and Horfe, that could not bee lodged in strong places, and alwaies to giue ground to the Inuader, till hee found some notable aduantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of victorie. For the furie of an inuading Armie is best broken, by delaies, change of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes repelling themselves in beds, and more often on the cold ground. These and the like suddaine alterations bring many diseases vpon all Nations out of their owne Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and sleepe, and refusing to giue or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horfe, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*; hee might perchance haue saued his owne life, and his estate: For it was one of the greatest encouragements giuen by *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, in the third and last tall battaile, that they were to fight with all the strength of *Persia* at once.

*Xerxes* when hee invaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost only his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greekes*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his Kingdome; *Pericles*, though the *Lacedemonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not bee drawne to hazard a battaile: for the inuaded ought euermore to fight vpon the aduantage of time and place. Because we reade Histories to inform our vnderstanding by the examples therein found, we will giue some instances of those that haue perished by aduenturing in their owne Countries, to charge an inuading Armie. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hamul*, were brought to the brink of their destruction.

*Pempey* was well aduised for a while, when hee gaue *Caesar* ground, but when by the importunitie of his Captaines hee aduentured to fight at *Pharsalia*, hee lost the battaile, lost the freedome of *Rome*, and his owne life.

*Ferdinand*, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battaile with the *French* to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound iudgement, that those Counsels which promise suretie in all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of *France* made frustrate the mightie preparation of *Charles* the Fifth, when hee invaded *Prouence*, by waiting the Countrie, and forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of *Alua* weare the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolue the boisterous Armie of the Prince of *Orange* in the low-Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrarie to the aduise of their Generall, would needs fight a battaile with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Countrie, and could not be perswaded to linger the time, and stay their aduantage; but they lost eight and twentie thousand vpon the place. *Philip of Valois* set vpon King *Edward* at *Cressle* and King *John* (when the *English* were well neare tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit haue

haue bene waited to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great furie, neare *Poitiers*, to joyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable successe the two *French Kings* found. *Charles* the Fifth of *France* made an other kinde of *Fabian*-Warfare; and though the *English* burnt and wasted many places, yett this King held his resolution to forbear blowes, and followed his aduise which told him, That the *English* could neuer get his inheritance by smooke; and it is reported by *Belay* and *Hierault*, that King *Edward* was wont to say of this *Charles*, that hee wanted from him the Duchie of *Guien* without euer putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, will men grow short lined, and the charge of things is committed vnto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any found aduise. The course which *Nemnon* had propounded, mist in all appearance of reason haue brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexitie, and made him stand still a while at the *Streights of Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more shamefull to returne, or dangerous to proceede. For had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* bene waited whilst *Alexander* was farre off; and the *Streights of Cilicia* bene defended by *Asenes*, Governor of that Prouince, with the best of his forces: hunger would not haue suffered the enimie, to stay the trial of all means that might be thought vpon, of forcing that passage; or if the place could not haue bene maintained, yet might *Cilicia* at better leisure haue bene thoroughly spoiled, that the heart of his Armie should haue bene broken, by seeing out miseries with painefull trauaile.

But *Asenes* leauing a small number to defend the *Streights*, tooke the best of his Armie with him, to wait, and spoile the Countrey; or rather, as may seeme, to find himselfe some work, by pretence of which hee might honestly runne further away from *Alexander*. Hee should rather haue aduentured his person in custodie of the *Streights*, whereby hee might perhaps haue saved the Prouince; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would haue bene conueighed into strong Townes. So should his Armie, if it were driuen from the place of aduantage, haue found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himselfe with his horse-men haue had the lesse worke in destroying that little which was left abroade. Handling the matter as hee did, he gaue the *Cilician* cause to will for *Alexanders* coming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wisen apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the *Streights*, hearing that *Asenes* made all hait to joyne himselfe with *Darius*, burning downe all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, beganne to grow circumspect, and to thinke that surely their Generall, who gaue as lost the Countrey behinde their backs, had exposed themselves vnto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing else, but to dull the *Macedonian* Swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrey (which honour they saw that *Asenes* himselfe could well forbeare) they speedily followed the foote-steps of their Generall, gleaming after his Harcuff. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardise of his Enemies, and the whole Prouince that had bene alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

## §. IIII.

of the vnnarlike Armie leaued by *Darius* against *ALEXANDER*.  
The vnadvised courses which *Darius* tooke in this expedition. Hee is vanquished at *Issus*; where his Mother, Wife, and Children are made prisoners. Of some things following the battaile of *Issus*.



N the meane season *Darius* approached; who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Armie of more than two hundred and ninetie thousand Souldiers, out of diuers Nations; *Iustine* musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; *Plutarch* at sixe hundred thousand.

The manner of his coming on, as *Curtius* describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to set out his glorie and riches, than to provide for his owne safetie, perswading himselfe, as it seemed, to beat *Alexander* with pompe and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire which the *Persians* worshipped, attended by their Priests, and after them three hundred and threecore and fve yong-men, answering the number of the daies of the yeare, couered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Iupiter* drawne with white Horses, with their Riders clothed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horse of the *Sunne*: Next after these followed ten sumptuous Chariots, inlaied and garnisht with siluer and gold, and then the Vantguard of their horse, compounded of twelue severall Nations, which the better to auoide confusion, did hardly vnderstand each others language, and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serue very fitly to disorder all that followed them; in the taile of these Horses the Regiment of foote marched, with the *Persians* called immortal, because if any died the number was presently supplied: and these were armed with chaines of gold, and their coates with the same metall imbrodered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearle, bannes, either to catch the hungrie *Macedonians* withall, or to perswade them that it were great incivillitie to cut and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said: *Sumptuose inductus miles, se virtute superiorem alij non existimet, cum in prelijs oportet fortis esse animi, & non vestimentis se muniri, quantum hostes vestibus non debellantur*; Let no man thinke that hee exceedeth those in valour, whom hee exceedeth in gay garments, for it is by men armed with fortitude of minde, and not by the apparell they put on, that enemies are beaten. And it was perchance from the *Roman* *Papirus* that this aduice was borrowed, who when hee fought against the *Sannites* in that fatall battaile, wherein they all sware either to preuaile or die, thirtie thousand of them hauing apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of feathers, bad the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aside all feare: *Non enim eris illi vulnera facere, linteatus & per pici atque anata scuta transire Romanum pilum*; For these plumed crests would wound no Lodie, and the *Roman* pike would bore holes in painted and gilded shields.

To second this Court-like companie, fiftene thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breede the more terrour) and these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinsmen. Then came *Darius* himselfe, the Gentlemen of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the Gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the *Macedonians* did not serue, but they serued their turnes of these, by changing their massie-bodies into thinne portable and currant coine. The head of this Chariot was set with pretious stones, with two little golden Idols, couered with an open-winged Eagle of the same metall: The hinder part being raised high whereon *Darius* sat, had a covering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with siluer, and their heads

head; guilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedonian* blood, for feare of marring their beautie. He had for the proper Guard of his person two hundred of the blood Royall, blood too Royall and pretious to be spilt by any valorous adventure, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdie fellows, like the *Switzers*, would haue done him more seruice) and these were backt with thirtie thousand foot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred spare horses for the King, which if hee had meant to haue vsed he would haue marshalled somewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Rcareward, the same being led by *Sijgambis* the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawne in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horse-back, with fiftene Wagons of the Kings children, and the wines of the Nobilitie, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurses, and *Ennues's*, most sumptuously apparelled, By which it should seeme that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had bene *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troupe was late fitter to behold those sport: than to bee present at battailes. Betwene these & a companie of slight-armed slaves, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings treasure, charged on fixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this sort came this *Mygame-King* into the field, incumberd with a most vnnecessarie traine of Carriumpets, attended with troupes of diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled, and for the most part so effeminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but haue encouraged the nakeddest Nation of the world against them. We finde in daily experience that all discourse of magnanimitie, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Libertie, and whatsoever else hath bene wont to moue and encourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common-Souldier, in comparison of spoile and riches, The rich ships are boarded vpon all disadvantages, the rich Townes are furiously assaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly invaded. Our *English* Nations haue attempted many places in the *Indies*, and runne vpon the *Spaniards* head-long in hope of their royalls of plate, and Pistoles, which had they bene put to it vpon the like disadvantages in *Indies*, or in any poore Countrie, they would haue turned their Peeces and Pikes against their Commanders, contending that they had bene brought without reason to the Butcherie and slaughter. Its true that the warre is made willingly, and for the most part with good successe, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needie are alwaies aduenturous, so plentie is wont to thinne perill, and men that haue well to liue, doe rather studie how to liue well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car c'est là que arien a gaigner, que des coups volontiers il n'y va pas; Noman makes hazz to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his Southsiders, hee would haue satisfied himselfe by the out-sides of the *Persians*, and neuer haue looked into the intrayles of Beasts for successe. For lenning the description of this second battaile (which is indeede no-where well described, neither for the confusion and haste running away of the *Asians* could it be) we haue enough by the slaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to informe vs what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that threecore thousand *Persian* foot-men were slaine in this battaile, with ten thousand of their horse-men, Or (as *Curtius* saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horse-men, and besides this slaughter, fortie thousand taken prisoners, while of *Alexanders* Armie there miscarried but two hundred and fourecore of all sorts, of which numbers *Arianus* and other Historians cut off almost the one halfe: I doe verily beleeeue that this small number rather died with the ouer-trauaile and paines-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes receiued from them. And surely if the *Persian* Nation (at this time degenerate and the basest of the World) had had any fauour remaining of the ancient valour of their forefathers; they would neuer haue sold so good cheape, and at so vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters,

ters, and other the Kings children; had their owne honor bene valued by them at nothing, and the Kings saletie and his estate at lesse. *Darius* by this time found it true that *Charidemus* a banished *Græcian* of *Athens* had told him, when hee made a view of his Armie about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which hee had assembled of diuers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would bee found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the countrie, whom in passing they would deuour, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to assaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattaile in grosse Squadrons, which they call their *Phalans*, well couered with Armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make so little account of his delicate *Persians*, louing their ease and their palat, being withall ill armed and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertaine (hauing so great abundance of treasure to doe it withall) a sufficient number of the same *Græcians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, hee would repent him ouer-late, as taught by the miserable successe like to follow.

But this discourse was so vnpleasing to *Darius* (who had bene accustomed to nothing so much as to his owne praises, and to nothing so little as to heare truth;) as he commanded that this poore *Græcian* should be presently slaine: who while hee was a sundring in the Tormentors hand, vied this speech to the King, That *Alexander*, against whom hee had given this good counsell, should assuredly reuenge his death, and lay deferred punishment vpon *Darius* for despising his aduise.

It was the laying of a Wife man. *Depetratus Principis salus est, cuius aures ita formata sunt, ut aspera quæ utilitas, nec quicquam nisi incundum accipiat. That Princes saletie is in a desperate case, whose eares indge all that is profitable to be too sharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is vnpleasant.*

For liuere in counsell is the life and essence of counsell, *Libertas consilij est vitæ, et essentia, quæ crepta consilium emanat.*

*Darius* did likewise value at nothing the Aduise given him by the *Græcian* Souldiers that serued him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: but had they bene Counsellors and directors in that Warre, as they were vnderlings and commanded by others, they had with the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men bene able to haue opposed the furie of *Alexander*, without any assistance of the *Persian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was ouerthrowne with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Græcians*, vnder their Capitaine *Amyntas*, held firme, and marched away in order in despite of the vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: we reade in Histories ancient and moderne, what braue retraitts haue bene made by them, though the rest of the Armie in which they haue serued, hath bene broken.

At the battaile of *Raunne*, where the Imperials were beaten by the *French*, a Squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off vnbroken and vndimayned; whom when *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Acemures*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victorie not intire by their escape, hee was ouer-turned and slaine in the place. For it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers feare them not, That, *Neque est o periculum imminens nisi opus ipsam quantumvis difficile aggrediantur. They goe about the businesse it selfe, how hard soeuer it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which the mischiefe hanging ouer their heads may bring; and as truly of those that know the warres but by heare-say. Quod valentes sunt et preuenientes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discedunt; They haue abilitie enough, and to spare, till dangers appeare; but when perill indeede cometh they get them gone.*

These *Græcians* also that made the retraite, aduised *Darius* to retire his Armie into the plaine of *Alasporonia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into those large fields and great Champions, he might haue inuironed the *Macedonians* on all sides with his multitude; and withall they counselled him to diuide that his huge Armie into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might,

might haue fought many battailes, and haue brought no greater numbers at once then might haue bene well marshalled and conducted. But this counsell was to contrarie to the cowardly affections of the *Perrians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to inuiron the *Graecians* which gaue the aduile, and to cut them in peeces as Traitors. The infinite wisdome of God doth not worke alwaies by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates, by taking vnderstanding from the Gouvernours, so as they can neither giue nor discern of Counsels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* vpon a straightned peece of ground, neare vnto the Citie of *Isus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the aduile of *Parmenio* layed there, as in a place of best advantage) was utterly ouerthrowne, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mocher, and Children (whom the *Graecians* his followers had perswaded him to leaue in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexander*, preiudice were entertained with all respect due vnto their birth, their Honours preferred, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored vnto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a most beautifull Ladie, and his Daughters of excellent forme, Yet *Alexander* mistreated his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Aristobulus* the Historian, That he embraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Oculus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobilitie of *Persia* in effect, fell into captiuitie; At which time also *Darius* Treasure (not lost at *Isus*) was seized, amounting to fixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of *Bellion* five hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

*Darius* himselfe leauing his brother dead, with diuers other of his chiefe Captaines (casting the Crowne from his head) hardly escaped.

After this ouerthrow giuen vnto *Larus*, all *Phanicia* (the Citie of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Gouvernour.

*Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast that it troode on his heeles, for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lieutenant in *Asia* the lesse, ouerthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately revolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius* Admirall, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly leaued; the *Leucedemonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten; foure thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retreat at the last battaile, forsaking both the partie of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Aegypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to diuide Kingdomes.

*Alexander*, to honour *Ephesius*, whom hee loued most, gaue him power to dispose of the Kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a most poore estate, that laboured to sustain his life, being of the Royall bloud, was commended by the people vnto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same houre.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wisht that hee could beare his prosperitie with the same moderation, and quietnesse of heart, that he had done his aduersitie; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which hee commended in an other mans desire: for it was a signe that he did but accompanie, and could not gouerne, his felicitie.

While he made some stay in those parts, he receiued a letter from *Darius*, importing the ransom of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now bene twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing, in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had receiued an ouerthrow by *Pyrrius* returned

returned him a more scornfull answer vpon the offer of peace, than they did before the triall of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had alreadye cast lease, the one a resolute well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* declined the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himselfe.

## §. V.

How *ALEXANDER* besieged and wanne the Citie of *Tyre*.



*ALEXANDER* coming neare to the Citie of *Tyre*, receiued from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victuals, and other prelents, which hee tooke very thankfully, returning them answer

That he desired to offer a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their Citie, from whom hee was defended. But the *Tyrrians* like not his companie within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old Citie adjoining, now abandoned and desolate: To bee short, *Alexander* refused to enter it by force, and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the land whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Lithanus*, hee filled the passage of the Sea between the land and the Maine, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea vpon a storme of winde, sometime by the *Tyrrians* fired, and sometime torne a-funder, yet with the helpe of his Nauie which arrived (during the siege) from *Cyprus*, hee ouercame all difficulties and preuailed, after he had spent seuen Moneths in that attempt. The *Tyrrians* in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the Citie, in respect whereof, and of the great losse of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those, that escaped the first furie, to bee hanged on Crolles on the Sea-shore, and reserved for slaues (saith *Diodore*) thirteene thousand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirtie thousand. Many more had died had not the *Zelouians*, that serued *Alexander*, conuicid great numbers away by shipping vnto their owne Citie.

Happie it was for *Apoll*o that the Towne was taken, for one of the *Tyrrians* hauing dreamt, that this God meant to forsake the Citie, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idoll of *Hercules*; but *Alexander* like a gracious Prince loosened him againe.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprize and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nibuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled vp the channell, that lay between the land and the Maine.

The gouernement of this Territorie he gaue to *Philotas*, the Sonne of *Parmenio*; *Clitus*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant vnder *Parmenio*; *Ephesius* had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Aegypt*.

## §. VI.

How *DARIUS* offered conditions of peace to *ALEXANDER*. *ALEXANDER* winnes *Gaza*; and deales graciously with the leues.



IN the meane while *Darius* sends againe to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and laith the losse of the last battaile to the straightnesse of the place: he hoped to terrifie him, by threatening to incompass him in the plaine Countreies, he bids him consider, how impossible it was to passe the Riuer of *Euphrates*,

*Tigris, Axax*, and the rest, with all such other fierce full things: for, hee that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enough of that nature to present vnto another. All the Kingdomes betwene the Riuer of *Asia* and the *Hellepont*, he offered him in Lower with his beloued daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his owne, and that which victorie and his owne vertue had possit him of; That he was to giue conditions, and not to receiue any; and that he hauing passed the Sea it selfe, disdained to thinke of resistance in transporting himselfe ouer Riuers. It is said that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, that were he *Alexander* hee would accept of *Darius* his offers, to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and coming before *Gaza*, *Betis* a faithful servant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Towne with an obstinate resolution, at the liege whereof *Alexander* receiued a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone; Hee found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the lands of *Gaza*, that he was faine to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first beganne to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis*, (whom *Ioseph* calleth *B-benefes*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who neuer gave ground to the Assaultants; he bored holes through his feet, and caused him to be drawne about the streets, whilest he was yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himselfe, disdained to aske him either life or remission of his torments. And what had hee to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his ancestor *Achilles*, who did like to *Hector*? It is true, that cruelty hath alwaies somewhat to couer her deformitie.

From *Gaza* (saith *Iosephus*) he led his Armie towards *Ierusalem*, a Citie, for the antiquitie and great fame thereof, well knowne vnto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had sent for some supply thither, which *Iaddus* the high Priest, being subject and sworne to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Iewes* therefore fearing his reuenge, and vnable to resist, committed the care of their estates and safetie to *Iaddus*, who, being taught by God, issued out of the Citie couered with his Pontificall-Robes, to wit, an upper garment of purple, embroidered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests & Leuites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner so vnusall, statelie, and graue, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Iosephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reuerencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it; Howeouer it was, I am of opinion, That he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the successe after the prophetic of *Daniel* had been read vnto him, wherein he saw himselfe, and the conquest of *Perse* so directly pointed at, as nothing thenceforth could discourage him or feare him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Iosephus*) That in *Dio* a Citie of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the conquest of *Asia*, hee saw in his sleepe such a person as *Iaddus*, and so apparailled, professing one and the same God, by whom he was encouraged to pursue the purpose hee had in hand with assurance of victorie. This apparition, formerly apprehended onely by the light of his phantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes; wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and emboldened, as contrarie to the practice of the *Phoenicians*, (who hoped to haue sackt and destroyed *Ierusalem*) he gaue the *Iewes* all, and more than they desired, both of libertie and immunitie, with permission to liue vnder their owne lawes, and to exercise and enjoy their owne Religion.

## §. VII.

ALEXANDER WINNES *Egypt*: and makes a iourne to the Temple of HAMMON.

From *Ierusalem* *Alexander* turned againe towards *Egypt*, and entred it, where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Astaces*, receiued him and deliuered into his hand the Citie of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this wee see that the Kings of *Perse*, who had more of affection than of iudgement, gaue to the valiantest man hee had but the command of one Citie, and to the veriest coward the gouernement of all *Egypt*. When he had set thinges in order in *Egypt*, he beganne to trauaile after God-head, towards *Iupiter Hammon*, so foolishly had prosperitie made him, He was to passe ouer the dangerous and drie sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels-back was spent, hee could not but haue perished, had not a maruillous shower of raine fallen vpon him, when his Armie was in extreme despair. All men that know *Egypt*, and haue written thereof, affirme, That it neuer raines there; but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to passe what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when hee had lost his way in those vast deserts, that a flight of Crows flew before the Armie, who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Armie was call back, guided them ouer those pathlesse lands to *Iupiter* Temple.

*Arianus* from the report of *Ptoleme*, the sonne of *Lagus*, saies, That hee wasled by two Dragons, both which reports may be a-like true; But many of these wonders and thinges prodigious, are fained by those that haue written the storie of *Alexander*, as that an Eagle lay houching directly ouer his head at the battaile of *Issus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when hee slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him, at *Halicarnassus*, fore-shewing the treason of *Arropus*, practised by *Darius* to haue slaine him; That from the yron barres of which the *Tyrans* made their defensive engines, when *Alexander* beleegged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turke of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The *Spaniards* in the conquest of the West-Indies haue many such pretie tales; telling how they haue been assisted in battaile, by the presence of our *Lades*, and by *Angels* riding on white horses, with the like *Romish* miracles, which I thinke themselves doe hardly beleue. The strangest things that I haue read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the night before the battaile at *Neurra*, all the Dogges which followed the French Armie, ranne from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning vpon them, as if they had bene bred and fed by them all their liues, and in the morning following, *Switzers* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Leuis* the twelfth, were by these *Imperiall Switzers* utterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idoll of *Iupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*, for he bounds it by the Arabian *Troglodites* on the south, between whom and the territorie of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebas*, or the superiour *Egypt*, with the Mountaines of *Lybia*, and the Riuer of *Nilus*, are interparent, and on the North he joyntes it to a Nation, called *Agizones*, who bordering the Sea-shore, liue (saith hee) vpon the spoiles of shipwrack, whereas the Temple or Grove of this Idoll hath no Sea neare it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; these *Agizones* being due West from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*.

When *Alexander* came neare the place, he sent some of his Paralitres before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might bee giuen in all thinges, agreeable to his madde ambition, who affected the title of *Iupiter* sonne. And so hee was saluted Sonne of *Iupiter* by the Devils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some thinke) defective in the *Greeke* tongue; For whereas he meant to say *Opaideon*, he said *Opauidon*, that is; O sonne of *Iupiter*, in stead

Qqqq 2 of,

of, *O uere, onne*; for which Grammaticall error he was richly rewarded, and a rumor presently spread, that the great *Iupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his owne.

He had heard that *Perseus* and *Literales* had formerly consulted with this Oracle. The one, when he was imploied against *Gorgon*, The other, against *Anteu* and *Buſiris*; and seeing these men had derided themselves from the Gods, why might not hee? By this it ſeemes, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fooles, though indeede he made himselfe one, by thinking to couer from the Worlds knowledge his vancies and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the belief of his *Deities*, hee had practized the Pricits to giue anſwere to ſuch as conſulted with the Oracle, that it ſhould be pleaſing to *Iupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Sonne.

Curt. li. 4.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a boſſe carried in a Boate, or by a *Ramme*, or a *hammes*-head; I ſee that many wiſe-men have troubled themselves to finde out; but, as *Strianus* ſpeakes of *Iſenſus*, or *Liber Pater* (who liued ſaith *St. Auguſtine* in *Apoſtles* time). *Ea que de ays & eteris fabulis ſuis conſcribere non ſunt nimium curioſe perueſtiganda*; We muſt not over-cuſionſly ſearch into the fables, which the Ancients have written of their Gods.

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Copell beganne to be preached in the World, the Deuill in this and in all other Idols became ſpeechleſſe. For that this *Ammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Caſar*, and in the time of *Traian* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witneſſe.

There is found neare his Temple a Fountaine called *Fons ſolis* (though *Ptolome* in his third *African* Table ſets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boiling water, and at Noone as cold as any yce, to which I cannot but giue credit, becauſe I haue heard of ſome other Wells of like nature, and becauſe it is reported by *Saint Auguſtine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arianus*, *Curtius*, and others, and indeede our Bathes in *England* are much warmer in the night, than in the day.

## §. VIII.

How *ALEXANDER* marching againſt *DARIUS*, was oppoſed very unſkilfully by the *Enemics*.

**F**rom the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men he heard the Philoſopher *Pſammon*, who, belike vnderſtanding that he affected the title of *Iupiters* Sonne, told him that God was the Father-King of all men in generally; and refining the pride of this haughtie King, brought him to ſay, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that hee acknowledged none for his children ſauē good men.

Ariſt. Pol. 1.

He gaue the charge of the ſeuerrall Prouinces of *Egypt* to ſeuerrall *Gouernours*, following the rule of his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, That a great Dominion ſhould not be continued in the hands of any one: whom therein the *Roman* Emperours alſo followed, not daring to commit the gouernement of *Egypt* to any of their *ſenators*, but to men of meaner ranck and degree. He then gaue order for the founding of *Alexandria* vpon the Weſter-moſt branch of *Nilus*. And hauing now ſetled (as he could) the eſtate of *Egypt*, with the Kingdomes of the leſſer *Aſia*, *Phanicia*, and *Syria*, (which being but the pawnes of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happie victorie would readily haue redeemed,) he led his Armie towards *Euphrates*, which paſſage though the ſame was committed to *Mazæus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without reſiſtance paſt it. From thence he marched towards *Tigris*, a Riuer for the ſwiftneſſe thereof called by the *Persians* The Arrow. Here, as *Curtius*, and *Raſon* it ſelfe tells vs, might *Darius* eaſily haue repelled the inuading *Macedonian*: for the violent courſe of the ſtreame was ſuch, as it draue before it many waightie ſtones, and thoſe that moued not but lay in the bottome, were ſo round and well poliſhed by continuall rolling,

Curt. li. 4.

rolling, that no man was able to fight on ſo ſlipperie a footing; nor the *Macedonian* foot-men to wade the Riuer, otherwiſe than by joining their hands and enterlacing their Armes together, making one waightie and entire bodie to reſiſt the ſwift paſſage and furious race of the ſtreame. Belides this notable helpe, the Channell was ſo deepe towards the Eaſterne ſhore, where *Darius* ſhould haue made head, as the foot-men were inſorſt to liſt their Bowes and Arrows and Darts ouer their heads, to keepe them from being moiſtined, and made vnſcruicible by the Waters. But it was truly and vnderſtandingly ſaid of *Homere*.

*Talis eſt hominum terreſtrium mens,  
Quilibet quæſitæ ducit pater vtrorūq; Deorumq;.*

The mindes of men are euē ſo affected,  
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Eſtates of the World by the ſurfeit of miſgouernement haue bene ſubject to many greuous, and ſometimes mortall diſeaſes, So had the Empire of *Persia* at this time brought it ſelfe into a burning and conſuming Feuer, and thereby become frantick and without vnderſtanding, foreſeeing

manifiſtly the diſſolution and death thereof. But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Eaſterne ſhores of *Tigris*, without any other diſcultie, than that of the nature of the place; where *Mazæus* (who had charge to defend the paſſage both of *Euphrates* and it) preſented himſelfe to the *Macedonians*, followed with certaine companies of Horſe-men, as if with vnquen forces hee durſt haue charged them on euē ground, when as with a multitude ſarre exceeding them hee forſooke the aduantage which no valour of his enemies could eaſily haue ouer come. But it is commonly ſcene, that fearefull and cowardly men doe ouer follow thoſe waies, and counſells, whereof the opportunitie is already loſt.

It is true that he ſet all prouiſions a fire wherewith the *Macedonians* might ſerue themſelves ouer *Tigris*, thinking thereby greatly to haue diſtreſſed them; but the execution of good counſell is fruitleſſe when vnſeaſonable. For now was *Alexander* ſo well furniſhed with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the compentence of the Armie which he conducted, Thoſe things alſo which he ſought to wait, *Alexander* being now in ſight, were by his Horſe-men ſaued and recovered. This, *Mazæus* might haue done ſome daies before at good leiſure; or at this time with ſo great a ſtrength of horſe-men, as the *Macedonians* durſt not haue purſued them, leauing the ſtrength of their foote out of ſight, and ſarre behinde.

## §. IX.

The new prouiſions of *DARIUS*. Accidents ſeuering the battale of *Arbela*.

**D**ARIUS, vpon *Alexanders* firſt returne out of *Egypt*, had aſſembled all the forces, which thoſe Regions next him could furniſh, and now alſo were the *Arians*, *Seythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arriued; Nations (ſaith *Curtius*) that rather ſerued to make vp the names of men, than to make reſiſtance. *Arianus* hath numbred them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all ſorts ten hundred thouſand, and of horſe four hundred thouſand, belides armed Chariots, and ſome few Elephants. *Curtius* who mulsters the Armie of *Darius* at two hundred thouſand foote, and neare ſiſtie thouſand horſe, comes (I thinke) nearer to the true number; and yet ſeeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vaſſalls, it is like enough that hee had gathered together of all ſorts ſome three or foure hundred thouſand,

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with

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with which hee hoped in those faire plaines of *Assyria* to haue ouer-borne the few numbers of the invading Armie. But it is a Rule in the Philosophie of the Warre.

*In omni praelio non tam multitudine, & virtus indocita, quam ars & exercitum solent preare victoriam; in cunctis battaile skill and practise doe more towards the victorie, than multitude and rude audacitie.*

While *Alexander* gaured self to his Armie after their passage ouer *Tigris*, there happened an Eclipse of the Moone, of which the *Macedonians*, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant, (as the multitude alwaies are) tooke it for a certaine preface of good successe; for that it was naturall  
10 in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that did disdain *Philip* for his Father, and would needes be called the Sonne of *Iupiter*, they should all perill; For hee not only inforst them to make warre againt Worlds of enemies, but againt Riuers, Mountaines, and the Heauens themselves.

Hereupon *Alexander* being readie to march forward made a halt, and to quiet the mindes of the multitude, he called before him the *Aegyptian Astrologers*, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might bee assured that this defection of the Moone was a certaine preface of good successe; for that it was naturall  
20 they neuer imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as forric Almanack-maker had bene no small foole in those daies.

Of this kinde of superstitious obseruation *Cæsar* made good vse, when he fought againt *Arrius* and the *Germans*: for they being perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they should certainly looke the battaile, *Cæsar* forst them to abide it, though they durst not giue it, when hauing their mindes already beaten by their owne superstition, and being resolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole Armie in effect perished.

These *Aegyptians* gaue no other reason than this, That the *Græcians* were vnder the aspect of the *Sunne*, the *Persians* of the *Moone*; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the state of *Persia* was now in danger of falling, and their glorie of being obscured. This judgement of the *Aegyptian* Priests being noised through  
30 all the Armie, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though deuised since, was well obserued then. *Exercitum terror plenum Dux ad pugnam non docet; Let not a Captain lead his Armie to the fight, when it is possessed with matter of terror.*

It is truly obserued by *Cartius*, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, we finde it in all Stories, and often in our owne, that by such inuentions, deuised tales, dreames, and prophesies the people of this Land haue bene carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their owne losse and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew neare the *Persian* Armie, certaine letters were surprized written by *Darius* to the *Græcians*, perswading them for great summes of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these by the aduice of *Parmenio* hee suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his faire Wife, oppressd with sorrow, and wearied with trauell, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no lesse to bewaile than *Darius*, who vpon the first brute suspected that some dishonourable violence had bene offered her, but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his owne that attended her, of *Alexander* Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the *Persian* Empire, then it would please them to conferre it on so iust and continent an enemy as *Alexander*, to whom hee once againe before the last triall by battaile offered these conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliuer vp and resigne all *Asia* the lesse, and with *Aegypt*, all those Kingdomes betweene the *Phœnician* Sea, and the Riuer of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the ranfome of his Mother, and his  
other

other Daughter thirte thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, hee would leaue his Sonne *Ochus* in hostage: To this they fought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the Embassadors to be remoued, aduiled with his Counsell, but heard no man speake but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perswaded him to accept of these faire conditions. Hee told him, that the Empire betweene *Euphrates* and *Tellisfont* was a faire addition to *Macedon*; that the retyning of the *Persian* prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of farre better vse than their persons, with diuers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable  
10 that if he had followed his aduice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might haue liued as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himselfe a Successor of able age to haue enjoyed his estate, which afterward, indeed, he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himselfe: who to assure himselfe of what they had vsurped vpon his issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few yeares after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so farre into the East, left behinde him the reputation which hee brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a iust and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, aduised and grateful: and being taught new lessons by abundance of prosperitie, became a loue of wine, of his owne flattery, and of extreame cruditie. Yea, as *Seneca* hath obscured, the taint of one vnjust  
20 slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beautie of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the *Persian* Embassadors stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever hee had bestowed on the Wife and Children of *Darius*, proceeded from his owne naturall clemencie and magnanimitie, without all respect to their Master, that thanks to an enemy was improper, that hee made no warres againt aduersitie, but againt those that resisted him, Not againt Women and Children, but againt armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summes of money to perswade his friends to attempt vpon his person, hee had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet hee could not (were it otherwise and  
30 faithfull) resolute in halt to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made the Warre againt him, not as a King with Royall and ouert-force, but as a Traitor by secret and base practices; That for the Territorie offered him, it was already his owne, and if *Darius* could beate him back againe ouer *Euphrates*, which hee had already past, hee would then beleue that hee offered him somewhat in his owne power: Otherwile hee propounded to himselfe for the reward of the Warre, which hee had made, all those Kingdomes as yet in *Darius* possession, wherein, whether hee were abused by his owne hopes or no, the battaile which hee meant to fight in the day following should determine. For conclusion, hee told them, that hee came into *Asia* to giue, and not to receive; That the Heauens could not hold two Sunnes; and therefore if  
40 *Darius* could bee content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, hee might perchance bee perswaded to giue him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Interiour.

§. X.

The battaile of *Arbela*: and that it could not bee so strongly fought as report hath made it.



10 In this answer the Embassadors returned; *Darius* prepares to fight, and sends *Mazæus* to defend a passage, which hee neuer yet dared so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Captaines, *Parmenio* perswades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night, so that the multitude of enemies might not moue terror in the *Macedonians*, being but few. *Alexander* disdaines to steale the victorie, and resolves to bring with him the day-

day-night, to witness his valour, But it was the successe that made good *Alexanders* resolution, though the counsell given by *Permenio* was more sound: For it is a ground in Warre, *Si paucis necessarius cum multitudine pugnare cogatur, consilium est noctis tempus belli fortunam sentire*. Notwithstanding vpon the view of the multitude at hand, he taggers & intrenches himselfe vpon a ground of aduantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for feare of surprisall had flood with his Armie in armour all the day, and for orne sleepe all the night; *Alexander* gaue his men rest and store of foode, for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre, *In pugna milites validius resistunt, si cibo potusque refecti fuerint, nam famis intrinsecus magis pugnat, quam ferrum exterius*; Souldiers doe the better stand to it in fight; if they haue their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than Steele without.

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arianus*, were fortie thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse; these belike were of the *European* Armie; for hee had besides both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Aegyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of those Regions. He liued but a short speech to his Souldiers to encourage them; and I thinke that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former battailes vpon the Riuer of *Granick* and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria Victoriam parat, amicum victoribus auget, & aduersus visum fert*; One victorie begets an other, and puts courage into those that haue already had the better, taking spirit away from such as haue beene beaten.

*Arianus* and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this battaile fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell vs of many charges and re-charges; That the victorie inclined sometime to the *Persians*; sometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Permenio* was in danger of being ouerthrowne, who led the left wing; That *Alexanders* Rear-guard was broken and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides, Fortune her selfe was long vnresolued on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retreat. But, in conclusion, *Curtius* deliuevs vs in accompt but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible daies worke; saying, That *Ephesian*, *Persicatus*, and others of name, were wounded. *Arianus* findes not a third part of this number slaine; of the *Persians* there fell fortie thousand (saith *Curtius*), thirtie thousand according to *Arianus*: Ninetie thousand, if we beleue *Diodor*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battailes, the *Persians* vpon the first charge ranne away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued? For if of these foure or five hundred thousand *Arians* brought into the field by *Darius*, euery man had but cast a Dart, or a Stone, the *Macedonians* could not haue bought the Empire of the East at so small a rate, as sixe or seuen hundred men in three notorious battailes. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* vpon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fiftie or thre score thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the most all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had beene impossible for *Alexander* to haue past that Riuer so easily, much lesse the Riuer of *Tigris*. But as a man whose Empire God in his prouidence had determined, Hee abandoned all places of aduantage, and suitered *Alexander* to enter so far into the bowells of his Kingdome, as all hope and possibilitie of escape by retreat being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had presented vnto them the choise, either of death or victorie; to which election *Darius* could no way constrain his owne, seeing they had many large Regions to runne into from those that invaded them.

## §. XI.

Of things following the battaile of Arbela. The yielding of Babylon and Susa.



**D**ARivs after the rout of his Armie recovered *Arbela* the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded vnto them that ranne after him his purpose of making a retreat into *Media*, perswading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of spoile and riches, would rather attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other Cities, filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobilitie rather obeyed than approved.

*Alexander* soon after *Darius* his departure arrives at *Arbela*, which with a great masse of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred vnto him: for the Treasurie which conducted *Darius* tooke nothing with it but shame and dishonour. Hee that had beene twice beaten, should rather haue sent his treasure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, so neare the place where he abid the coming of his enemies; if he had beene victorious he might haue brought it after him at leisure, but being ouer come, hee knew it vnpossible to drue Mules and Cammels laden with gold from the pursuing Enemie, seeing himselfe, at the overthrow hee had in *Cilicia*, call the Crowne from his head to runne away with the more speede. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable. Et praterita scelus reprehenda possunt quoniam corrigi; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.

From *Arbela* *Alexander* tooke his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazæus* in whom *Darius* had most confidence rendred himselfe, his children and the Citie. Also the Captaine of the Cattle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with flowers, burnt frankincense vpon Altars of silueras *Alexander* passed by, and deliuered vnto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The *Chaldeans* (the *Chaldean* Astrologers) followed this Captain in great solemnitie to entertaine their new King: after the came the *Babylonian* horsemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Betwene these (though not greatly to be feared) and himselfe, *Alexander* caused his *Macedonian* foote-men to march. When hee entered the Cattle hee admired the glorie thereof, and the abundance of treasure therein found amounting to fiftie thousand talents of siluer vncyncoed. The Citie it selfe I haue elsewhere described with the Walles, the Towers, the Gates and the Circuite, with the wonderfull place of pleasure about two miles in Circuite, surrounded with a Wall of fourescore foote high, and on the toppe thereof (being vnder-borne with Pillars) a Groue of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of *Babylon* caused to be built, that the Queene and other Princesses might walke privately therein. In this Citie, rich in all things but most of all in Voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himselfe and the whole Armie foure and thirtie daies, consuming that time in banqueting and in all sorts of effeminate exercise, which so much softened the mindes of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the seuer discipline of warre which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painfull traualle, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Heere it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, & Commanders appointed ouer them, who thereupon were stiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honor those Captaines which were found by certain selected Iudges to haue deserved best in the late warre. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies consisted but of fiftie hundred. Certainly the drawing downe of the foote-bands in this latter age hath beene the cause (saith the *Most Excellent*) that the title and charge of a Capitaine hath beene bestowed on euery *Picque Brevet* or Spurr-Cow, for when the Captaines of foote had a thousand Souldiers vnder one

one Ensigne, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honorable and the Kings were lesse charged, and farre better serued. King *Henric* the eighth of *England* neuer gaue the commandement of any of his good shippes, but to men of knowne valour, and of great estate, may sometime he made two Gentlemen of quaine commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*, for *Antipater* sent him nine thousand foote and five hundred horse, out of *Macedonia*, of *Thracians* three thousand foote and the like number of horse, and out of *Greece* four thousand foote and four hundred horse, by which his Armie was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon* could hardly be brought againe, *Lequelz la plaine, et le camp sur la cistre; To change from soft beds to hard boords.*

He left the Caste and Citie of *Babylon* with the Territories about it in charge vnto three of his owne Captaines, deliuering withall into their hands to supply all wants a thousand talents: but to grace *Mazens* who rendred the citie vnto him, he gaue him the title of his Lieutenant ouer all, and tooke with him *Baglines* that gaue vp the Cattle, and hauing distributed to euery Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon* and entred into the Prouince *Satrapene*: from thence he went on towards *Susa* in *Persia*, the same which *Ptoleme*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Meconia*, situate on the river *Euphrates*, a Citie sometime gouerned by *Daniel* the prophet. *Abulites* also, gouernour of this famous Citie gaue it vp to the Conqueror with fiftie thousand talents of siluer in bullion, and twelue Elephants for the warre, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this fort did those Vassalls of fortune, louers of the Kings prosperitie, not of his person (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their owne peace and safetie with the Kings treasures.

*Darius* speake  
of more than  
fiftie thousand  
talents in bul-  
lion; and of  
nine Millions  
of counted gold.

While *Alexander* spoiled *Abela*, *Mazens* might haue furnished his owne King from *Babylon*, and while he staid foure and thirtie daies at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might haue holpen him from *Susa*: and while he staid there, *Tristates* from *Persepolis* might haue relieved him: for the great masse of treasure was laied vp in that Citie. But who hath fought out and friended fearefull aduersitie? It is certaine, that benefits binde not the ambitious, but the honest: for those that are but greedie of themselves, doe in all changes of fortune only studie the conseruation of their owne greatnesse.

And therefore was *Alexander* well aduised, that what fouer titles he gaue to the *Persians*, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his owne Captaines, to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, with other Cities and Prouinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet liuing) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battell, all the Nobilitie of *Persia* would haue returned to their naturall Lord. Those that are Traitors to their owne Kings are neuer to be trusted alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertaine them, nor euer to be trusted with the defences of any frontier-Towne, or Fortresse of waight, by the rendering whereof they may redeme their libertie and estates lost.

Hereof the *French* had experience, when *Pon Petro de Scutaria*, being banished out of *Spaine*, was trusted with *Fanturabe*, in the yeare 1523.

It is said, that *Charles* the fifth hauing promised *Charles* of *Boslon* the gouernement of *Mysedles*, if he could haue for it, and whereof he made sure account, told some of his nearest Counsellors, that hee meant nothing lesse than the performance of that promise, because hee should thereby haue left the Duke (reuoiced from his Master) very well wherewithall to haue recouered his fauour.

The gouernment of *Susa*, with the Caste and Treasure, *Alexander* committed to his owne *Macedonians*, making *Abulites* who rendred it vnto him his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazens* and others, in giuing them Titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius* his Mother and her children to repose themselves.

§. XII.

§. XII.

How *ALEXANDER* came to *Persepolis*, and burnt it.

From *Susa* *Alexander* leadeth his Armie toward *Persepolis*, and when he sought to passe those Mountaines which sunder *Susians* and *Persians*, hee was soundly beaten by *Artabazanes*, who defended against him those Straights, called *Pylæ Persidis*, or *Susæ*; and after the losse of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was faine to saue himselfe by retreat, causing his foote to march close together, and to couer themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountaine-top. Yet in the end he found out an other path, which a *Lycian*, liuing in that Countrey, discovered vnto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Artabazanes*, who being inforced to fight vpon euery ground, was by *Alexander* broken, wherupon hee fled to *Persepolis*, but (after that they of *Persepolis* had refused to receiue him) hee returned and gaue a second charge vpon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was slaine. In like manner did King *Francis* the first, in the yeare 1515. finde a way ouer the *Alpes*, the *Switzers* vndertaking to defend all the passages, who, if their footmanlipe had not faued them vpon the Kings descent on the other side, they had bene ill paid for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Four thousand *Greekes*, saith *Curtius*, (insigne numbers them but at eight hundred) hauing bene taken prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to *Alexander* now in sight of *Persepolis*. These had the barbarous *Persians* so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their Hands, Noses, Eares, and other Members, as they could no way haue bene knowne to their Countrey-men, but by their voices; to each of these *Alexander* gaue three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to liue vpon.

*Tristates*, one of *Darius* his false-hearted *Grandes*, hearing of *Alexander*'s approach, made him know that *Persepolis* was readie to receiue him, and praised him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoile the Kings treasure. This Citie was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants vpon *Alexander*'s arrival, and they that staid followed the worst counsell, for all was left to the libertie of the Souldiers, to spoile and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had bene laied in ballance with *Persepolis*, would haue weighed it downe. *Babylon*, indeede, and *Susa*, were very rich, but in *Persepolis* lay the bulke and maine store of the *Persians*. For after the spoile that had bene made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and siluer, and other Jewells; there remained to *Alexander* him selfe one hundred and twentie thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand *Macedonians* in *Persepolis*, which he had done in *Susa*, and gaue the same formall honour to the Traitor *Tristates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nearchides*, a creature of his owne. The bodie of his Armie hee left here for thirtie daies, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand horse and certaine troupes of chosen foote, he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of *Persia*, which the Snow had couered, a fruitlesse and foolish enterprise, but as *Seneca* saies: *Non illic ire vult, sed non potest flere; He hath not a will to goe, but he is unable to stand still.* It is said and spoken in his praise, That when his Souldiers cried out against him, because they could not indure the extreame frost, and make way, but with extreme difficulty through the snow, that *Alexander* forooke his horse, and led them the way. But what can bee more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremitie, thereby to shew how well himselfe can indure it? His walking on foote did no otherwise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drinke did quench their thirst; that could lesse indure it. For mine owne little judgement I shall rather commend that Captaine, that makes carefull provision for those that follow

follow him, and that seekes wisely to prevent extreme necessitie, than those wilde arrogant fooles, that make the vaine of hauing indured equally with the common-Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glorie and importance.

We finde in all the Warres that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the prouision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Cæsar*, Admirall of *France*; That who so will shape that best (meaning Warre) must beginn with his bellie.

Curt. l. 5.

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persepolis*, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberallie, of his clemencie, towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he smothered in carrowling cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reuerend Throne of the greatest King, into the companie and familiaritie of base Harlots, he beganne to be despised both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle and Citie of *Persepolis*, to bee consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Pamenio* to the contrarie, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the *Aliens*, to thinke hardly of him, and thereby aliene their hearts: For they might well beleuee that hee which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing lesse than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Peruicaciam crudelitatis sequitur; Crueltate docti communiter follow drunkenesse*: For so it fell out soone after, and often, in *Alexander*.

Sen. Epist. 84.

## §. XIII.

The Treason of *Bessus* against *Darius*. *Darius* his death.

About this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to finde *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Armie, which hee meant to haue increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexanders* coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as hee had, which was numbred at thirtie or fortie thousand) he determined once againe to trie his fortune. Hee therefore calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propound vnto them his resolution, who being desperate of good successe vsed silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had sometime liued with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the yce, and protesting that hee could neuer be beaten by any aduersitie of the Kings, from the faith which he had euer ought him, with firme confidence, that all the rest were of the same disposition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, *Naburzanes*, and *Bessus*, whereof the latter was Governour of *Bactria*, had conspired against their Master, and therefore aduised the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the Gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* vsed, and in conclusion aduised the election of his fellow Traitor *Bessus*, with promise that, the warres ended, the Empire should againe be restored to *Darius*. The King swollen with disdain prest towards *Naburzanes* to haue slaine him, but *Bessus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, withheld him. In the meane while *Naburzanes* with-drew himselfe, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Armie. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull seruant, perswaded him to be aduised, and serue the time,

seeing

seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that hee would at least make the wof of forgetting the offence made, which the King being of a gentle disposition willingly yielded vnto. *Bessus* makes his submission and attends the King, who remoues his Armie. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of foure thousand *Greekes*, which had in all the former battailes serued *Darius* with great fidelitie, and alwaies made the retreat in sight of the *Macedonians*, offered himselfe to guard his person, protesting against the treason of *Bessus*, but it was not in his destinie to follow their aduice, who from the beginning of the Warre gaue him faithfull counsell, but hee inclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the *Greekes* with *Patron* their Captaine were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the diuision of his faithfull seruants. *Bessus* had drawne vnto him thirtie thousand of the Armie, promising them all those things, by which the louers of the world and themselves, are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, satietie, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly discovered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being ouer-come with passion, as thinking himselfe vnable to make head against these vngratefull and vnnatural Traitors, hee praised *Artabazus* his faithfull seruant to depart from him, and to provide for himselfe. In like sort hee discharged the rest of his attendants, all saue a few of his *Eunuchs*; for his guards had voluntarily abandoned him, His *Persians* being most base cowards, durst not vndertake his defence against the *Bactrians*, notwithstanding that they had foure thousand *Greekes* to ioyne with him, who had beene able to haue beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himselfe, no man follows. It had beene farre more man-like and King-like, to haue died in the head of those foure thousand *Greekes*, which offered him the disposition of their liues, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to haue lien bewailing himselfe on the ground, and suffering himselfe to be bound like a slave by those ambitious Monsters that laied hand on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honors hee had giuen them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could moue to pittie: no, nor his present aduersitie, which about all things should haue smoued them, could pierce their viperous and vngratefull hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope it, for insideltie hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound and laied in a Cart, couered with hides of beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discovered; and to adde despiht and denision to his aduersitie, they fastened him with chaines of gold, and so drew him on among their ordinarie carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Naburzanes* perswaded themselves to redeeme their liues and the Provinces they held either by deliuering him a prisoner to *Alexander*, or if that hope failed, to make themselves Kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most iust, to pardon so strange villanie, yea though against a Prince purely Heathenish, and an Idolater.

*Alexander* hauing knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durst not abide his coming, halted after him with a violent speed, and because he would not force his foot-men beyond their powers, hee mounted on horse backe certaine selected Companies of them, and best armed, and with sixe thousand other Horse, rather ranne than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsooke him, gaue knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* tooke, and how neare hee was at hand: for many men of worth daily ranne from him. Hereupon *Alexander* againe doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being discovered by *Bessus* his reare, *Bessus* brought a horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to saue himselfe. But the vnfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the beasts that drew him, and slew two poore seruants that attended his person. This done, they all

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all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercie of the *Macedonian* Swords. *Polystratus* a *Macedonian*, being by pursute of the vanquished prest with thirst, as he was refreshing himselfe with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beastes breathing for life, and not able to moue, searched the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his owne blood. And by a *Persian* captiue which followed this *Polystratus*, he vnderstood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of this barbarous Tragedie. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the liuing God can bee comforted) that hee call not out his last sorrowes vnbear'd, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traitors, which had dealt no lesse vnworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their reuenge to *Alexander* by this Messenger, which hee besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his owne honor, and for the sake of all that did, or should after weare Crownes. Hee also, having nothing else to present, rendred thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace vnto him the Empire of the whole world. As hee was thus speaking, impatient death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* presented him, after which he liued but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, where-with to delire the Gods to reward his compassion.

## §. XIII.

How *Alexander* pursued *Bessus*, and tooke into his grace  
*Darius* his Captiues.

**I**T was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their trauells were nere an end, euery man preparing for his returne. Hercof when *Alexander* had knowledge, hee was greatly grieved; for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundlesse ambition. Many arguments hee therefore vsed to draw on his Armie farther into the East, but that which had most strength was, that *Bessus*, a most cruell Traitor to his Master *Darius*, hauing at his deuotion the *Hircanians*, and *Sactians*, would in short time (if the *Macedonians* should returne) make himselfe Lord of the *Persian* Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former trauailes. In conclusion, hee wanne their consents to goe on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certaine Regiments of foot, and *Antyptus* with fixe thousand Horse in *Parthenia*, hee enters not without some opposition into *Hircania*; for the *Atians*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine passages for a while. Hee passeth the River of *Zoborus*, which taking beginning in *Parthia* dissolues it selfe in the *Caspian* Sea: it runneth vnder the ledge of Mountaines, which bound *Parthia* and *Hircania*, where hiding it selfe vnder ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth againe and followeth its former course. In *Sabacarta* or *Zendacarta*, the same Citie which *Ptolemeus* writes *Hircania*, the Metropolis of that Region, hee rested fifteene daies, banquetting, and feasting therein.

*Phithernes*, one of *Darius* his greatest Comanders, with other of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and governments. But of all other hee graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approued & constant faith to his Master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and fixe hundred *Greekes*, the remainder of all those that had serued *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon before they were yet arriued, but in the end they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the *Lacedaemonians*, whom hee imprisoned, their Leader hauing slaine himselfe. Hee was also wrought

though

(though to his great dishonour) to receiue *Abazaranes* that had joynd with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

## §. XV.

Of *Thalestris* Queene of the *Amazons*; where, by way of digression it is shewed, that such *Amazons* haue bene, and are.



Erre it is said, that *Thalestris* or *Alinothes*, a Queene of the *Amazons*, came to visite him, and her sute was, (which shee calily obtrayned) That shee might accompany him till shee were made with child by him: which done (refusing to follow him into *India*) shee returned into her owne Countrey.

*Plutarch* citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But, indeede, the letters of *Alexander* himselfe to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* buisnesse, may iustly breede suspition of the whole matter as forged. Much more iustly may we suspect it as a vaine tale, because an Historian of the same time recording one of his bookes to *Lysimachus* (then King of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voiage; was laught at by the King for inserting such newes of the *Amazons*, as *Lysimachus* himselfe had neuer heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander* tooke vpon him to write his acts, which to amplify, He told how the King had fought single with an Elephant, and slaine it. The King hearing such stufte, caught the booke, and threw it into the River of *Indus*; saying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inserting such fables disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as wee beleeuue and know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we giue credit vnto writers, making mention of such *Amazons*, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaues the matter vnderdetermined. Therefore I will here take leaue to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some moderne discoverers touching these warlike Women, because not only *Strabo*, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether, or no, there were any such kinde of people. *Iulius Solinus* relates them in the North parts of *Asia* the lesse. *Pom. Melis* finds two Regions filled with them; the one, on the River *Thermodon*; the other, neare the *Caspian* Sea; *Quas* (saith hee) *Sauomatikas* appellant, which the people call *Sauomatides*. The former of these two had the *Cimmerians* for their Neighbours; *Certum est* (saith *Plinius*, who hath Commented vpon *Mela*) *Illos proximos Amazonibus fuisse*. It is certaine that the *Cimmerians* were the next Nations to the *Amazons*. *Ptolemeus* sets them farther into the Land North-wards, neare the Mountaines *Hippaci*, not far from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Asia* it selfe toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Plinius* tell vs; Where they gouerned a people called the *Pandans*, or *Padeans*, so called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest deriue themselves. *Claudian* affirms, That they commanded many Nations: For he speaks (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus.

*Medis leuibussq; Sabais*  
*Imperat hic sexus: Reginarumq; sub armis,*  
*Barbarie pars magna sacet.*

*Claud. de cap.  
Trojanis.*

Over the Medes, and light Sabæans, raignes  
This female sexe: and vnder armes of Queene,  
Great part of the Barbarian Land remaines.

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*Diodorus*

L. 1.

*Dionysius Siculus* hath heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (saith hee) than those which kept the bankes of *Thermadon*, a Riuer falling into the *Euxine* Sea neare *Ieracium*.

*Herodotus* doth also make report of these *Amazons*, whom hee tells vs that the *Scythians* call *Aorpatas*, which is as much as *Viricides*, or Men-killers. And that they made incursion into *Aſia* the lesse, sackt *Ephesus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Alenehon* and *Auentinus* report, which they performed fortie yeares after *Troy* was taken. At the siege of *Troy* it selfe wee read of *Penthesilea*, That shee came to the succour of *Prismus*.

Enclid. 1. 13.

L. 1. 1. 7.

*Am. Marcellinus* gives the cause of their inhabiting vpon the riuer of *Thermadon*, speaking confidently of the Warres they made with diuers Nations, and of their ouerthrow.

*Plutarch* in the life of *Theſeus*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellanicus*, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiope* Queene of the *Amazons* by *Hercules*, and by him giuent to *Theſeus*, though some affirme, That *Theſeus* himselfe got her by stealth when shee came to visit him aboard his ship. But in substance there is little difference, all confessing, That such *Amazons* there were. The same Author in the life of *Pompey* speaks of certain companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aide the *Albanians* against the *Romans*, by whom, after the battaile, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken vp: and he saith farther, That these women entertaine the *Gels* and *Lelages* once a yeare, Nations inhabiting betwene them and the *Albanians*.

Histo Ind. part. 2. c. 38.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez*, who hath written the nauigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the Riuer of *Amazons* from *Peru*, in the yeare 1542. (vpon which Riuer, for the diuers turnings, he is said to haue sailed like thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Councell of the *Indies*, That hee both saw those women and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

It is also reported by *Vricus Schmidel*, that in the yeare 1542. where he sailed vpon the Riuers of *Paragu* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Countrie, called *Scherues*, inhabiting vnder the *Tropicke* of *Capricorne*, who gaue his Captaine *Ernando Riesfere*, a Crowne of silver, which hee had gotten in fight from a Queene of the *Amazons* in those parts.

*Ed. Lopes*, in his description of the Kingdome of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling vs, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right breast, and liue a-part from men, saue at one time of the yeare, when they feast and accompanie them for one moneth. These (saith he) possesse a part of the Kingdome of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteene degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest guards of this Emperour, all the East Indian Portugals know.

I haue produced these authorities, in part, to iustifie mine owne relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was deliuered mee for truth by an ancient *Casique* of *Guiana*, how vpon the Riuer of *Papamens* (since the Spanishe discoueries called *Amazons*) that these women still liue and gouerne, was held for a vaine and vnp probable report.

§. XVI.

## §. XVI.

How ALEXANDER fell into the Persians Lacerie: and how hee further pursued Bessus.

Now as *Alexander* had begunne to change his conditions after the taking of *Persepolis*: so at this time his prosperitie had so much ouerwrought his vertue, as hee accompanied clemencie to bee but basenesse, and the temperance which hee had vsed all his life time, but a poore and dejected humor, rather becoming the instructors of his youth, than the condition and state of so mightie a King, as the world could not equall. For hee perswaded himselfe that hee now represented the greatnesse of the Gods; hee was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore him; hee ware the Robes, and garments of the Persians, and commanded that his Nobilitie should doe the like; hee entertained in his Court, and Campe, the same shamelesse rabble of Curtians, and *Sodomiticall Eunuchs*, that *Darius* had done, and imitated in all things the proude, voluptuous, and detested manners of the Persians, whom hee had vanquished. So licentious is felicitie, as notwithstanding that hee was fully perswaded, that the Gods, whom hee feared (detesting the vices of the invaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, hee himselfe contrarie to the religion hee profest (which how Idolatrous fouler it were, could not be but fearfull vnto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearefull Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyrannie hee vaunted to haue deliuered so many Nations. Yea those that were dearest and nearest vnto him, began to be aſhamed of him, entreating each other with this, and the like scornfull discourse, That *Alexander of Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example the *Macedonians* were in the end of so many traualles more impouerished in their vertues, than enriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the conquered were the baser slaues. Neither were these opinions so referred, but that the noise of them came to his eares. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacifie the better sort, and those of whose iudgements hee was most ious; and making it knowne to the Armie that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King, and called himselfe *Ataxerxes*, and that hee had compounded a great Armie of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, hee had arguments enough to perswade them to goe on, to the end that all alreadie gotten, might not with themselves (so farre engaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole Armie seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much unlike the warfare of the French) hauing commanded euery mans fardells to be brought into the market place, hee together with his owne, caused all to bee consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but haue proued most dangerous vnto him, seeing the common-Souldiers had more interest in these things, which they had bought with their painefull traualles, and with their blood; than in the Kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often obserued) his happie temeritie ouer-come all things. As hee was in his way, newes came to him that *Satibarzanes*, whom hee had established in his former gouernement ouer the *Arrians*, was reuolted, whereupon leauing the way of *Bactria*, hee fought him out, but the Rebelle hearing of his comming fled to *Bessus* with two thousand Horse. Hee then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire with the aduantage of a strong winde, wonne a passage ouer a high and vnaccessable Rock, which was defended against him with thirtene thousand foote. For the extremite of the flame and smoke forced them from the place, otherwise inuincible. I saw in the third ciuill Warre of *France* certaine caues in *Langueoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last by certaine bundells of strawler downe

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by an yron chaine, and a waightie itone in the middelt, those that defended it were so smothered, as they rendred themselves with their plate, monie, and other goods therein hidden. There were also, some three years before my arriual in *Guisa*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Countrie people, who did set the long drie-grasse on fire to the eastward of them, (the winde in those parts being alwaies East) so as notwithstanding their flying from the smoke, there was not any one that escaped. *St. Iohn Barrenes* also, with a hundred *English*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margarita*, in the *West-Indies*, by having the grasse fired behinde him, but the smoke being time-ly discovered, hee recovered the Sea-shore with the losse of sixteene of his men. I remember these things, but to give caution to those that shall in times to come invade any part of those Countreies, that they alwaies, before they passe into the Land, burne downe the grasse and fedge to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemie than a handfull of straw set on fire, die the death of honnie-Bees, burnt out of the Hivie.

## §. XVII.

A conspiracie against ALEXANDER. The death of PHILOTAS and PARMENIO.



ALEXANDER was after he parted hence no where resisted, till he came into *Asia*, to the East of *Bactria*, where the chiefe Prince of that Province, called *Artaxanes*, was a while defended against him, by the reuolt of *Sartibarzanes*, but in the end hee received the Inhabitantes to mercie. At this place his Armie was re-enforced with a new supply of fixe thousand and fixe hundred foote, and neare fixe hundred Horse, out of *Greece*, *Thessalie*, and other places. His journey out of *Persia* into these parts is very confusedly described. For hauing (as all his Historians tell vs) a determination to finde *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaues it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders Northward towards the obscure *Mardi*, vpon the *Caspian-Sea*, and thence ouer the Mountaines *Coronus* into *Asia*, and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the treason of *Dimmus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the sonne of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessarie, if not principall. This *Dimmus*, hauing (I know not vpon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a yong-man whom he loued, into the same treason. The youth, although he was first bound by oath to secrecie, when he heard so foule a matter vttered, beganne to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to haue flaine him for securitie of his owne life. So contrained by feare, hee made shew as if hee had bene wonne by perswasion, and by seeming at length to like well of the businesse, hee was told more at large what they were, that had undertaken it. There were nine orten of them, all men of ranke; whose names *Dimmus* (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned vp to *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no sooner freed himselfe from the companie of this Traitor *Dimmus*, than he acquainted his owne brother *Ceballinus* with the whole Historie: whereupon it was agreed betweene them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with least suspicion) should goe to the Court and vtter all, and *Philotas* neuer brake with the King about the matter; but still excused himselfe to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldnesse bred suspicion, and caused *Ceballinus* to addresse himselfe to another, one *Aetron*, keeper of the Kings Armorie, who forth-with I thought him to *Alexanders* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed betweene *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perswade himselfe that this concalement of the trea-

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son argued his hand to haue bene in the businesse. Therefore when *Dimmus* was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question than this: *Wherein haue I so offended thee, that thou shouldst thinke PHILOTAS more wortie to be King than I?* *Dimmus* perceiuing, when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had lo wounded himselfe that hee liued no longer than to giue his last groane in the Kings presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspicion which his silence might iustly breede. His answer was, That when the practise was reuealed vnto him by *Nicomachus*, he judging it to be but frivulous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, vntill he might haue better information. This error of his, (if it were only an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious cruelties of his Father *Parmenio*, of his brother *Nicomachus* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himselfe, had freely pardoned and giuen him his hand for assurance; yet by the insinuation of *Craterus*, hee againe swallowed his Princely promise, and made his enemies his Iudges: *Curtius* giues a note of *Craterus* in this businesse; How hee perswaded himselfe, that he could neuer finde a better occasion to oppress his priuate enemie, than by pretending pietie and dutie towards the King. Hercol a Poet of our owne hath giuen a note as much better as it is more generall in his *Philotas*.

See how these great men cloath their priuate hate,  
In these faire colours of the publike good,  
And to effect their ends, pretend the State,  
As if the State by their affection stood,  
And arm'd with power and Princes jealousies,  
Will put the least conceit of discontent  
Into the greatest ranke of treacheries,  
That no one action shall seeme innocent;  
Yea valour, honour, bountie, shall be made  
As accessaries vnto ends vnjust:  
And euen the seruice of the State must lade  
The needfull vnder taking with distrust,  
So that base vileness, idle Luxurie,  
Seeme faireer, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were so that the King, following the aduise of *Craterus*, had refused the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him beganne to binde him; he cried out vpon the King in these words: O ALEXANDER, the malice of mine-  
40 *Enemies hath surmounted thy mercie, and their hatred is farre more constant than the word of a King.* Many circumstances were vtred against him by *Alexander* himselfe; (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeede, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote vnto him concerning the title giuen him by *Iupiter Iamunus*, He answered, That he could not but reioyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the Gods, and yet hee could not but withall grieve for those that should liue vnder such a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firme perswasion vnto me, that his heart was changed, and that hee held my glorie in despit. See what a strange monster  
50 flatterie is that can perswade Kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those things in them which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude to heare the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in wilde garments, and bound like a Theefe; where hee heard himselfe, and his absent Father the greatest Captaine of the World, accused, his two other Brothers

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*hector* and *Ulysses* having beene loit in the present Warre. Hee was so greatly oppressed with griefe as for a while he could vnder nothing but teares, and sorrow had lo waited his spirits as hee sunke vnder those that led him. In the end the King asked him in what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same where- in it had pleased the King to accuse him, which hee did to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might vnderstand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the assembly that hee diddaine the language of his owne Countre, and lo with-drawing himselfe, left him to his mercilesse enemies.

His proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the King who had so sharply inuaded against him, would not vouchsafe to heare his excuse. For, not his enemies only were imboldened thereby against him, but all the rest hauing discovered the Kings disposition and resolution, contended among themselves which of them should exceede in hatred towards him; Among many other arguments which he vied in his owne defence, this was not the weakest, That when *Nicomachus* desired to know of *Demetrius* what men of marke and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming vnwilling to adventure himselfe with meane and base Companions) *Demetrius* named vnto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amynias*, and some others, but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being commander of the Horse, would greatly haue valued the parties, and haue encouraged *Nicomachus*. Indee, as *Philotas* said well for himselfe, it is likely that *Demetrius* thereby the better to haue heartened *Nicomachus*, would haue named him, though hee had neuer dealt with him in any such practise. And for more certaine prooffe that he knew nothing of their intents, that practised against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, infort by torments or otherwise, that could accuse him, and it is true, that aduentic being seldome able to beare her owne burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as shee rather desires to draw others (not alwaies deserring it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoeuer it were, to auoide the extremitie of reuilsse and vnaturall torments, deuised by his profest enemies *Craterus*, *Ceneas*, *Ephesion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his owne selfe; being perswaded that they would haue slaine him forthwith. But he failed euen in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laied on flesh and bloud, he was forit to deliuer, not what he knew, but whatsoeuer best pleased their eares, that were farre more mercilesse than death it selfe.

*Aug. de Ciuil.  
Dei. l. 2. c. 6.*

Of this kinde of iudiciall proceeding *St. Augustine* greatly complaineth as a matter to bee beualded, faith hee, with Fountaines of teares. *Quid cum in sua causa quisq; torquetur: et cum queritur et non sit nocens cruciatur: et innocens luit pro inerto scelere certissimas pœnas: non quia illud commississe detegitur, sed quia non commisisse negatur; What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his owne cases, and tormented whilst yet it is in question whether he be guiltie; and being innocent suffers assured punishment for a fault of which there is no certaintie, not because he is knowne to haue committed the offence, but because other doe not know that he hath not committed it.*

*Seneca Clem. l. 2.*

It had beene enough for *Alexanders* satisfaction if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment, the rest would not much haue grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemolus*, who after ward conspired against him, made the Kings crueltye and delight in bloud the greatest moitie of his owne ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca* speaking of *Alexander*, faith thus: *Cruditatis nimirum humanum modum est, indignum tam miti animo; serma ista rabies est sanguine gaudere et vincitibus; et adiectione homine in suaves animal transire; Crueltie is not a humane vice, it is unworthie of mankind a spirit. It is euen a beastly rage to delight in bloud and wounds, and casting away the nature of man to become a savage Monster.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confession that *Philotas* made were to giue end to the torments which hee could not any longer indure, or that the same was true indeede; For (faith he) in this case, they that speake truly, or they that denie falsly, come to one and the same end. Now while

while the Kings hands were yet wet in bloud, he commanded that *Lynesestes*, sonne-in-Law to *Anipater*, who had beene three yeares in prison, should bee slaine: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused: others there were that were suspected, because they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had answered for themselves that they knew no way so direct to winne the Kings fauour, as by loving those whom the King fauoured; they were dismist. But *Parmenio* was yet living; *Parmenio*, who had serued with great fidelitie as well *Philip of Macedon* as the Kings Father, as himselfe; *Parmenio* that first opened the way into Asia; That had deprett *Attalus* the Kings enemy, that had alwaies, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no lesse prudent in counsell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloued of the men of Warre, and, to say the truth, hee that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glorie and fame hee had: That he might not therefore reuenge the death of his Sonne, though not vpon the King, (for it was vnlikely that he would haue dishonoured his fidelitie in his eld stage, hauing now liued threefore and ten yeares) yet vpon those that by the witchcraft of flatterie had posselt themselves of his affection; it was resolued that he should be dispatched. *Polydamas* was imploied in this businesse, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* trusted most, and loued best, who (to be short) finding him in *Medas*, and hauing *Cleander* and other Murderers with him, slew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters. *Hic exitus PARMENIONIS fuit, militis domq; clarissimi; Multa sine Rege profecto, Res sine illo nihil magnæ rei gestæ; This was the end of PARMENIO (saith CURTIUS) who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him, did neuer effect any thing worthe of praise.*

### §. XVIII.

How *ALEXANDER* subdued the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, and other people, How *Bessus* was deliuered into his hands. How he fought with the *Scythians*.



When these things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Armie, and brought vnder his obedience the *Arapsians* or *Euegitans*; he made *Amendes* (Sometime *Darius* his Secretary) their Gouverneur; then he subdued the *Arachians*, and left *Artaban* to command ouer them. Here the Armie, sometimes led by *Parmenio*, findes him, consisting of twelue thousand *Bactrians* and *Greekes*, with whom he past through some colde regions with difficultie enough. At length hee came to the foote of the Mountaine *Taurus* towards the East, where hee built a Citie which hee honoured with his owne name, and peopled it with seuen thousand of his olde *Macedons*, worne with age and with traualles of the warre. The *Arapsians*, who since hee left them were reuolted, hee subdued againe by the industrie and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*. And now hee resolved to find out the new King *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to passe ouer the great Riuer of *Oxus* which diuides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Gouverneur of *Bactria* abandoned by *Bessus*; The *Macedonian* Armie suffereth for want of Water, inso much as when they came to the Riuer of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately then *Alexander* had lost in any one battaile against the *Persians*. And it may well be; For (as *Cicero* did after obiect vnto him) he fought against weomen, not against men, and not against their persons but their shadowes. He found on the banks of this great Riuer no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boats, bridges, or rafts, but was forit to fow together the Hides that couered his carriages, and stuffe them with straw, and on them in fixe daies to passe ouer his Armie; which *Bessus* might easily haue distreit, if he had dared but to beholde the *Macedonian* Armie after- farre.

farre-off. He had formerly complained against *Darius* for neglecting to defend the bankes of *Tigris*, and other passages, and yet now, when this traitorous slaue had styled himselfe a King, hee durst not performe any thing worthe of assaue. And therefore those that were nere it into him, and whom he most trusted, to wit *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Armie, moued both by the care of their owne safetie, and by the memorie of *Bessus* his Treason and crueltie against *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chaine closed about his neck like a maffie Dogge, and so was dragged along to be presented to his enemye.

In the meane while *Alexander* was arrived at a certaine Towne inhabited with *Greekes* of *Mileum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before hee returned out of *Greece*, whose illnes had well-nere forgotten their Countrey language. These molt cruilly (after they had receiued him with great ioy) he put to the sword, and destroyed their Citie. At this place he receiued *Bessus*, and, hauing rewarded *Spitamenes* with the reft that deliuered him, he gaue the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himselfe secure, some twentie thousand Mountaines assailed his Camp; in repelling whom he receiued a flou in the leg, the arrow-head sticking in the flesh, so as he was carried in a Horse-Lytter, sometime by the horse-men, sometime by the foote.

L.7.

Soone after he came vnto *Marsacanda*, which *Petrus Peroninus* takes to be *Samarcanda*, the regall Citie of the great *Tamerlane*. It had in compasse three score and ten furlongs (*Curius* saith.) Here he receiued the Embassadors of the *Scythians* (called *Assians*) who offered to serue him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly againe with the *Scythians* stirred to Rebellion by the same *Spitamenes* and *Catanes* who had lately deliuered into his hands the Traitor *Bessus*. Many Cities were resolutely defended against him all which, after victorie, hee defaced and rased, killing all therein. At one of these hee receiued a blow on the neck which strucke him to the ground, and much disabled him for many daies after. In the meane while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Marsacanda*, against whom he employed *Menedemus* with three thousand foote and eight hundred horse.

In the heate of these tumults *Alexander* marched (on if we may beleue *Curius* and others) till he came to the River of *Tanais*; vpon whose banke he built another *Alexandria* three score furlongs in compasse which he beautified with houses within fourteen daies after the walls built. The building of this Citie is said to haue bin occasion of war betweene him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perswading himselfe, that this new Towne was fortified of purpose to keepe him vnder. I doe not well vnderstand, why the *Scythians*, offering warre in such terrible manner that *Alexander* was iudged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit sicknesse for verie feare, should neuerthelesse make suit for peace: neither finde I the reason why *Alexander* (not intending the conquest of those Northerne deserts, but only the defense of his owne banke) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet heretofore is made a great matter; and a victorie described; in pursuit of which the *Macedons* ranne beyond the boundes and monuments of *Bacchus* his expedition.

The truth is, That *Curius* and *Tregus* haue greatly misaken this River which they call *Tanais*. For it was the River of *Iaxartes*, that runnes betwene *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* past ouer, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarcanda*: But *Tanais* which diuides *Asia* from *Europe* is nere two thousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* or *Sogdiana*, and the way desert and vnkowne. So that *Alexander* had (besides *Iaxartes*) the great River of *Volga* and many others to swimme ouer, ere he could recouer *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly haue discovered with the Armie that followed him, if he had implied all the time that he liued in *Asia* in that traualle.

Where

Wherefore it is enough to beleuee, that the *Asiaticke Scythians*, makinge some offer to disturbe the erection of this new Citie, which was like to giue some hindrance to their excursions, were driuen away by the *Macedons*; and being naked of defense Armes, easily chased some tenne or twelue miles; which is the substance of *Curius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his iourne; like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life time he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken God) went not verie farre into that wast Countrey, where he could finde nothing but trees and stones, nor other buisnes than to set vp a monument.

Threecore of the *Macedons* are said to haue beene slaine, and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might easily be, in passing a great Ruer, defended against them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* Armes, one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeed it is hardly possible, to set downe the numbers of such as perished in battell: yet *Cæsar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath beene inquisiuitive into the greatnesse of their owne successe, that writers haue beene able to deliuer such particulars by credible reporte, I hold it not vnlawfull to set downe what we finde; especially when it serues to giue light to the buisnes in hand. The small number which the *Macedons* lost; the omission of the number which they flew (a thing not vsuall in *Curius*, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatnesse of *Alexander*) and the little bootie that was gotten; doe make it probable, that this warre was no better than the repulsion of a few routing *Partians* (the like being yearly performed by the *Assians*, without any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was affuring himselfe of those *Scythians* bordering vpon *Iaxartes*, he receiued the ill newes that *Menedemus* was slaine by *Spitamenes*, the Armie (by him led) broken, and the greatst numbers slaine, to wit, two thousand foote; and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion and to take reuenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haste he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burnes, and laies wast all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leauing a new Governour in that Prouince.

To repaire this losse he receiued a great supply of nineteene thousand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lydia*, and *Syria*; with all which, and the old Armie, hee retournes towards the South, and passeth the Ruer of *Oxus*; on the South-side whereof hee built fixe Townes neare each other for mutual succour. But hee finds a new starvp-Rebell, called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirtie thousand Souldiers that defended against him a strong peece of ground on the top of a high Hill, whom when *Alexander* had fought in vaine to winne by faire words, hee made choise of three hundred yong-men, and promised ten talents to the first, nine to the second, and so in proportion to the rest, that could finde a way to creape vpon the top thereof. This they performed with the losse of some two and thirtie of their men, and then made a figure to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he sent one *Caphes* to perswade *Arimazes* to yeeld the place; who, being shewed by *Caphes* that the Armie of *Macedon* was already mounted vpon yedled steeles to *Alexanders* mercie, and was (with all his kindred) scorched and crucified to death; which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keepe good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seemes by the description, might easily haue beene defended against all the Armies of the World. But what strength can doe? Mans wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected; Of which I will giue you an example in a place of our owne.

The Iland of *Sarke*, joyning to *Garnsey* and of that govtinment, was in *Queene Marius* time surprised by the *French*, and could neuer haue beene recovered againe by strong hand, hauing cattle and corne enough vpon the place to feede so many men as will serue to defend it, and being euery way so inaccessible that it might be held

held against the Great *Turke*. Yet by the industrie of a Gentleman of the Netherlands, it was in this fort regained. Her anchored in the roade with one ship of small burden, and, pretending the death of his Marchant, besought the *French*, being some thirtie in number, that they might burie their Marchant in hallowed ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle; offering a present to the *French* of such commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they should not come ashore with any weapon, no not so much as with a knife) the *French*-men yielded. Then did the *Flemings* put a Coffin into their boat, not filled with a dead carcase, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebusses; The *French* received them at their landing; and searching euery of them so narrowly as they could not hide a pen-knife, gaue them leaue to draw their Coffin vpon the Rocks with great difficultie; some part of the *French* tooke the *Flemish* boat and rowed aboard their ship, to fetch the commodities promised, and what else they pleased, but being entred they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, shut the dore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin set vpon the *French*; they ranne to the Cliffe and cie to their companie aboard the *Fleming* to come to their succour, but finding the boat charged with *Flemings* yielded themselves and the place. Thus a Foxe-taile doth sometimes helpe well to pcece out the Lions-skinne, that else would be too short.

## §. XIX.

How ALEXANDER slew his owne friends.

**A**FTER the *Sagalian* and *Scythian* Warres, wee reade of *Alexander*'s killing of a Lion, and other friuolous warres, and that he committed the gouernment of *Marasanda*, and the Countrie about it, to *Clytus*, and how he slew him soone after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the sonne, or rather because hee objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon*: for therein he toucht him to the quick, the same being deliuered in publike and at a drunken banquet. *Clytus*, in deede, had deserved as much at the Kings hands, as any man liuing had done, and had in particular saued his life, which the King well remembered when he came to himselfe, and when it was too late. Yet to say the truth, *Clytus* his insolencie was intolerable. As he in his cups forgot whom hee offended, so the King in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgot whom he went about to slay, for the griefe wherof he tare his owne face and sorrowed so inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of *Callisthenes*, it is thought he would haue slaine himselfe.

Wine begat furie, furie matter of repentance: but preceeding mischiefes are not amended by succeeding bewallings. *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & deiecit obstantem malis conatus uerecundiam remouet; ubi posset animam nimis vis uis, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas uirtus, sed proterbit.* Drunkennesse both kindles and laies open euery vice; it remoues out of the way that shame which giues impediment vnto bad attempts; where wine gets the mastery, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out: drunkennesse in deede rather discovers vices, than makes them.

Aurel. p.

Soone after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife, and his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dabians* also seized vpon his fellow-conspirator *Dalaphernes*, and deliuered him vp. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these pettie-rebels, disposed of the Prouinces which hee past ouer, and went on with his Armie into *Gissazet*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as hee lost in one Tempest a thousand of his traine. From hence hee invaded the *Sacans*, and destroyed their Countrie. Then came he into the Territorie of *Cobanites* who submitted himselfe vnto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with thirtie

thirtie beautifull Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterward his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* did dained, yet none of them durst vie any freedom of speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence hee directed his course towards *India*, hauing so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twentie thousand armed men.

In the meane while hee would needs bee honoured as a God: whereto that hee might allure the *Macedonians*, hee imploied two pernicious Parafites, *Hegus* and *Cleus*, whom *Callisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments vied to the assembly, he told *Cleus*, That he thought that *Alexander* would diddaine the gift of God-head from his Vassalls; That the opinion of Sanctitie, though it did sometime follow the death of those who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it neuer accompanied any one as yet liuing in the World. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a banquet, and vpon drinke, (for this matter was propounded by *Cleus* at a caroling feast) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they liued, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbered among the Gods. *Alexander* stood behinde a partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie to bee reuenged on *Callisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a louer of the Kings honour, was yet soone after tormented to death, not for that hee had betrayed the King to others, but because hee neuer would condescend to betray the King to himselfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracie against the King made by one *Hermolus* and others (which they confest) he caused *Callisthenes* without confession, accusation, or triall, to be torne asunder vpon the rack: This deede, vnworthie of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth. *Hoc est ALEXANDRI crimen aeternum, quod nulli uirtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet: Nam quoniam quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multamilla: opponitur, & CALLISTHENEM: Quotiens dictum erit, Occidit DARIUM: opponitur, & CALLISTHENEM. Quotiens dictum erit Omnia Oceano tenas: erit, ipsum quoque tentauit nona clauibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thracie: off. ad Orientis terminos protulit: dicitur, sed CALLISTHENEM occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumq. exempla transierit, ex his quae fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus CALLISTHENES; This is the eternall crime of ALEXANDER, which no vertuous felicitie of his in Warre shall ever be able to redeeme. For as often as any man shall say, He slew many thousand Persians; it shall be replied, Hee did so, and he slew CALLISTHENES: When it shall be said, He slew DARIUS; it shall be replied, and CALLISTHENES: When it shall be said, hee wonne all as farre as to the very Ocean, thereon also hee aduentured vnusall Nauies; and extended his Empire from a corner of Thracie, to the utmost bounds of the Orient, it shall be said with all, But hee killed CALLISTHENES. Let him haue out-gone all the ancient examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts makes so much to his glorie, as CALLISTHENES to his reproach.*

## §. XX.

Of ALEXANDERS iourne into India. The battaile betwene him and PORVS.

**W**ITH the Armie before remembred, of one hundred and twentie thousand foot and horse, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves vnto him, hee entertained louingly, the rest hee contrained; killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. Hee then came before *Nisa* built by *Bacchus*, which after a few daies was rendred vnto him. From thence hee removed to a hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom hee made feasts for ten daies together. Now when hee had drunken his fill, hee went on towards *Dedala*, and thence to *Acadera*,

S f f f

Countries

Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants, by reason whereof, victualls raising, he diuides his Armie: *Ptoleme* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himselfe the rest. They take many Townes, whereof that of greatest fame was *Mazage*, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded vnto him by *Cleophe* the Queene, to whom againe he restored it at the siege of this Citie he receiued a wound in the legge. After this, *Nera* was taken by *Polyperchon*, and a Rock of great strength by himselfe: he wanne also a passage vpon one *Eryx*, who was slaine by his companie, and his head presented to *Alexander*. This is the summe of *Alexanders* doings in those parts, before such time as hee arrived at the Riuer of *Indus*. Comming to *Indus* hee found there *Ephesion*, who (being sent before) had prepared boates for the transportation of his Armie, and ere *Alexanders* arrival had perswaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Countrey to submit himselfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soone vpon *Alexanders* comming, *Omphis* presented himselfe with all the strength of his Countrey, and fixe and fiftie Elephants, vnto him; offering him his seruice and assilance. Hee made *Alexander* know that hee was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abisares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleased, hoping by this diuision to make his owne victorie by farre the more easie. Hee presented *Alexander* with a Crowne of gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withall fourescore talents of siluer coine, which *Alexander* not only refused, but to shew that he was courteous of glorie, not of gold, hee gaue *Omphis* a thousand talents of his owne treasure, besides other *Persian* rarities. *Abisares*, hauing heard that *Alexander* had receiued his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, refused to make his owne peace also: For, knowing that his owne strength did but equal that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference betweene them, than that which the chance of Warre gaue, hee thought it an ill match when *Alexander*, who had already beaten vnder foote all the greatest Princes of *Asia*, should make himselfe a Partie and Head of the quarrell. So had *Alexander* now now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a commandement, that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from *Porus* hee receiued this manly answer; That hee would satisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement hee was resolved to take counsell of his Sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolves to passe ouer the Riuer *Hydaspes*, and to find *Porus* at his owne home. *Porus* attend him on the farther bankes with thirtie thousand foot, fourescore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariotes, and a great troupe of Horle. If *Porus* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had surely staied somewhat longer ere he had seene *India*. The Riuer was foure furlong broad, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deepe and swift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacite. *Alexander* sent *Ptoleme* vnto the Riuer with a great part of the Armie, throwing the rest from the view of *Porus*: who by this deuice being drawne from his first incamping, sets himselfe downe opposite to *Ptoleme*, supposing that the whole Armie of *Macedon* meant to force their passage there. In the meane while *Alexander* recouers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troups and aduanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather beleeueth that *Abisares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had bene come ouer *Hydaspes* to his aide, than that *Alexander* had past it. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his Brother *Hages* with foure thousand horle, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little vse: for there had talken so much raine, and thereby the fields were so moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The *Seythians* and *Debians* had the Vanguard, who so galled these *Indians* as they brake their reines, & other furniture, overturning the wagons & those in them. *Perdice* also gaue vpon the *Indian* horse-men, and the one & the other were for to recoile. *Porus* moues forward with grosse of his Armie

Armie, that those of his Vanguard scattered might recover his Reare: *Alexander* being followed with *Ephesion*, *Ptoleme*, and *Perdiccas*, tooke on him to charge the *Indian* horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenon* or *Cenon* to invade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, hee directed to breake vpon *Porus* his battaile of horle, strengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himselfe being carried vpon one of them of the greatest stature. By these beafts the *Macedonian* foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters being well guarded with the long and strong Pikes of the *Macedons*, so galled them, as being enraged, they turned head and ranne ouer the foote that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight by the aduantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulnesse of the *Macedonian* Captaines, the victorie fell to *Alexander*, who also farre exceeded *Porus* in might: for besides the *Macedonians* and other Easterne and Northern Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his owne Confederate and Countrey people. Yet for his owne person he neuer gaue ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Armie, he became a prisoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe he receiued his estate with a great enariement.

## §. XXI.

How ALEXANDER finished his expedition, and returned out of India.

**F**orbeare to trouble my selfe and others with a fruitles discourse of Serpents, Apes, and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these their traualles: or of those petty Wars which *Alexander* made betwene the overthrow of *Porus*, and his sailing downe the Riuer of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better knowne vnto vs in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to beleue, till our owne experience had taught vs, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seene betwene *London* and *Stanes*.

Our great trauelier *Mandevile* who died in the yeare 1372. and had seene so much of the World, and of the East *India*, wee accompted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he an other reputation among other Nations, as well able to iudge as we. Witnesse the Monument made of him in the Couent of the Friars *Guillem* in *Liege*, where the religious of that place keepe some things of his, *Come par honorable memoire de son Excellence; For an honorable memoire of his Excellence*, saith *Guichardine*.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Riuers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradrus*, *Acetes*, and the rest, fall into the maine streame, are now possesed by the great *Mogor*, the ninth from *Tamierlane*, who commands all that tract betwene *Persia* and *India* towards the West, as also a great extent of Countrey towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a ship of *London*, suffered shipwrack in the yeare 1609. and some of the companie trauielled our Land till they came to *Agra*, the same great Citie (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Tagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

*Phylotratius* in the life of *Apollonius Tyanus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East *India*, tells vs that those two great Captaines (whom *Alexander* sought by all means to out-fame) when they deuoured to subiect vnto them the *Oxydraces*, a people inhabiting betwene the Riuers of *Hyphes* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the assault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be vnderstood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in vse. For it is now certainly knowne, that the great Kings of the vttermost East, haue had the

vle of the Cannon, many hundreds of yeares since, and euen since their first civillie and greatnesse, which was long before *Alexanders* time. But *Alexander* persist not so farre into the East. It sufficed, that having already over-wearied his Armie hee discovered the rest of *India* by land. The *Indian* Kings whom hee had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the River of *Ganges*, was the powerfullst King of all those Regions: and that hee was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twentie thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed than euer to proceede in this discoverie and conquest, yet all the art hee had could not perswade the Souldiers to wander over those great desarts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible unto them than the greatest Armie that the East could gather. Yet at the last consented they were, after many perswasive Orationes, to follow him towards the South, to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was nearer at hand, whereunto the River of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would bee no otherwise, devised a prettie trick, where-with hee hoped to beguile posteritie, and make himselfe seeme greater than hee was. Hee enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabins for the Souldiers, greater Horse-stalls, and higher mangers than his Hories could feede in. Hee caused all furniture of Men and Hories to bee made larger than would serve for use; and scattered these Armour and Bridles about his Campe, to be kept as reliques, and wondered at by the fauages. Proportionable to these hee raised up twelve great Altars to be the monument of his journeyes end. This was a ready way to encrease the fame of his bigneffe; to his greatnesse it could adoe nothing save a suspicion that it was lesse than is thought, seeing hee shrowd so carnically to make it thought more than it was.

This done, hee returned againe to the bankes of *Acetes*, and there determined to set up his fleet where *Acetes* and *Hydaspes* encounter, where to testifie by a furment, how farre hee had past towards the East, hee built by those Rivers two Cities: the one hee called *Nikes*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his bequied Horse *Bucephalus*. There againe hee received a fourth supply of fixe thousand *Indian* Horse-men, seven thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* two and twentie thousand Armour, garnished with silver and gold, which hee distributed among his Souldiers. A bout these Rivers hee wanne many Townes, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted. It is then written of him, that assaulting a Citie of the *Oxadracans*, hee leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of *Bevis of Southampton*, frivolous and incredible. Finally, hee past downe the River with his fleet, at which time also the newes came unto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arrivall of an hundred Embassadors from a King of *India*, who submitted himselfe unto him. Hee feasted these Embassadors vpon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuositie that could be devised, who soone after their dispatch returned againe with a present of three hundred Horie, one hundred and thirtie Wagons, and to each foure Hories, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, hee sailes towards the South, passeth through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld unto him either quietly or compelled by force: among these hee builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which hee tooke in this passage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned Swords, with one of which *Ptolomee* (afterward King of *Agypt*) was wounded, and cured by an herbe which *Alexander* dreamt that hee had seen in the mouth of a Serpent.

When hee came neare the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a suddaine shuffled one vpon another by the Floud, so on the Ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the sandie bankes of the Ri-

ver, where-with the *Macedonians* were much amazed, but after hee had a few daies observed well the course of the Sea, hee past out of the rivers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to informe himselfe, hee sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discover the coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arianus* in the beginning of his sixt Booke hath written this passage downe the River of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessells, in which hee transported his Armie, the Commanders that were led therein, and other the marvellous prouisions made.

Neare the out-lets of this River hee spent some part of the Winter, and in eightene daies march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Armie suffered such miserie for want of foodes, that of a hundred and twentie thousand foot, and twelue thousand horie, which hee carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

### §. XXII.

Of *ALEXANDERS* Riot, Crueltie, and death.

From *Gedrosia* *Alexander* led his Armie into *Carmania*, and so drawing neare to *Persia*, hee gaue himselfe wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish vice bee hateful enough in it selfe, yet it alwaies inflamed this King to Crueltie. For (saith *Cicero*) the Hang-man followed the fest, for *Aspastes* one of his Prouinciall Governours hee commanded to be slaine, so as neither did the excesse of voluptuousnesse qualifye his crueltie, nor his crueltie binder in ought his voluptuousnesse.

While hee refreshed his Armie in these parts, a new supply of fixe thousand foote and a thousand horie, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his followers, that had been imploied in the killing of *Parmenio*. Against these Murderers great complaint was made, by the Deputies of the Prouinces in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outrageous, as *Alexander* was perswaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his returne out of *India*, they durst not haue committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembering the vertue of him whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander* and the other chiefe, with fixe hundred Souldiers by them imploied, were deliuered ouer to the Hang-man: euery one rejoycing that the Irc of the King was at last executed on the misdoers of his Irc.

*Nearchus* and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the coast, and made report of an land rich in gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discoverie: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and finde the King at *Babylon*.

As hee drew neare to *Babylon* hee visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now called *Chelquera*: where hee was presented with many rich gifts by *Oristes*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas* an Eunuch in especiall fauour with the King, was neglected, hee not only practised certaine loose fellows to witness against *Oristes*, that hee had robbed *Cyrus* Tomb, for which hee was condemned to die; but hee assisted the Hang-man with his owne handes in tormenting him. At which time also *Alexander* caused *Phradates* to be slaine, suspecting his greatnesse. *Cepes* (saith *Cicero*) esse princeps ad repraesentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora crudelia: He became headlongly to shed blood, and to beleue false reports. It is true, that hee took a way to make all men wearie of his gouernement, seeing crueltie is more rare than all the adventures that can be made against it.

At this time it is said that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himselfe, when hee had lived threescore and thirteene yeares. Whether herein hee followed the custome of his Countrey, being an *Indian*, Or sought to prevent the griefe and incommodie of

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elder

*Arianus* hath a farre different description of *Cyrus* Tomb.

cider age, it is vncertaine; but in this the Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-throwing *Alexanders* death, he promised to meete him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* hee came to *Susa*, where hee married *Statira*, *Darius* his eldest Daughter, giuing her younger sister to his beloued *Epheslion*, and fourescore other *Persian* Ladies to his Captaines. There were fixe thousand guests invited to the feast, to each of which hee gaue a cup of gold. Here there came vnto him three thousand yong souldiers out of his conquered Prouinces, wherethe the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treasurer in *Babylon* hauing lawfully consumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with fixe thousand talents, and fixe thousand hired Souldiers, but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there slaine. *Alexander* greatly rejoyced at the fidelitie of the *Greekes*, whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures could not flurrie yet hee sent commandement that they should againe receiue their banished men, wherunto (hearefull of his indignation) all submitted themselves, (except the *Athenians*, though they refused that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a marauilous discontentment in his Armie, because hee had resolved to send into *Macedon* all those old Souldiers which could no longer endure the trauell of Warre, and to keepe the rest in *Asia*. Hee had many Orations to fasshion them, but it was in vaine during the tempest of this time. But afterward, as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine duced, when they haue tumbled a while, so are the vnconsiderate multitude easily conducted when their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licenced to depart, hee sent *Craterus*, to whom hee gaue the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessalie*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greekes* in his absence, discharged the trait committed vnto him with great fidelitie, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainly, if *Alexander* had not taken counsell of his cups, hee would haue cault some better colour on this alteration, and giuen *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remouee, than to haue employed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the warre being now at an end. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remouee, but the Kings disposition to send him after *Parmenio*, and the rest. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, doe not stand in doubt of euery man ill-affected though valiant; but there is a kinde of Kingly courage, compounded of hardinesse and vnderstanding, which is many times so fearefull vnto them, as they take leaue both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After hee had sent for *Antipater*, hee made a iourne into *Media* to settle things there; where *Epheslion*, whom hee fauoured most of all men, dies. The King according to the greatnesse of his loue, laments his losse; hangs his Philition; and bestowes vpon his Monument twelue thousand talents: After which hee returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent; and not to excuse himselfe, but to free himselfe. For if we beleue *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gaine-say) *Antipater* by his Sonnes, *Cassander*, *Philip*, and *Isidra*, who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gaue him poison, *Thessalus* (who was of the conspiracie) hauing invited him to a drinking feast of purpose. For after hee had taken a carouse in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drinke stronger than *Hercules* himselfe, hee quitted the World within a few daies.

Certainely the Princes of the World haue seldom found good by making their ministers ouer-great, and thereby suspitious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelitie to bee a debt, but is perswaded that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassalls, will neuer please himselfe with the price giuen. The only reparation, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodnesse and vertue of the Prince, and his liberalitie makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be obserued. It may be that *Antipater* hauing commanded two or three Kingdomes twelue yeares, knew not now how to play any other part; no more than *Cesar* did, after hee had so long a time gouerned the *Gauls*, where hee utterly forgot the art of obedience. A most cruell and

and vngratefull traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* doe not belie him: For though hee feared some ill measure vpon his remouee (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Cassiphenes*, hauing beene so lately acted) yet hee knew nothing to the contrarie, but that the King had resolved to haue giuen him some other great gouernement in *Asia*: the old Souldiers thence returned, hauing perchance desired to be gouerned by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former Warre.

## §. XXIII.

Of *ALEXANDERS* Person and qualities.

OWsoever it were, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot bee excused, no more than his vanitie to be esteemed the sonne of *Iupiter*, with his excellie delight in drinke and drunkenesse, which others make the cause of his feuer and death. In that hee lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what hee should doe when hee had conquered the World, *Augustus Caesar* found iust cause to deride him, as if the well gouerning of so many Nations and Kingdomes, as hee had alreadye conquered, could not haue offered him matter more than abundant, to busie his braines withall. That he was both learned and a louer of learning, it cannot be doubted. *St. Francis Bacon*, in his first booke of the aduancement of learning, hath proued it sufficiently. His liberalitie I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That when he gaue a whole Citie to one of his Seruants, He, to whom it was giuen, did out of modestie refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That hee did not enquire what became him to accept. But the King to giue: of which *SENECA*; *Animo sa vox videtur & regia, cum sit iustissima.* *Libet enim persequi quicquam deest. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. sine quibus fasti ratio non consistit; habetur personarum & dignitatum proportio, &c. cum sit vniuersi, virtutis &c. ut, &c. que peccat quod excedit, quam quod deficit; It seems a braue and royall speech, & thereas indeede it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered by it selfe becommes a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which considerations no sike can be approached. Let honours bee proportioned vnto the persons: for whereas vertue is euery limited by measure, the excesse is as faultie as the defect.*

For his Person, it is very apparant, That he was as valiant as any man, a disposition taken by it selfe, not much to be admired; For I am resolved that hee had ten thousand in his Armie as daring as himselfe. Surely, if aduenturous natures were to be commended simply, we should confound that vertue with the hardinesse of *Thucies*, *Ruffians*, and mastie Dogges. For certainly it is no way praise-worthy but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawfull enterprises, in which we are employed for the seruice of our Kings and Common-weales.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other Troublers of the World, who haue bought their glorie with so great destruction, and effusion of blood, I thinke him farre inferior to *Cesar*, and many other that liued after him, seeing hee neuer undertooke any warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted, nor was euer encountered with any Armie of which hee had not a most marring aduantage, both of weapons and of Commanders, euery one of his Fathers old Captaines by farre exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seemeth, Fortune and Destinies (if we may vse those termes) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his owne, both heapes of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the voke, and Kingdomes that invited and called in their owne Conquerours. For conclusion, we will agree with *Seneca* who speaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Sonne, giues this iudgement of them. *Quod non minores fuisse pestes mortalium quam inundatio, qua pluvialis omne perisum est, quam conflagratio, qua magna pars animantium excarnit; That*

they were no lesse plagues to mankind, than an ouer-flow of waters, drowning all the land, or some burning droughts, whereby a great part of liuing creatures is scorched up.

## CHAP. III.

## The raigne of ARIDEVS.

## §. I.

Of the question about succession to ALEXANDER.



THE death of Alexander left his Armie (as Demades the Athenian then compared) in such case, as that monstrous Giant Polyphemus, hauing lost his only eye. For, that which is reported in tables of that great Cyclops, might well be verified of the Macedonians: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance vncertaine, and harmefull chiefly to themselves. The causes wherof (vnder the diuine ordinance) were, partly the vncertainetie of Title to succession in the Kingdome of Macedonia, partly the suborne pride of Alexander himselfe, who thinking none worthie to be his Heire, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leauing euery one to his owne fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesson soone taught vnto spirits reflecting vpon their owne worth, when the reuerence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly bene shewed, That Philip (the Father of Alexander) gouerning in Macedonia as Protector, assumed vnto himselfe the Kingdome, not rendering it vnto Amyntas, (the Sonne of his elder brother Perdiccas) when he grew to mans estate; but only bestowing vpon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne: by which bond and much more by his proper strength he assured the Crowne vnto himselfe: Amyntas neuer attempting ought against Philip, though (with price of his life) he did against Alexander in the beginning of his raigne. Wherefore Eurydice, the sole issue of his marriage, ought in reason to haue bene acknowledged Queene after Alexander; as hauing better Title thereto, than either He or Philip had, when they liued, vnlesse (peraduenture) some Law of that Nation forbad the raigne of women. But the excellent vertue of those two Princes had vtterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming for their owne bodies: and so great were their conquests, that Macedonia it selfe was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deferring to be laied in ballance against the demand of their posteritie, had they left any able to make challenge of the Roiall seate.

Alexander hauing taken many wiues had issue by none of the principall of them. Roxane the Daughter of Artabazus a Persian had borne vnto him a young Sonne; and Roxane the Daughter of Oxyartes (whom he had more solemnely married) was left by him great with child. But the baseness of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alleaged in Barre of the Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) haue wrought out their owne ends, vnder the name of Alexanders children.

Cleopatra

Cleopatra the sister of Alexander, widow to the King of Epirus, and Aridaeus his half brother (sonne to Philip by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Ladie Eurydice before mentioned, were next in course. Of Cleopatra there was no speech, which may giue suspition, that either Law or Custome had made that sexe vacapable of the Soueraignetie: Aridaeus (besides his ballardie) was neither for person nor qualitie fit to rule as King; yet vpon him the election fell, but slowly and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counsaillors hauing ouer-laboured their disagreeing wits in deuiling what was best, were content for very wearie-ness to take what came next to hand.

10 Ptolomeus (soone after King of Egypt) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the halfe-Persian broode, King Alexander's children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should bee giuen to the Captaines, that going for law which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so farre was hee from acknowledging any one as true Heire to the Crowne.

This Ptolomeus was called the sonne of Lagus, but reputed of Philip: who hauing vied the companie of Arsinoe Ptolomeus mother, deliuered her in marriage to Lagus being great with child. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to worke his owne fortune out of those dilutions, which are incident vnto the consultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeme their quiet with subiection to one, deferring regard by his blood, and trust for his euery carriage; or whether hee desired only to get a share to himselfe, which could not haue come to passe had all bene giuen to one: plaine enough it is, that hee thought not on preferring Aridaeus before himselfe; and therefore gaue such counsaile as fitted his owne and other mens purposes. Yea, this deuce of his tooke place in deede, though not in forme as hee had propounded it: For, it was in effect all one, to haue assembled at Alexanders empty chaire, as Ptolomeus had conceived the forme of their consultations, or to set in the chaire such a King as Aridaeus, no wiser then the chaire it selfe. Also the controuersies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captaines; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

30 But as these counterfait shewes of dissembling aspirers, doe often take check by the plaine dealing of them, who dare to goe more directly to worke: so was it like to haue fared with Ptolomeus and the rest, when Aristonius, an other of the Captaines, interpreted the wordes of Alexander, (saying, These hee left his Kingdome to doe withall, as designing Perdiccas, to whom (lying at the point of death) hee deliuered his ring. It seemed good in reason, that Alexander should be disposer of his owne purchases; and those tokens of Alexanders purpose appeared plaine enough, so long as no man would interpose an other contradiction: euery one being vncertaine how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their lone, or because they would not be of the latest, urged Perdiccas to take 40 vpon him the estate Roiall. He was no stranger to the Roiall blood; yet his birth gaue him not such reputation, as the great fauour of his dead King, with whom hee had bene very inward, and that especially since the death of Epephion (a powerfull Minion) into whose place hee was chosen. For his owne worth hee might well be commended, as a good man of Warre, and one that had giuen much proofe of his private valour. But very furly he was: which qualitie (joynd with good fortune) carried a shew of Majestie: being checkt with misaduenture, it was called by a true name Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the present businesse a foolish orer-weening did him as great harme, as it had bene great happinesse to haue succeeded Alexander. For not content to haue the 50 acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the sentence of Aristonius, he would needs counterfait modellie; thinking that euery one of the Princes would haue intreated him to take the waightie burden of an Empire, which would be the lesse enuious the more solemnitie he vied in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that faimeth himselfe a sheepe may chance to be eaten by a Wolfe. Melager, (a man by nature en-vious;

uous, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas* tooke aduantage of his irrelouche behaviour, and very bitterly mouged against him. In conclusion he pronounced, that whosoeuer was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the treasure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Capitaines were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to haue brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedie of spoile thronged about *Meleager*.

## §. II.

*The election of ARIDAVS, with the troubles there-about arising;  
the first diuision of the Empire.*

**D**Ving this vp-rore, mention was made of *Aridaus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, vntill at last it grew to the voice of the Armie. *Meleager* hauing with-drawne himselfe tumultuously from the companie of the Lords, was glad of to haue an occasion to make himselfe great: therefore he produced *Aridaus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, inuecting him in *Alexanders* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vaine: for they could not resolute what course to follow, rejecting this. Only *Pythion*, a hot-headed-man, tooke vpon him to proclaim the Sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsaile which *Perdiccas* at first had giuen, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leontatus* his Protectors. But this child was not yet borne, which made that attempt of *Pythion* vaine. Finally, *Perdiccas* with lixe hundred men, and *Ptolomie* with the Kings Pages tooke vpon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* bodie lay: but the Armie conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in vpon them, and inforced them to accept *Aridaus* for their Soueraigne Lord. Then by the intercession of the ancient Capitaines, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

*Leontatus* who was of the Roiall blood, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobilitie. *Perdiccas* abode in the Citie (but standing vpon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunitie of any commotion, that should happen among the infanterie. The King (who was gouerned by *Meleager*) commanded or gaue leaue to haue *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their coming was not unexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such grauitie, that they departed honestlier than they came; being forie of their bad enterprise. Vpon the newes of this attempt the campe was in an vp-rore, which the King seeking to pacifie wanted authoritie, as hauing newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courtlesie. The matter it selfe afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said that no harme was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which hee imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, vntill the King by offering to resigne his estate vnto them, renued out of their pittie that fauourable affection, which had moued them to set him vp at the first.

*Perdiccas* hauing now joynded himselfe with *Leontatus* kept the fields, intending to cut off all prouision of victuals from the Citie. But after sundrie Embassies passing betweene the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to haue the Authors of sedition giuen vp into their handes; the King, that *Meleager* might bee joynded with

*Leontatus*

*Leontatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in gouernement of the Armie) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should haue done well to consider, that such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to giue him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treacherie lurked vnder their great facilitie. General peace was renewed, and much loue protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had bene in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the same heart giue it life; and windie spirits they were which moued in the arteries. False reports were giuen out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his owne disgrace, but in such termes as might seeme to haue proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drilt, but not all, tooke it as an iniurie done to himselfe; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such authors of discord might bee punished. *Perdiccas* (as a louer of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should bee made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receiue their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Armie. The plot was mischieuously laied: Had *Meleager* giuen way to seditious rumours, he must needs haue incurred the generall hatred of all, as a fower of dissention; and thereby with publike approbation might haue bene cut off, as hauing often offended in that kinde: his Prince being too weake a Patron. Now seeking redresse of these disorders, hee hatened his owne ruine, by a lesse formall, but more speedie way. This kinde of Muster was very formeless, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleansing of the Armie. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the Mercenaries, were each according to their qualitie set in array, a-part from others, as if they had bene of fundrie sorts, met at aduenture: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to direction of their severall Capitaines. But at that time the great battaile of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the horse and Elephants beginning to giue charge vpon them, was such, as discovered no jealousing pallme nor good intent. Kings were alwaies wont to fight among the horse-men: of which custome *Perdiccas* made great vse that day, to the vtter confusion of his enemies. For *Aridaus* was alwaies gouerned by him, in the presence of the present had him in possession. Two or three daies before hee had fought the death of *Perdiccas* at the instigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* vp and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliuer vnto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast vnto the Elephants, and by them slain, in the presence of the King, who should haue defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when hee disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especial friends. Hauing therefore kept himselfe quiet a while, as unwilling to giue offence to them which had the aduantage; when hee saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they fent and slew him.

The Armie being thus corrected was led into the Citie, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, diuided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves, leauing to *Aridaus* the office of a Visitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funeralls of *Alexander* thought vpon; whose bodie hauing bene seuen daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the *Egyptians*: no signe of poison appearing, how great fouler the suspicion might bee. The charge of his buriall was committed to *Aridaus*: one of the Capitaines, who was two yeares preparing of a great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laied; many coarces of his friends being laied in the ground, before

before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in *Alexandria*, a Citie of his owne building in *Egypt*.

## §. III.

The beginning of the Lamiar Warre.

**W**Hilest these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principall Noble-men, and inferiour to none of *Alexander's* followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were banished in *Greece* with a *Warre*, which the *Athenians* more brauely than wildly had begunne in *Alexander's* life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, vpon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished *Greekes* (few excepted) should be reitorred vnto their former places. Hee knew the factious qualitie of the *Grecian* Estates, and therefore thought so to provide, that in euery Citie hee would haue a sure partie. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he wanne by this proude injunction. His pleasure indeede was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyrannye. The *Athenians* greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more, than was needfull, of their ancient spirits, forbad the execution of this decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Ætolians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but seemed to beare themselves, as men that had done no more then they might well iustifie by reason: neuertheless to prevent the worst, the *Athenians* gaue secret instructions to *Leophanes* a Capitaine of theirs, willing him to leaue an Armee, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their vse. This was no hard thing for *Leophanes* to doe: great numbers of *Greece* Souldiers being lately returned from the *Asian* Warre in poore estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Capitaines. Of these he had gathered vp eight thousand, when the certaine newes were brought of *Alexander's* death: at which time the Citie of *Athens* declared it selfe, and more honorably than wisely, proclaimed open Warre against the *Macedonians*, for the libertie of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leophanes* drew in the *Ætolians*, and some other Estates, gaue battaile to the *Boeotians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and ouerthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in Adherents; That *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his owne strength) was faine to send into *Asia* to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies a farre off, which deuide all mortall wisdom, euen when they seeme neare at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heauily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the returne of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which hee then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured vnto him, was sent into *Macedon* to conuenge home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succede *Antipater* in the gouernement of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The suspicions were strong that hee had a priue charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should bee sent vnto the King, as Capitaine of the yong Souldiers, newly to bee leauied in *Europe*. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would sometimes giue out speeches testifying his owne ieioualouy and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexander's* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeede were meane persons in regard of those who followed him in his *Indian* expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) remoued to make place for their betters. But if the Kings ri-  
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gour was such, as could finde rebellious purposes (for so hee interpreted euen lewd gouernement) in bafe persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who hauing sitten *Piercy* ten yeares in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Maister, and the enuie of a Court, wherein they had beene his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to preuention, working first the Kings death by poison, giuen by his Son *Julius*, *Alexander's* cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth vntill opportunitie had changed it into the passion of reuenge, which was cruelly performed by his Sonne *Cassander*: great cause of much feare he had, which I note in this place as the ground of effects to be produced in very few yeares.

At the present *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Capitaines of companies lying neare, solicited to make halt. Not without cause. For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raised more than thirteene thousand foot, and sixe hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Countrie being emptied into *Asia*. The *Thesalians* indeede who had long stood firme for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best horse-men of *Greece*, furnished him with very braue troupes, that might haue done great seruice, had their faith held out, which they changed for the libertie of *Greece*. With these forces did *Antipater* in *Thessalie* trie the fortune of a battaile with *Leophanes*; rather (as may seeme) fearing the increase of his enemies power and rebellion of the *Greekes*, (were they not checkt at the first) than presuming on his owne strength. For *Leophanes* had of *Athenians*, *Ætolians*, and Mercenaries, two and twentie thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some *Illyrians*, and *Thracians*: of horse hee brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but ouer-strong he was that way also, when once the *Thesalians* had revolted vnto him. So *Antipater* lost the day: and his losse was such, that he neither was able to keepe the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his owne Countrie: therefore he fled into the Towne of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessarie to beare out a siege. Thither did *Leophanes* follow him, present him battaile againe, and vpon the refusal clove vp the Towne with earth-works, and a wall. There will wee leaue him for a while, travelling in the last honourable enterprife that euer was vnder-taken by that great Citie of *Athens*.

## §. IIII.

How *Perdiccas* employed his Armee.

**K**ING *Aridaus* living vnder the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Prouince, kept a naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make vife of him. *Perdiccas* had no Prouince of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom hee should visit in his Gouernement. A stronger Armee then any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that vnstedfast condition of things to make better worth to him than many Prouinces could haue been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time hee either married *Nicea* the Daughter of *Antipater*, or made such loue to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

*Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Countrie, had continued faithfull to the *Persian* Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his forefathers, euen from *Pharnaces* the first that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Atossa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancesters had (indeede) beene oppressed by the *Persians*; but what Fortune tooke from them at  
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one

one time, Vertue restored at an other, and their faithfull Princes had much increased all: But now in the fatal Period of so great an Empire, with much wisdom, and (*Perdiccas* being slaine) with sufficient honour, he might haue acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Perfians* room. This hee did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with greater cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater business, to entertaine his *Armie*, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take in that in-land Kingdome, surrounded with Prouinces of the *Macedonian* conquest; and for his owne particular, to haue one opportune place of sure retreat, vnder the gouernment of a steadfast friend. Therefore he entred *Cap-pas*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field thirtie thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse (a strong Armie, had it not incountred a stronger, and better trained); wanne the victorie; and thereby the whole Kingdome. But with much crueltie did he vie the victorie: for hauing taken *Ariarathes* prisoner with many others; hee crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light vpon: and so deuiered that Prouince to *Eumenes*, whom of all men liuing he trusted most.

An other part of his forces he had committed to *Pythion*; rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Pythion* was to subdue the *Greekes*, rebelling in the high Countries of *Asia*. Abooue twentie thousand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous Nations, were soone wearie of their vnpleasant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they liued: and therefore tooke advantage of the present troubles to seeke vnto themselves a better fortune. Against these *Pythion* went, more desirous to make them his owne, than to destroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* discovering, did both giue him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giuing the spoiles of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyed it vnno *Pythion* Captains (his owne creatures) that they should see this command executed. These directions for vie of the victorie might haue proued needlesse; so vn certaine was the victorie it selfe. A Captaine of the Rebels commanding ouer three thousand, corrupted by *Pythion*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without needlesse to a Hill not farre off. This dismayed the rest, and gaue the day to *Pythion*: who being farre enough from *Perdiccas*, offered composition to the vanquished, granting vnto them their liues and libertie vnder condition of laying downe their armes; and hereupon he gaue them his faith. Being master of these companies hee might well haue a good opinion of his owne power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himselfe as free Lord of any Territorie. He had thirteene thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needlesse feare without great losse had caused to leaue the field: but in true estimation all the greatest whereof *Pythion* might thinke himselfe assured, was (and soone appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of those which followed *Pythion*, leauied; the Rulers of the Prouinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoined to giue assistance to that business: and by vertue of the precept giuen vnto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in peeces all those poore men who had yielded themselves; leauing *Pythion* as naked as hee came forth to returne vnto his great Master.

Now was *Perdiccas* mightie aboue the mightie, and had faire leisure to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himselfe Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for feare of opposition. How it succeeded will appeare, when the *Lamian* warre taketh ending.

§. V.

§. V.  
The processe of the *Lamian* Warre.

**W**E left *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting meanes to free himselfe without succours from his friends in *Asia*. Those help not appearing so soone as he expected, he came to parle with *Leophanes*, &c. would haue yielded vnto any termes of reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victorie doe feldome limit their desires. *Leophanes* would him without further circumstance to submit himselfe to discretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded ouer them, who now required of him such a dishonorable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victuals. In this lingring war, the *Asians* (whether wearie of sitting still at a siege, or hauing business which they pretended at home) tooke their leave, and returned into their owne Countrie. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found meanes to fillie out vpon his enemies to their great losse: for many were slaine, and *Leophanes* himselfe among them, ere he could be repulled into the Towne. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved; their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deale with the *Greekes* in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming, *Lysimachus* who was nearest at hand in *Thrace*, had work too much of his owne leading no more than 4000. foote, and 2000. horse, against *Scuthas* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field aboue foure times that number; and though *Lysimachus* not without losse, had gotten one victorie, yet the enemy abounding in multitude felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earnestly solicited by *Antipaters* friends, to make all hast to the rescue. He had the gouernment of *Phrygia* the lesse, and was able to raise an Armie of more than 20000. foot, and 2500. horse, whether leauied out of his Prouince, or appointed vnto him out of the maine Armie, it is vn certaine. Certaine it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the iourne into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to haue him come.

For *Cleopatra* had written vnto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chief Citie of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her selfe to be his wife; which letters he kept not so close as had bene requirte, and therefore brought himselfe into great suspicion, that soone ended with his life. *Antipater*, chosen General by the *Athenians* in place of *Leophanes*, hearing of his approach forooke the siege of *Lamia*, and tooke the readie way to these great Conquerors of *Asia*, with purpose to giue them an euill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should ioyne in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Asians*) the advantage of *Leonatus* in horse, by the odds of 2000. *Thessians*; in other things he was equal to him; in cause he thought himselfe Superior in the fortune of that day he proued so: for he was a great victorie (chiefly by vertue of the *Thessians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himselfe; who fighting valiantly was driuen into a marish pece of ground, where hee found his death, which desperately he had fought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home not far from the place of his natiuitie. He was the first of *Alexanders* Captains which died in battell, but all, or most of the rest, shall follow him the same way. After this day the *Athenians* did neuer any thing furtable to their ancient glorie.

The vanquished *Macedonians* were too weak to renew the fight, & too proud to flee. They tooke themselves to high grounds, vnfit for seruice on horse-back, and so abode in sight of the enemy that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their camp, and tooke the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seeke to determine the matter quickly by an other battaile. But still *Antipater* kept himselfe on ground of aduantage: which gaue more than reasonable confidence to the *Greekes*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquished. This rechelesse (incorrigible in an Armie of voluntaries)

was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were much defaced by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians* labouring to haue made themselves once againe Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatal captiuitie of *Greece* came on, of which shee neuer could be deliuered vnto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Armie hauing made great marches from *Cilicia*, passed ouer into *Europe*, and coming into *Thessalie* joynd himselfe with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, being joynd in one, contained fortie thousand waighly armed, three thousand light-armed men, and fiftie thousand horse; of which numbers the *Greeks* wanted a thousand and fise hundred in horse, in four eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antipater* labour to auoide the necessitie of a battaile, vntill such time as the Townes confederate should retorne vnto the campe those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in coming, and *Antipater* so virgent vpon the *Greekes*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more helpe they had carried away the victorie: for the *Thessalians* had the vpper hand, and held it, vntill such time as they perceived their battailes (ouer-laid with multitude) retire vnto the higher grounds, which caused them also to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, hauing little else to boast of, considering that with the losse of a hundred and thirtie men, they had purchased only the death of some fise hundred enemies. Yet herof was great vse made. For the *Greekes*, as not subject vnto the full command of one General, and being euerie one desirous to preferue his owne estate, and Citie; concluded to make a treatie of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtile artificer, & well understanding their aptnesse to diuision, refused to hearken to any generall composition, but willed euery Citie to deale apart for it selfe. The intent of his deuise was so apparent, that it was rejected; the *Greekes* chooing rather to abide the coming of their Assailants, whose vnreasonable carelesnesse betraied the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging & winning some townes in *Thessalie*, which the armie of the Confederates wanted meanes & courage to relieue, wearied that Nation from attending any longer vpon other mens vnlikely hopes, with their owne assured and present calamitie.

## §. VI.

Of the peace granted to *Athens* by *ANTIPATER*. Of *DEMOSTHENES* his death.



He *Thessalians* falling off, all the rest soone followed senerally, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions giuen to the most forward inuiting such as were slack. Only the *Athenians* and *Acetians* held out. Little fauour could they hope for, hauing bene Authors of this tumult; and their feare was not great; the feare of the warre being farre from them. But the celeritie of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who sate still at *Athens*, deuling vpon courtes of prosecuting the Warre to come, which came to their dores, before their consultation could finde issue. He was readie to enter vpon their Frontiers; they had no abilitie to resist, and were as heartlesse as friendlesse. All that remained was to send Embassadors desiring peace vpon some good termes: necessitie enforcing them to haue accepted euen the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassage; *Phocion* as the most Honorable; *Demades* as a strong Perswader; (both of them well respected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisdom, grauitie of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of lesse regard, when their admiration was to cost much in reall effects.

*Antipater* calling to minde the pride of *Leosthenes*, required of the *Athenians* that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to desray the charges of the warre past, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the

the government of the Citie to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a conuenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was giuen; a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a *Democrasie*. But the rascall multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their liuing out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giuing their voices, cried out that this was a mere *Oligarchie*, the violent usurpation of a few inroaching vpon the publike right. These turbulent fellowes (of whom King *Philip* had bene wont to say, That warre to them was peace, and peace warre) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gaue them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of *Athens*.

To the same end (yet withall for satisfiing his owne suspitions and hatred) hee caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* famous Orators, with some others to bee laine. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, bene forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well haue passed for very milde: whereas now all such, as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or haue furthered their judgements to Authors iustly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that euer did speake and write, condemne him vtterly, calling him a bloudy tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all ciuill Nations, that the euill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soeuer otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

*Demosthenes* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptunus*, in the Isle of *Calauris*; there did *Archus* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) finde him, and gently perswade him to leaue the place, but not so preuaile he threatened violence. Then *Demosthenes*, entreating a little respite as it had bene to write somewhat, secretly tooke poison which he had kept for such a necessitie, and so died; rather chooing to doe the last execution vpon himselfe, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps, in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battaile, how soeuer valiant in perswading to enterprises, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. Hee loued monie well, and had great summes giuen him by the *Persians*, to encourage him, in finding worke for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did hee ill (me thinke) in taking from the *Persians* which loued not his Countrey, great rewards, for speaking such things as tended to his Countreys good; which hee did not cease to procure, when the *Persians* were no longer able to giue him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can indure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) beleuee *Lucian*, who tells vs, That it was *Antipaters* purpose to haue done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a steadfast enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the handes of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and louer of his Countrey, yet applying himselfe to the necessitie of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the Citie much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet fauourable to the vanquished) hee endeouored carefully to perserue.

## §. VII.

How CRATERUS and ANTIPATER were drawn from their *Ætolian* Warres into *Asia*. The grounds of the first ciuill Warre betweene the *Macedonian* Lords.



**S**O Antipater with Craterus returned into *Macedonia*, where they strengthened their friendship with a new alliance; Craterus taking *Philis*, the Daughter of Antipater, to Wife. Shortly after they went against the *Ætolians*, whose pouertie was not so easily danted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of *Athens* had bene. Their Countrie was rough and mountainous, hauing many places of great fastnesse, into which they conueied such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for warre: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacie did the *Macedonians* contend against the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when Craterus had shut vp all passages, and vterly debarred them of reliefe; then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their strong holds, and fight vpon equal ground, with vnequall numbers; or to endure the miseries of hunger and cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yield themselves to the *Macedonians*: who incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave so stubborn enemies in places, which might giue confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremitie, much finess of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger commonly doth more hurt, than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These *Ætolians* did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought vpon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such newes came out of *Asia* into the *Macedonian* campe, as made Antipater and Craterus thinke euery houre a moneth, till they had rid their hands of these *Ætolians*, giuing them whatsoever conditions they would aske; yet with purpose to call them to seuerer account; yea, to roote them out of *Greece* by death, or by captiuitie, when once they should haue settled the affaires of *Asia*; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is the disposer: in whose high Councell it was ordained, that this poore Nation should continue a troublesome barre to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into those and other Prouinces. Likewise concerning the matters of *Asia*, the reformation intended by Antipater and Craterus, was so farre from taking effect, that it serued merely as an introduction to all the ciuill warres ensuing.

The grounds of the *Asiaticke* expedition, which did set the World in a vpror, were these. Antipater and Craterus were of *Alexanders* Captaines the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedencie, and the present rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*: The other, as of all men the best beloved, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Armie. Next vnto these had *Perdiccas* bene; whom the advantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equall, or superiour, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were, to haue consorted with these two, and to haue bene with them a third partner in the gouernment of all: to which purpose hee entertained the discourse of marriage with one of Antipaters Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of winde which bore him vp, he began to take wing and soare quite an other way. *Ardeus* was a very simple man, yet serued well enough to weare the tie of that Majestie, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietarie, the practise was more seuerer than had bene in the daies of *Alexander*.

answer: the desire to seeme terrible, being very familiar with weake Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other meanes of preferring themselves from content, and of giuing such a fire lustre to their actions, as may dazzle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poore *Greekes* in the higher *Asia* were all put to the sword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath scarce bene thowed. The *Phrygians* were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfait *Alexanders*. One Citie of theirs was vterly razed; the children sold for slaues, and all the rest massacred. The *Isaurians* by this example growne desperat, when after two or three daies triall they found themselves vnable to continue the defence, lockt themselves into their houses and set the Towne on fire, into the flame whereof the yong-men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the Armie had no other worke than to sift the ashes of the burnt Citie for gold and siluer; but *Perdiccas* had lininge of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrarie to his ends, than to sit still without impliment: letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilst others grew great, and tooke deepe roote in their seuerall Prouinces. Hee purposed therefore to transport his forces into *Europe*, vnder pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the seate of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings presence would make the offices of his Vice-oyes (during the time) actually void; Antipater with Craterus being once in case of priuate men, and yet *Perdiccas* holding authoritie, the match with *Cleopatra* might easily bee made. So should greatneesse meete with a good tide; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomie* might giue, who held *Egypt*, well fortified with men, but much better with love of the people; yet if the businesse prospered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomie* would follow of himselfe, or bee driuen to cometo reason. Antigonius likewise then governing in *Phrygia*, a busie-headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to bee looked into, and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*; and was deceiued in so thinking. Antigonius was as good a man of warre, of as deepe a judgement, as high a spirit, and as great vnderstanding, as any of *Alexanders* Captaines. His impliments had bene lesse than some of theirs, which made him also the lesse respected. But his thoughts were as good as theirs: for, he valued himselfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had hee watched *Perdiccas*, and sounded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discouer. For *Perdiccas* hauing with a jealous eye pried into the demeanour of Antigonius, and finding him not to be his friend, caused him to be charged with such accusations, as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a Iudge that sought his death. This deuise Antigonius would not seeme to perceiue, but prepared himselfe in shew to make answer; indeede, to make escape, which easily he did, putting himselfe and his sonne *Leontius* aboard of some *Athenian* Gallies, that carried him to Antipater, laden with such tidings, as finished the *Ætolian* warre before mentioned.

As the coming of Antigonius made Craterus and Antipater manifestly perceiue that owne danger: so his flight gaue *Perdiccas* to vnderstand that his intentions were laid open, and must now be justified by the sword. Therefore hee prepared as fast as hee could not only for defence, but (as hauing on his side the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing slack in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomie* being aduertised of these proceedings, and considering how nearly they concerned him, sided with Antipater. To his gouernment of *Egypt* he had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without consent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the midst of these garboiles he celebrated the funeral of *Alexander* with great solemnitie, purchasing thereby to himselfe much good will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Armie coming against him.

## §. VIII.

## §. VIII.

PERDICCAS his courage into Egypt, and his death.

**P**ERDICCAS, vncertaine which way to bend his maine power, at length resolved to set vpon *Ptolomie*; leauing *Eumenes* to keepe to his vie, against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Asia* bordering vpon *Europe*.

It may seeme strange, that hee did not rather make head against those who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomie* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomie*; or belicued that *Craterus* would not be readie for him soone enough. Sure it is that he tooke a bad course, and made it worse with ill handling.

*Ptolomie* by his sweet behaviour allured many to his partie, without helpe of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwise was full of insolencie, which neuer faileth to be rewarded with hatred; that is truly defined. An affection founded vpon opinion of an vnjust contempt. The whole storie of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relating: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and walled them in hard enterprises without successe. His most forcible attempt was vpon a little Towne, called the *Camels Wall*: thither hee marched by night, with more haile than good speede; for *Ptolomie* preuenting him, did put himselfe into the place, where behauing himselfe not only as a good Commander, but as a stout Souldier, hee gaue the foile to *Perdiccas*, causing him to retire with losse; after a vehement, but vaine, assault continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another iourne, (which was his last) and came to the diuisions of *Nilus*, ouer against *Memphis*. There with much difficultie hee beganne to passe ouer his Armie into an Iland, where he meant to incampe. The current was strong, the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants about the passage, to breake the violence of the streame, and his horse-men beneath it; to take vp such as were carried away by swiftnesse of the water. A great part of his Armie being arriued on the further banke, the channell beganne to waxe deepe; so that whereas the former companies had waded vp to the chinne, they who should have followed could finde no footing. Whether this came by rising of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of so manie Men, Horse, and Elephants) no remedie there was, but such as had passed multirepasse againe, as well as they might: for they were too weak for the enemie, and could not bee relieved by their fellows. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the Riuer, wherein about two thousand of them perished, a thousand were deuoured by *Crocodiles*; a miserable spectacle euen to such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swimme recovered the Campe; many were carried downe the streame, and driuen to the contrarie banke, where they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their Generall, giuing libertie to their tongues which long time had concealed the euill thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, newes came from *Ptolomie*; which did let them in an vp-rose. *Ptolomie* had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands aliue, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carcases, which the Riuer had cast vpon his side; and finally, sent their bones and ashes to bee interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not only moue the common Souldier, but made the Captaines fall to mutinie, thinking it vnreasonable to make warre vpon so vertuous and honorable a person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, vling them like slaues. The sedition growing strong wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Pythion* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which hee had suffered by his procurement, after the victorie vpon the rebellious

Greekes.

Greekes. *Pythion* had liued in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the diuision of the Provinces made *Gouernour* of *Media*; hee had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equall to him, had neuerthelessse becom scornfully vsed by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captiues, and a good part of the horse, which consisted of the Gentrie, (the foot-men hauing declared themselves before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumstance they all ranne vpon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud misgouerning authoritie of *Perdiccas*. Hee might haue liued as great as any, could he haue suffered any as great as himselfe; yea, peraduenture master of all, had he not bene too masterly ouer those which were a readie his.

The next day *Ptolomie* came into the campe, where he was joyfully recciued; he executed himselfe of things past, as not hauing bene Author, or giuen cause of the Warre, and was easily beleecued: the fauour of the Armie being such toward him, that needes they would haue made him Protector in the roome of *Perdiccas*. But this hee refused. It was an office fit for one, that would seeke to increase his greatness with his trouble. *Ptolomie* was well enough already; wherefore, for his owne quiet he forbore to accept it, and for their well-deseruing of him hee procured that honourable charge to *Pythion*, and to *Avidant* the Captaine, who hauing had some companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of *Alexander's* Funerals, did with them adhere to him against *Perdiccas*.

In the middle of these businesse came newes of two great victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which newes, had they arriued two or three daies sooner, had bene entertained with joyfull acclamations; and would haue giuen such reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had caused both his priuate maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to haue accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings coming in ill time, when death had stopped the eares which would haue giuen them well come, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

## §. IX.

Victories of EUMENES in the lower Asia.

**B**EFORE wee proceede in the relation of things, happening about the person of the King, it is meete that wee speake of those businesse in the lower *Asia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, which *Perdiccas* was occupied in the *Egyptian* warres. *Alextas*, the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had recciued command from *Perdiccas* to be assistant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alextas* made flat answere, That he would not; alleging the backwardnesse of his men to beare armes against so great a person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make faire shew, but inwardly he repined at the Precedencie giuen to *Eumenes*, as thinking himselfe the better man. *Eumenes* discouraging, through the counterfaited lookes of *Neoptolemus*, the mischief lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to winne him by gentle behaviour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed vpon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himselfe, that hee might stand vpon his owne strength, he raised out of the Countries vnder his iurisdiction, about fixe thousand horse, giuing many priuileges to such as were seruiceable, and training them well vp. Not without great neede. For when vpon aduertisement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly passed the *Hellepont*) for the inuasion of his Provinces, hee willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power, *Neoptolemus* did (indeede) aduance, but in hostile manner, though vnprovoked, presented him battaile. *Neoptolemus* had secretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the conquest of *Asia*, which now intending to performe, he

was

was shamefully disappointed. For though his foot-men, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and prevailed farre vpon *Eumenes*'s battailes; yet were his horse driven out of the field, and himselfe compelled, with a few of them, to runne away, leaving naked the backs of his *Macedonian* foot-men, to bee charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in such wise, that calling downe their Pikes they cried for mercie, and gladly tooke their oath to doe him faithfull seruice. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavored with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their societie, who contrariwise offered himselfe, as a meane of reconciliation, betwene *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom hee dearely loued; professing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had vntaken to maintaine.

Whilest these negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crew to *Antipater*, and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a *scourge* (at which foolish railing they laugh) but extolling the vertue of *Craterus* (as well hee might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appeare, or that his voice were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes*'s Campe, the victorie was wonne, for they would all forth-with resuolt vnto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to giue him aide against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might haue the leading of the Armie to be sent. Their owne affections did easily leade them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prouaile as much, as the force which hee drew along. For he had in the middle of *Alexanders* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betooke themselves to the *Perjian* fashions of garments, and customes, retained the ancient *Macedonian* forme of behaviour, and apparrell; whereby hee became verie gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new tricks of *Asia*, with discontented eyes, as reproachfull and derogatorie to the manners of their native country. So *Antipater* tooke the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to ioyne with *Ptol. mico*. *Craterus* vsed great coleritie, to haue taken *Eumenes*'s scuffling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captaines after a great victorie. But hee had a wiser and well aduised enemy to encounter, who kept good cspiall vpon him, and with much wisdom toreflaw all that was to bee feared, and the means of preuention, which his courage did not faile to execute.

*Eumenes* was not ignorant, that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battaile, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Armie following him: (yet the Armie following him was such as much exceeded his owne in footmen, but was inferiour in horse-men) and thought it more vncleane to keepe the *Macedonians* from resuolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon hee tooke in hand a strange piece of worke, which deperation of all courses else taught him, and wise managing, prosperously accomplished. Hee gaue out reports that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such companie as hee could gather together, and had gotten *Pierres* (a Captaine of no great estimation, who lay not farre off) to ioyne with him. Having animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom hee knew to be despised and hated among them, (as haue been vanquished by some of them, and forsaken others in plaine field, whilst they valiantly fought in his qumrell) he tooke great care to keepe them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no Messenger nor Trumpetter should bee admitted; and not here-with satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would haue regarded him had hee bene knowne: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Perfians*, vnder the leading of such as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and himselfe. To these also he gaue in charge, that without speaking or hearkening to any word, they should runne vpon the enemy, and giue him no leisuire to say or doe any thing, but fight. The directions which he gaue to others, hee did not faile to execute in his owne person: but placing himselfe in the right wing of his battaile, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as hee vnderstood) conducted the left wing on the contrarie side, hee held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and ready to charge

charge the enemy as soon as the distance would giue leaue. A rising peece of ground lay betwene them, which hauing ascended, the Armies discouered each other: but that of *Eumenes* euery way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journeyes, which over-hastily they had made; seeking the deceitfull issue of fruitlesse hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (hauing failed in surpring them as enemies) to discouer himselfe to his old friends and fellow-fowldgers; of whom hee could see none. *Phenix* a *Troian*, and *Artabacius* a *Perfian*, had the leading of that side, who mindfull of their instructions beganne to giue vpon him, with such countenance as told him his error; which to redeme, hee bad his men fight and winne 10 the day; and take the spoile to themselves. But the Beare whose skinne hee sells is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battaile was fought gaue most advantage to the horse, who encountered very roughly on all parts; especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*, who as soon as they had discouered one another could not containe themselves, but with great rage met bodie to bodie, and letting loose their bridles grappled to and fro only together, that their horses ranne from vnder them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first vp, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawne, where-with hee hauged the other; causing him to fall downe and fight vpon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giuing slight ones tooke such as were deadly, by which hee died in the 20 place, and was there (being halfe-dead halfe-alive) stripped by his mortal enemy, whose reuilings hee required, lying euen at the last gaspe; with one wound in the groin, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to runne away vpon the spurre, and seeked shelter behind the battailes of their foot. They were nothing holty pursued. For *Eumenes* pained himselfe to carrie succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed, but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly borne himselfe a while, and sustained the impression of *Artabacius* and *Phenix*, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when hee was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwise it is not unlikely, that he might haue either carried the day, or preserved himselfe to a better aduerture by giuing ground as the rest (when he and *Neoptolemus* were slaine) did. But whilst he fought to preferre his reputation, he lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received; vpon which accident hee was trampled vnder foot by many that knew him not, and so perished vnkowne, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* comming to the place where hee lay made great lamentation, as haueing alwaies loued and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death hee was now become the instrument. The vanquished Armie entertained a Treatie of peace with *Eumenes*, making them of willingnesse to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) haue done, they flie away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This battaile fought within ten daies of the former wanne to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his owne Souldiers tooke the death of *Craterus* heauily, and the Armies lying further off were enraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incensed men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manitely appeared, that hee was as sorrie as any that pretended greater heauinesse. His Armie wanted pay. This was a great fault; which hee wisely amended, by giuing to them the spoile of such Townes as were ill-affected to him. So hee re-deemed the loue of his owne men, who of their meere motion appointed vnto him 30 a guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had bene Traitors to *Perdiccas* hated him for his faithlesnesse, as greatly, as they thought that he would hate them for their faithfulness; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late resuolt, than by accusing and condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor; and con-

condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to giue that sentence, than to put it in execution.

## p. X.

Quarrells between Eurydice the Queene, and Python the Protector.

Python resignes his office, into which Antipater is chosen.

**P**YTHON and Arideus being chosen Protectors of King Arideus, and the children of Alexander, tooke the way to Asia the lesse, conducting the Armie through Syria. Of these two Python was the greater in reputation, yet faire too weak to sustaine so important a charge. For Eurydice, wife to King Arideus, was come to her husband, a Ladie of a masculine spirit, well vnderstanding what shee was or should be, and thinking her selfe able to support the waight which Fortune had laied vpon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother Cyna, sister to Alexander by her father King Philip, was married (as hath bene shewed) to Amyntas, who was right Heire to the Kingdome of Macedon, being the only sonne of King Perdiccas, Philips elder brother.

This Cyna was a warlike woman; shee had led Armies, and (as a true sister of Alexander) fighting hand to hand with Ceria Queene of the Phrygians, a Virago like vnto her selfe, had slain her. Shee brought vp this Eurydice in the same vnwomanly art of warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of Python, that could not brooke her curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were so that Python had some purpose to aduance the sonne of Alexander by Roxane, to the Kingdome; (as once he had sought to doe) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent, or whether only desire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell shee did, which disturbed the proceeding against Eumenes. The Armie hauing shaken off such a ranke-rider as Perdiccas, would not afterward be reined with a twined thread. Python bearing himselfe vpon his office took vpon him to giue directions in the kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controul, vsing the same name, with more authoritie, and better liking of the Souldiers. Python, seeing this, would needes resigne his office, whether vpon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queene into enuie, it is vncertaine. Perhaps he thought, that now being the faire worthiest man in the Campe, he should be intreated to retaine the place, and haue his authoritie confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successor. Eurydice was nothing forrie at this course; for now shee thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne will, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and Python, of their contrarie expectations: choosing Antipater, the only powerfull man of Alexanders Captaines, then liuing, into the roome of Python. Hereat the Queene fretted exceedingly, and beganne to deale earnestly with the Macedonians, that they should acknowledge no Lord save only the King their Soueraigne. Yet shee failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may seme) by three things: the apparent weaknesse of her husband: the growth of Alexanders children, who (though borne of outlandish women) were bred in the Macedonian campe; and the mightinesse of Antipater, who commanding a great Armie neare at hand arrived in few daies at the campe, and enforced Eurydice to hold her selfe content. Antipater was of such power that hee needed not to worke by any clofe deuises, as Perdiccas had done; he had no concurrents; all the Gouvernours of Provinces that remained aliuie acknowledged him their better; yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their rooms. This done, he tooke the King, Queene, and Princes along

along with him into Macedonia, leauing Antigonus Generall of the Royall Armie: to whom for his good seruices done, and to be done against Eumenes, hee gaue the rule of Syria, besides his former Prouinces, and committed into his hands the government of Asia during that warre.

## p. XI.

ANTIGONVS Lieutenant of Asia, winnes a battaile of EUMENES, and beseegeth him in Tora: He vanquisheth other followers of PERDICCAS.

**E**RE begins the greatnesse of Antigonus, whose power in few yeares ouergrowing the rest wanted little of spreading it selfe ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee was to make warre vpon Eumenes, Aleuas the brother, and Attalus the brother in-law to Perdiccas: worke enough to keepe his Armie employed in the publike seruice, till such time as hee might find occasion to make vse of it in his owne buisnesse. The first of these which he undertooke was Eumenes, with whom Aleuas and Attalus refused to ioyne, hauing vnreasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chiefe place. Eumenes had an Armie strong in number, courage, and all needfull prouisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore Antigonus tried all wayes of corrupting his Souldiers, tempting first the whole Armie with letters: which practise failing by the cunning of Eumenes (who made thew as if hee himselfe had kattered abroad those letters to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as hee thought most easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any helpe was neere him, yet looking so carelesly to himselfe, that he and his were surpris'd, when he thought his enemies farre off. Another follower of Eumenes (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in companie with Antigonus) kept his treacherie secret, reseruing it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treason which this false man Apollonides had undertaken, Antigonus presented battaile to Eumenes; in the heate whereof Apollonides, Generall of the horse to Eumenes, fled ouer to the contrarie side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose companie he desired not. Eumenes, perceiving the irrecoverable mischiefe which this traitorous practise brought vpon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himselfe into the troups of Antigonus, and boast of his treacherie. This was some comfort to Eumenes in the losse of that battaile, which disabled him vtterly to keepe the field, and left it very hard for him to make a safe retreat. Yet one thing he did which much assisted his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused Antigonus himselfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victorie to get possession of the dead bodies. Eumenes, whilst Antigonus held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compasse returned to the place where the battaile had been fought; there he burned (according to the maner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and allies of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart, raising vp heapes of earth as Mountaines ouer them, and so went his way. As this bold aduerture bred in the Macedonians, (returned to their campe) great admiration of his braue spirit: so the newes which Alexander (who was set to looke vnto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to loue him as their honourable friend. He had found Menander in an open Plaine, carelesse, as after an assured victorie, and loaden with the spoiles of many Nations, the rewards of their long seruices; all which he might haue taken: but fearing least such a purchase should proue a heauie burthen to him, whose chiefe hope consisted in swift expedition, he gaue secret warning to Alexander to flie to the mountaines, whil实现 he detained his men (whom authoritie could not haue restrained) by this sleight, setting them to baite their horses. The Macedonians extolled him for this courtesie, as a

Vnuu noble

noble Gentleman, that had forborne when it lay in his power to strippie them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaues, and to rauish their wiues: but *Antigonius* told them, that he had not forborne to do this out of any good wil to them; but out of meere subtiltie had auoided those precious letters, which would haue hindered his speedie flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not onely thinke all carriages to be ouer-burdenfome; but the number of his men to be more troublefome than auaileable in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him, as fast as he could, wilthing them to shift for themselves; and retaining onely hue hundred horse, and two hundred foote. When hee had wearied *Antigonius* awhile in following him vp and downe, he came to *Nora*: where againe, keeping no more about him, than necessitie required to make good the place, he louingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little Fortresse in the borders of *Lycanis* & *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualed and stored with all necessities, that it might hold out for many yeares. Thither did *Antigonius* followe him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in warre. To this purpose he entertained parlee with him, but in vaine. For whereas *Antigonius* offered him pardon, and his loue; *Eumenes* required restitution of his Prouinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* consent. Then was *Nora* closed vps where *Antigonius* leauing sufficient strength for continuance of the siege,ooke his iourne into *Pisidia* against *Alextas* and *Attalus*, with whom hee made short worke. He came vpon them vnexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Capitaine as *Eumenes*, to haue defended them. *Alextas* and *Attalus*, as they had bene too secure before his coming, so were they too aduenturous in fighting at the first sight, vpon all disadvantages; and their folly was attended with futable euent. *Attalus* with many principall Capitaines was taken, *Alextas* fled to the Citie of *Termessus*, where the loue of the yonger fort was toward him so vehement, that stopping their cares against all perswasions of the ancient men, they needes would hazzard their liues and their Countie in his defence. Yet this auailed him nothing. For the Gouvernours of the Towne, hauing secretly compounded with *Antigonius*, caused the yong men to fall out; and vning the time of aduantage, they with their seruants did set vpon *Alextas*, who vnable to resist slew himselfe. His dead body was conuied to *Antigonius*, and by him barbarously torne was call forth without buriall. When *Antigonius* was gone the yong men interred the carcase with solemne funerals, hauing once bene minded to set on fire their owne towne; in reuenge of his death. Such fauour had hee purchased with courteous liberalitie: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, how great soeuer, is insufficient.

## §. XII.

PTOLOIEMENNES Syria and Phœnicia. The death of ANTIPATER.

Whilest these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enioy their Governments for the present, than to confirme or enlarge them. Onely *Ptolome* looking abroad, wanted all Syria and Phœnicia: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the manning. He sent a Lieutenant thither with an Armie, who quickly tooke *Laomedon* prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seeme) without any great strength of Souldiers, farr from assistants, and vainly relying vpon the authoritie which had giuen him that Prouince, and was now occupied with greater cares than with seeking to maintaine him in his Office.

*Antipater* was old and sickely, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonius* pursue the dispatch of those busineses in Asia. Hee had with him *Polyperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexanders* Capitaines, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had stirred in

quarrell of *Perdiccas*, preuailling farr at the first, but soone loosing all that they had gained, whilest *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* expedition. In this *Polyperchon*, *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so farr fourth, that (suspecting the youth of his owne Sonne *Cassander* of insufficiencie in so great a charge) hee bequeathed vnto him on his death-bed the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his Office of Protectorship. So *Antipater* died, being foure-score yeares old, hauing alwayes traualled in the great affaires of mightie Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatnesse was ialous of him, and the successours of *Alexander* did either quietly giue place vnto him, or were vnfortunate in making oppositions. In his priuate qualities he was a subtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philosophicall behauiour, not vnlearned, as hauing bene Scholler to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. He had bene much moued by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother, whom after the death of her Sonne hee compelled to abstaine from comming into *Macedonia*, or entremedling in matters of estate: yea, at his owne death he gaue especial direction, that no woman should be permitted to deale in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soone forgotten; and yet, ere long, by sorrowfull experience approued to haue bene found and good.

## §. XIII.

OF POLYSPERCHON who succeeded vnto ANTIPATER in the Protectorship. The insurrection of CASSANDER against him.

**P**OLYSPERCHON was very skillfull in the art of warre, hauing long time bene Apprentice in that occupation; for other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as he vnder-went, either Nature had not giuen to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his businesse more formally, then wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than command in chiefe. At the first entrance vpon the stage hee called to counsaile all his friends, wherein, for waightie considerations (as they who weighed not the contrarie reasons held them) the Queene *Olympias* was reuoked out of *Epirus* into *Macedon*; that the presence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the Gouvernours of Prouinces abroad should keepe greater Armies, than were needfull or easie to be retained about the person of the King in *Macedonia*; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Count should be filled with all maiestie, that might giue authoritie to the Iniunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the bounds of ductie such as could not by force haue bene kept in order, being strong, and lying too farr off.

Such care was taken for preuention of imaginarie dangers and out of sight, whilest present mischiefs late vnregarded in their bosomes. *Cassander* the Sonne of *Antipater*, was not able to discouer that great sufficiencie in *Polyperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could hee discern such odds in the qualitie of himselfe and *Polyperchon*, as was in their fortune. Hee was lesse Capitaine of one thousand, which Office by practise of those times was of more importance, than the title now seemes to implice. He should thereby haue bene as Campe-master, or Lieutenant generall to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himselfe the better man. Therefore hee began to examine his owne power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relied on his Father were his owne assured, especially such as commanded the Garisons bestowed in the principall Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principall authoritie, in those Common-weales, whose formes had bene corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and drawe in many partakers: it concerned these men in their owne particular

to adhere vnto the Captains by whom their faction was vp-held; and by whom the rascall multitude, couetous of regaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised ouer the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helpes, *Cassander* had the secret loue of *Queene Eurydice*, who had in priuate rendered him such courtie, as was due only to her husband. But neither the *Queenes* fauour, nor all his other possibilities, gaue him confidence to breake out into open rebellion; because hee saw *Polyperchon* much reuenced among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppress him before he could haue made head. Therefore he made them of following his pleasures in the countrey, and calling many of his friends about him, vnder pretence of hunting, aduised with them vpon the safest course, and most free from all suspition. The necessitie  
 10 was apparant of raising an Armie, before the businesse were set on foot; and to doe this, opportunitie presented him with faire meanes. *Ptoleme* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed *Syria* to his gouernement of *Egypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* vpon the first newes of *Antipaters* death, beganne to lay hold vpon all that he could get, in such sort that hee manifestly discouered his intent of making himselfe Lord of all *Asia*. These two therefore stood in neede of a ciuill Warre; which  
 20 *Cassander* well noted, and presumed withall, That the friendship which had passed betwene his Father and them, would auail him somewhat. Wherevpon hee secretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conuened himselfe on a sodaine ouer the *Hellespont*, that he might in person aduance the businesse with greater speede. Much persuasion is neede in winning a man to what he desireth. *Antigonus* coueted nothing more, than to finde *Polyperchon* worke by raising some commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly presse him, by the memorie of his Father, and all requisite con-  
 30 jurations, to assit him in this enterprise; telling him that *Ptoleme* was readie to declare for them, and vrgeing him to a speedie dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side repaid him with the same coine; saying, That for his owne sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearely loued, hee would not faile to giue him all manner of succour. Hauing thus scuffled one another with words, they were nothing slack in preparing the common meanes leading to their fueral ends.

## §. XIII.

The vnworthie courses held by POLYSPERCHON, for the keeping  
 downe of CASSANDER.

**G**reat necessitie there was of timely prouision. For *Polyperchon* needed no other instructions to informe him of *Cassanders* drift, than the newes of his departure. He was not ignorant of the readie disposition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptoleme*, to the strengthening of rebellion; and well hee knew that one principall hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Greecian* Estate. Therefore (loosing to work circumspectly) he called an other Councell, wherein it was concluded, That the Popular forme of gouernment should be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates and principall Men, into whose  
 40 handes *Antipater* had committed the supreme authoritie, should forthwith bee either slaine or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassanders* friends, and to raise vp many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an vnthankefull nature in *Polyperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the Sonne went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose only boundie had inabled him to doe it? or what could bee said in their defence, who sought to destroy  
 many

many worthe men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greekes* were held restrained from stirring against the *Macedonians*; and in opposition to their priuate Enemie, gaue the rule of things to bale Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire: But as in mans bodie, through finewes newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next Neighbour, than by any displeasure in the contrarie hand: so in bodies politique, the humours of men, subdiuided in faction, are more iraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curbe them in their nearest purposes, than they are exasperated by the generall opposition of such as are diuided from them in the maine trunk. Hereby it comes to passe, that contrarie religions are inuited to helpe against Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawne in; to take part in ciuill warres; and ancient hatred called to counsaile against inuious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; since hath taught the art to offer it selfe vnto manifest losse in defence of the head: they are deprauid  
 10 actions, which render men sensible of their owne particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greekes* were presented with a vaine shew of libertie, ranne vnder the Kings name; but so, as one might easily discern, that *Polyperchon* had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they should follow such directions, as *Polyperchon* gaue, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it  
 20 contained such a deale of kindnesse, as proceeding on a sodaine from those who had kept them in hard subiection, might well appeare to haue come from other root than the pretended good will; and was of it selfe too bale and vnfit for a King to vse toward his conquered Subjects, and often-subdued Rebels:

## §. XV.

Of the great commotions raised in Athens by POLYSPERCHONS decree,  
 The death of PHOCION.

**N**euerthelessse the *Athenians* with immoderate joy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, and sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captaine of the Garrison, which kept one of their Hauens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Towne, would needes take longer time of deliberation, than was  
 30 pleasing to their hasty desires. *Nicanor*, as a trustie follower of *Cassander*, was by him thrust into the place, and *Menelaeus* (that was Captaine there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His comming to Athens was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who soone after hearing the newes of *Antipaters* death, cried out vpon *Phocion*, saying, That he  
 40 had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might by aduertising them in due time haue put into their hands a faire opportunitie of thrusting out the *Macedonians*. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Farre more grieuouly would they haue bene offended, had they knowne the instructions, which *Cassander* had giuen to *Nicanor*, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not only retain *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrarie notwithstanding; but that hee should finde meanes to thrust some Companies into *Praxus*, and fortifie that also, which was the principall Hauen, against the high Towne. How to accomplish this he rather wanted some reasonable  
 50 pretence, than good abilitie. But the *Athenians* were not long in giuing him sufficient cause to doe that, which he would haue done without any cause giuen. They desired him to come vnto their Councell, assembled in the *Praxus*, there to consider of the Kings Proclamation; whither vpon *Phocians* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the warre which was readie to breake forth. Contrariwise they vrged him first of all, to make them Masters of  
 Vuuu 3  
 their

their owne, which how to vse they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to confelend vnto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did alwaies measure iustice by profit, yet seldom thrived by that course) practised with *Dercyllus*, a Captaine to loving *Polyperchon*, and then lying neare at hand, that he should enter into the Towne, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion* who then governed in *Athens*, a man very vnlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politike dishonestie, did quietly suffer him to depart and leave himselfe.

*Nicanor* hereupon beganne to devise vpon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the project of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his owne iust revenge. He leaued as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Piræus*, tooke it, and intrenched himselfe therein: to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one *Hauen*, saw him now Master of both. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Polyperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recouering all, and addressed themselves vnto him; who made faire shewes, intending meere mischief, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vaine Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queene. *Olympias* taking vpon her to command, before shee durst well adventure to returne into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the *Athenians* the places which hee held: but hee would first consider more of the matter. *Polyperchon* had further ordained, that the Isle of *Samos* should berendred vnto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeede) so farre from purposing to let them haue *Samos* that as yet he did not thoroughly intend to let them haue themselves. The commoditie of their Hauens was such, as he would rather get into his owne handes, than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassanders*. His sonne *Alexander* not ignorant of this, made faire shew to the *Athenians*, and spent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to entermeddle with the buisnesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceived against him they powred out vpon *Phocion* depriving him of his Office. This was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers, thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who distracted with sundrie passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought euerie one that best could imagine against thinges past, a most likely man to finde some remedie for the euill threatening them. In this hurle burlie was *Alexander* deuiling how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, and held much priue conference with him; which he could not so secretly carrie, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the vp-rore in the Towne was so farre increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends were accused, and driven to seeke sauaguard of their liues by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gaue them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

*Polyperchon* was in the Countrie of *Phocis*, readie to enter with an Armie into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his Companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their owne deserts, (hauing alwaies bene friends to the *Macedonians*, as farre as the good of their Countrie gaue leaue) should be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polyperchon*'s familiar friend, went along with them, (in an euill houre) who promised to himselfe and them great fauour by means of his acquaintance. But *Polyperchon* was an vnstable man, very earnest in what he tooke in hand, yet, either for want of iudgement in following them, or of honestie in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing thinges by the halues, which made him commonly faile of good success. For feare of *Cassander*, he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the *Athenians*; this had caused them to loue him: out of their loue hee gathered hope of deceiuing them, which made him to change his minde, and seeke how

how to get into his owne handes thole keyes, with which *Cassander* held them fast lockt vp; finding himselfe disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, hee stood waivering betweene the contrarie allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the *Athenians* perforce at his deuotion, would indeede haue done well: but the effecting of this beganne to grow desperate; and many Townes of importance in *Greece* beganne to call their eies vpon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wisest way to redeme their good opinion, by giuing all contentment vnto the popular fiction, which then was growne to be Matter of that Citie. And in good time for this purpose were the *Athenians* 10 Embassadors come, treading (as one may say) vpon *Phocion*'s heeles, whom they were sent to accuse. These had solenne audience giuen to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was glorified with all exteriour shewes of majestie; yet all too little to change *Aridæus* into *Alexander*: for hee did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as hee saw others doe. For beginning of the buisnesse *Polyperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should be tortured and flaine: This was enough to testifie his heartie affection to the Commonwealth of *Athens*, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whose Embassadors he then bad to speake. When their errand was done, and answer to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the rest 20 were pronounced guiltie of treason; but to giue sentence, and doe the execution vpon them, was (for Honours sake) referred vnto the Citie of *Athens*, because they were Burgeses. Then were they sent away to *Athens*, where the rascall multitude, not suffering them to speake for themselves, condemned them to die. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion*, a man in very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to be of the lesse regard. Fieue and fortie times had hee bene chosen Gouvernour of the Citie, neuer suing for the place, but sent for when he was absent: so well was his integritie knowne, and so highly valued: euen of such as were no pretenders to the same vertue. Hee was a good Commander in Warre, wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, 30 and neuer vnfortunate. Neuer did the Citie repent of hauing followed his counsaile: nor any priuate man of hauing trusted his word. *Philop* of *Macedon* highly esteemed him; so, and much more did *Alexander*, who (besides other signes of his loue) sent him two hundred talents of silver, and offered to bestow vpon him of four Cities in *Asia* any one which hee would chioose. But *Phocion* refused these & other gifts, how soeuer importunately thrust vpon him; resting well contented with his honest pouertie: wherein he liued about fourescore yeares, and then was compelled by the vnjust iudgement of wicked men to drinke that poison, which by iust iudgement of the righteous God, so infected the Citie of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it neuer brought forth any wortheie man resembling the vertue of their 40 Ancients.

## §. XVI.

OF POLYSPERCHON his ruine expedition against  
CASSANDER.

10 Ot long after these thinges were done, *Cassander* with such forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which newes drew *Polyperchon* head-long into *Attica*, with a great Armie, but so ill victualled, that he was faine to depart without any thing done. Only hee had giuen some impediment to the enemy; who not contented with defending what he held beganne to looke out, and make new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himselfe vnable to driue *Cassander* out of *Athens*, hee left his sonne *Alexander*, with such number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of victuals,

to withstand his further incroaching. The greatest part of his Armie he carried in to *Peloponnesus*, to make the Countrey sure to himselfe, wherein *Cassander* had many Friends.

His doings in *Peloponnesus* were such, as they had beene in other parts of *Greece*. First, he beganne to fight with *Edicts*, retorning the *Democritie*, or Popular forme of gouernement. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by *Antipater* beene made Rulers, should be either slaine, or driuen into exile. This decreetooke immediate effect in most places: the vulgar sort being very ready to scale the Charter of their freedom and authoritie, with the blood of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which would well to *Cassander*, especially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyperchon* meant to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fittene thousand seruicable men, well furnished of necessaries, and resolu'd to endure the worst. And neede there was of such resolution. For *Polyperchon* comming thither with all his power did so much, that he ouerthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall betwene them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came vpon to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised vpon an inner wall, to beare out the next assault. The Assaultants hauing failed to carrie the Towne at the first attempt, tooke much paine to cleare the ground, and make faire way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to ouerthrow all that came in their way. But the townsmen perceiving their drift prepared boards driuen through with long nailes, which they vsed as gall-thrups, bellowing them slightly, couered with the points vpwards, in the way by which the beasts were to passe. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beat vpon their sides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Warres. Of these prouitions they made happie vse in the next assault. For by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemie chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driuen back vpon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled vnder feet. *Polyperchon* came as ill furnished for long abode to *Megalopolis*, as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such kisnes as was requisite, hee forooke the siege, with some losse, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his Armie to lie before the Towne for his credit.

After this he sent *Clitus*, his Admirall, to Sea, to ioyne with *Artemus*; that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemie out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole Fleet vnder *Nisæus*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where hee fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the ouerthrow gathered together the ships that were escaped, and manning them very well sent out *Nisæus* againe, assuring him of the victorie, as well he might. For hee sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom hee had caused to bee waited out the Straights in small Vessells by night; these before day-light setting vpon *Clitus*, draue his men, that lay securely on the Land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nisæus* arriving did assaile them so lustily, that few or none escaped him.

This losse at Sea, together with his bad successe by Land, brought *Polyperchon* into great contempt. He had a good facilitie in penning bloudey decrees; but when the execution was referred to his owne sword, he could finde the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiving that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to giue them protection against the enemie which lay in their bosomes, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a Gouernour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the partie of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted vnto him; as to an industrious man,

man, and likely to preuaile in the end. Thus was the whole Countrey set in a combustion, vntill it to be quashed; which presented vnto *Antigonus* an opportunity, that he neglected not, of making himselfe Lord of *Asia*.

## §. XVII.

ANTIGONVS seeks to make himselfe an absolute Lord: and thereupon treaties with EUMENES, who disappoints him. Phrygia and Lycaonia wonne by ANTIGONVS.



ANTIGONVS had in *Antipaters* life time a firme resolution, to make vnto himselfe the utmost benefit that hee might of the Armie committed to his charge. And in faire season for aduancement of his purposes came the newes of *Antipaters* death; euen then, when all the buisines in *Pisidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Armie remaining, saue onely the continuance of the siege of *Nora*; a small thing of it selfe, but as hard a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the present estate was manifestly liable, would in continuance of some yeares (which hee might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that space could worke against him. His most care was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men and horses might grow sickly and vnsuicible: which made him to practise many deuises of keeping them in health and lustie. But when he had continued shut vp in this manner about a yeare, his hopes came to good passe, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himselfe, whose forces held him besieged.

*Antigonus*, knowing the great insufficiency of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelitie shewed vnto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to employ in manning those high designs, wherein hee doubted not that hee should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. Hee sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a greater Lord than euer hee had beene, and the next man to himselfe, if things fell out as hee desired: in regard whereof hee required onely his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, hee might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora*, and enioy his perfect libertie. *Eumenes* perusing the forme of the oath perceived the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keep as the *Decorum*, than vpon any loyall intent; the binding words and summe of all that theret were such, as tied him fast onely to *Antigonus*, omitting all reuerence of dutie to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it vncomely to become a sworn man to him, with whom hee had fought for the mairtie, and being assured that his voluntarie assistance, which way soeuer hee gaue, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore breake off the negotiation, and waite for some better occasion of enlargement which might perhaps be long in coming: but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, hee prepared to giue vp his Holde and depart. As for the oath it selfe, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemne enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in re-affirming their Allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked his wordes, and gaue him leave to put in *Olympia*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himselfe to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so he departed.

*Antigonus* had taken vpon him, as soone as hee came downe to the Sea-side, to remoue

remove some of the Gouvernours of Provinces, behaving himselfe according to the authoritie which hee had received of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of warre. Neither did hee want sufficient pretence whereby to iustifie his proceedings. For if *Polyperchon* might lawfully hold the *Protectorship*, which the old man doing on his death-bed bequeathed vnto him, as a legacie, without consent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not hee himselfe as well retaine the *Leutenantship* of *Asia*, that was granted vnto him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordaine what should seeme convenient whilst hee liued, nor to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To give a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, he had three score thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirrie Elephants in a readinesse to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Arideus* Gouvernour of *Phrygia*, who fortified the Townes of his owne Province, and sought to haue wonne *Cyzicus*, a faire Haven Towne, and seated very conveniently for him, but was faine to goe away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* tooke occasion to command him out of the Countrie. *Arideus* was so farre from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieue *Eumenes*. Neuerthelesse finding that he was vnable of himselfe to make long resistance, he tooke such companies as hee could draw along with him, and so passed ouer into *Europe*, to complaine at the Court. The like fortune had *Citus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and sought the like remedie of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good wordes) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already bene declared.

§. XVIII.

ANTIGONVS pursues EUMENES, EUMENES hauing authoritie from the Court raiseth great warre against ANTIGONVS in defence of the Roiall house.

**A**NTIGONVS hauing thus gotten into his hands all, or most of *Asia* thelesse, was able to haue entred *Macedon*, and seized vpon the Court; which that he forbore to doe, it proceeded (as may seeme) for some of these reasons. It would haue bred as much ialousie in *Cassander*, as feare in *Polyperchon*, which might haue brought them to tearmes of reconciliation; It would aske more time then hee could spare; and the enuie which followed the *Protectorship* was such, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to shunne, then to pursue. Besides all this, it was 40 manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war vpon him in defence of the Roiall house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well affected. Against him therefore hee bent his course, and with an Armie of twentie thousand foote, and foure thousand Horse, made great hast toward *Cilicia*, hoping to suppress him before hee should bee able to make head.

*Eumenes* was one of those few that continued faithfull to their deade master, which being well knowne in the Court, hee had commission sent vnto him from thence to raise an Armie, and make warre vpon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as hee should neede. Other letters also there were directed to all the Gouvernours of Provinces, requiring them to giue assistance to *Eumenes*, and bee ordered by his direction: especially to the Captaines of the olde Souldiers, called the *Argyrsides*, or silver sheelded bands, commaundement was giuen to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and five hundred

hundred horse, before this authoritie was giuen him: but now he purposed with all the strength which hee could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Roiall blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring helpe to her and her Nephew the sonne of *Alexander*; and in the meane time to giue her his aduice, in that which *Polyperchon* required of her: for shee was desirous to returne into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counselled her to remaine in *epirus*, till such time as he could bring the warre to a good issue; which done, hee promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seed of *Alexander*.

10 Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire scarce any one could bee found among the Noble-men, in whom *Alexanders* mother, wiues, and children, might repose firme confidence, sauing onely this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* blood, borne at *Cardis*, a Citie of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made it; his followers obeyed at their owne discretion; and compelled hee was to trauaile as farre as *Persea*, to gather together an Armie sufficient, to resist the enemies that pursued his heels.

§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. OLYMPIAS takes ARIDEVS and EURYDICE, whom shee cruelly puts to death.

**N**OW, so far as much as in this present warre all the Rulers of the Provinces did intermeddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it selfe, which brought a new face vnto the State, by the extirpation of the roiall house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it conuenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the warre it selfe, to shew briefly how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawne into those courses, which ouerthrew most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatnesse of a few: as likewise to what extremitie the faction brake out in *Macedon* it selfe, about the maine controuersie of title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or should haue bene depending.

*Arideus* the King, being simple and fearefull, did onely what hee was bidden.

*Polyperchon*, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdome, and become Gouvernour to a King 40 of his owne making.

*Eurydice* the Queene discouering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing lesse than to let her husband serue as a Stale, keeping the throne warme, till another were growne old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

*Cassander* held fresh in mind, the danger wherein his family had bene through *Alexanders* malice, together with the indignitie offered to himselfe by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall, for deriding one, that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure herof, and the pleasure which hee tooke in the amorous Queene, made him resolute, both to suppress the linage which hee hated, 50 and to maintaine his beloued mistress, either by supporting her weake husband, or by taking her to be his owne wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned ouer all, so as they might reigne in their severall Countreies, and establish their authoritie in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among

Among these, *Protonie* and *Antigonis* were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

*Philo* and *Selenus* lying farre off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach vpon their neighbours. Against these, *Peneestes* and some others with much ado hardly made resistance, vntill such time as *Enmenes* came to them; who propounded to himselfe great matters which he liued not to accomplish.

*Olympias* the old Queene (as it is common with stepdames) had the children of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that shee had giuen payson to *Aridous*, which failing to take away his life had much impaired both his bodie and wittes. Now the considering, that *Enmenes* was too full of businesse to come home, so soone as the wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily preuailed in Greece, thought it the best way to ioyne with *Polyperchon*, and set vp, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the sonne of *Roxane*, remouing *Aridous* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent the procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and so tooke her way towards *Polyperchon*, who ioyning with her entred into *Macedon*.

*Eurydice* hearing these newes wrote verie earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other businesse, and come to succour her. Shee herselfe by entreatie, gifts and promises, drew to her partie as many of the *Macedonians* as shee could, vntill shee thought her owne side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polyperchon*.

These two Queenes met armed, as if the matter should have been determined by their owne hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the reuolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soone as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and sonne, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding herselfe thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted and made prisoner with her husband.

*Olympias* hauing obtained this victorie without bloud, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and that vpon the same considerations for which they had refused to beare Armes against her, the *Macedonians* would not stick to maintaine her, whatsoeuer her proceedings were. Hauing therefore shut vp *Aridous* and his wife in a close room, where they could scarce turne round, shee fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head, (for feare lest the people should haue commiseration of him, that had reigned almost fixe years and a halfe) to put them to death. So she deliuered *Aridous* to some barbarous *Thracians*, who tooke away his life by cruel torments: to *Eurydice* shee sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of payson, willing her to choose the instrument of her owne death, who praying that shee like presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yielded her necke to the halter, hauing spent her last curies not in vaine. *Nicanor* the brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chief of his friends, did *Olympias* then choole out, all whom shee commanded to be slaine. His brother *Solus* that was already dead and buried, shee accused of payson giuen to *Alexander*; and thereupon caused his Tombe to be throwne downe, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this fure, began to condemne themselves, and the folly of *Polyperchon*, who had quite contrarie to *Antipaters* charge giuen on his death bed, called this outrageous woman to the gouernment of the Empire.

¶ XX. 59

¶ XX.

How CASSANDER was reuenged vpon OLYMPIAS.

† I.

The great expedition of CASSANDER. OLYMPIAS shuts her selfe in to Pydna, where CASSANDER besiegeth her. ACACIDES King of Epirus, coming to succour OLYMPIAS, is forsaken, and banished by his owne Subjects.



CASSANDER at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponnesus*; whither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he neuer failed to take the Citie, nor to giue order for the State of things in that Countie, (though *Alexander* the sonne of *Polyperchon* were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, hee willed his associates to looke to themselves as well as they could, till his returne, and so in all haste heooke his iourne toward *Macedon*, carried heading with the greedy desire of iust reuenge. The *Atolians* had taken the Straights of *Thermopylae*, in fauour of the Queene and *Polyperchon*, to hinder his passage, but he, not willing to mispend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as he could, great and small, with which hee transported his Armie into *Thesalie*. There hee diuided his companies, appointing some vnder *Callias*, a subtle Captaine, to hold *Polyperchon* buied, who then lay incamped neare to *Perbabis*; with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. Shee, hauing once preuailed by the respect giuen to her dignitie, tooke more care now to appeare Maiesticall, than to make herselfe strong. To this end shee made a solemne progresse to *Pydna*, a Sea-towne, and well fenced, hauing in her companie all the flowre of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her yong sonne *Alexander*, heire to the great *Alexander*, by his grandmothers designation: who, during his minority, kept the Soueraigne power in her owne hands. But all this pompe serued to little vse, against the violence of the enemy, that soone presented himselfe before the wals, onely it fed the besieged with a vaine hope of succour, that would from all partes arrive, to rescue persons of their qualitie. And hereof there soone appeared faile likelihood, which as soone vanished, and went away in smoke.

For *Acacides* King of *Epirus*, made great haste to bring succour to *Olympias*, his cousin, with whom *Deodamia* his daughter was also shut vp. Neuertheless, his Subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certain passages taken in the way by *Cassanders* men, they called vpon him to retire, and quit the enterprise. The Kings importunitie vrging them to proceed and the obtinate refusal of the Armie, brake out at length into such termes, that when hee had raged in vaine against the multitude, his authoritie, with which he thought to haue preuailed vpon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his Kingdome, and to wander vp and downe in forraine Countries, a banished man; his people ioyning with the enemy, against whom he had led them forth to warre.

*Pydna* in the meane time was closed vp straightly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could issue out of the Citie, nor any reliefe be conuied into it; but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorabie seruice being done there; whilst great actions were manag'd abroad.

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† II.

## †. II.

A continuation of OLYMPIAS her storie. POLYSPERCHON  
defeated. Extreme famine in Pydna. OLYMPIAS  
yields to CASSANDER.

NOW, though order of time require it, that wee should rehearse the doings of  
*Eumenes* and *Antigonus* in this place, leauing *Olympias* yet a while to the hower  
of her destinie, which growes the faster vpon her, because shee may discern it com-  
ming; yet that we may not bee compelled to interrupt the course of our narration,  
by inserting her Tragedie in the midst of things, not manifestly coherent with it, we  
will heere (as elswhere wee haue done and elswhere must) continue to an end one  
Historie, that we may not bee therewith distracted, when wee shall come to the rela-  
tion of another. All the hope of the beleiged, remaining in *Polyperchon*, was in like  
manner disappointed, as their former trust had bene, which was reposed in the suc-  
cours of the *Egypt*. For *Cadmus*, who was sent against him, found the meanes to con-  
spire the greatest part of his Armie with monie, leauing him within a little while so  
slenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other bulwark of warre, than a swift  
retrait. When famine had so farre preuailed in the Citie, that the horses were kil-  
led as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carcasses of their fellowes,  
and sawdust being giuen to the Elephants for prouender; some of the souldiers obtain-  
ing the Queenes leaue; (who could not denie it) others, without asking leaue, yee-  
ded themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieued, and sent abroad into  
the Countrie. The newes of the Queenes affaires, disperfed by these men, did so  
afright her well-willers, that such as had reserved themselves to the euent, came in a  
pace and submitted them to *Cassander*. At length, when the mortality was so great in  
the Towne, that the liuing were euen poysoned with the noy some sent of the dead;  
*Olympias* bathought her selfe of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that shee had;  
wherein her successe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Towne,  
by her chosen as a place of refuge, to bee vnto her as a house of torment, and a lake  
out of which shee should not bee deliuered, but vnto an euill death. Being there-  
fore utterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, un-  
accustomed to so wretched a kinde of life, shee offered composition; and with much  
labour hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who hauing fetcht her Gally out of the Hauen,  
accounted himselfe as good as master of her bodie) a graunt of her owne life. Im-  
mediately vpon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, was yee-  
ded to *Cassander*. *Amphipolis* did stand out: for *Aristonous*, to whom *Olympias* had gi-  
uen charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Countrie, taking courage from  
the successe of some pettie seruises wherein hee had preuailed, beganne to promise  
himselfe great vnlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to winne *Cassanders* fauour, very ear-  
nently required him vpon his faith to her, that he should giue it vp. Hee did so; and  
presently after was killed by his priuate enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who  
partly hated him vpon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seeke in-  
nouation.

## †. III.

The death of OLYMPIAS, and her Condition.

WHEN *Olympias* had now heard sorrowfull tidings of all her friends, shee her  
selfe was called into question, and accused in an assembly of the *Macedo-  
nians*, for the murders (they were so stiled in her affliction, which in time of prob-  
peritie shee called iustice) by her committed. There was shee, (being not heard  
nor called to speake) condemned to die. The suite was commenced and proce-  
deth.

ted against her, by the kindred of those whom shee had slaine. But it was at *Cassan-  
ders* mitigation; who (to haften the execution) sent her word that he would furnish  
her with a ship and other necessities, to saue herselfe by flight: which when she re-  
fused, saying that shee would plead for herselfe, and tell her owne tale; hee dissem-  
bled no longer, but sent vnto her such men as hated her most, who tooke away her  
miserable life. Shee was daughter and sister vnto two Kings of *Epirus*, wife and  
mother vnto two the mightiest Kings of that or many other ages, a stout Ladie, and  
of vnreproachable chastitie; but her ambition was boundlesse; her hatred vnappea-  
sable, and her furie in reuenge most vnwomanly. Her peruerse conditions made her  
husband seeke other wiues and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him, and  
them. Shee was thought priuie to her husbands death; after which, very cruelly she  
slew his late wife *Cleopatra*, hauing first murdered one of her two children in her  
armes, and with a beastly furie broiled the other aliuie in fire, in a copper bason. For  
these things, her sonne *Alexander* (otherwise louing her well) forbade her to meddle  
in the gouernment of *Macedon*. But God, more seuerer vnto cruell Tyrants, than on-  
ly to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to liue and fulfil the rest of her wicked-  
nesse; (which was his iustice vpon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done  
by him and others) after all which hee rewarded her malice by returning it vpon her  
owne head.

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## †. IIII.

CASSANDER celebrates the funeral of ARIDEVS and Eurydice;  
and seekes to make himselfe King of Macedon.

AFTER her death, *Cassander* gaue honourable buriall to *Arideus* and *Eurydice*, a-  
mong their Progenitours, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own  
possibilities of greatnesse, he married the Ladie *Theffalonica*, whom he had taken at  
*Pydna*, being the daughter of King *Philip* by an other of his wiues; that by her hee  
might haue some title to the Crowne. For the same end he committed *Roxane*, and  
her young sonne, to close prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment.  
And, the better to increase his fame, and purchase loue, hee built a Citie, called by  
his owne name *Cassandria*, that soone grew to be very great and powerfull. He re-  
edified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it vnto the old inhabitants, after it had  
laine twentie yeares wast, being vtterly razed by *Alexander*. By these meanes, espe-  
cially by the restauration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he  
grew so strong, that few remained enemies vnto him; and they, with much la-  
bour, hardly could resist him. Leauing him therefore daily preuailing  
in *Greece*, we will returne to them, who contended in *Asia*  
for lesse titles, but larger Prouinces, with  
greater forces.

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## CHAP. IIII.

Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONVS  
got in Asia.

## §. I.

The iourne of EVMENES into Persia. His wife dealing with  
those that rayned with him.



EVMENES, having ioyned vnto his companie the  
Argyrasides, made halt into the Easterne parts,  
to take possession of those Countries, according to his  
commission, and strengthen himselfe against Anti-  
gonus. He tooke his iourney through Calesyria and  
Phœnicia, hoping to reclaim those Provinces, vsur-  
ped with the rest of Syria (as hath beene shewed) by  
Ptolome, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this,  
his halt of his passing forward was too great, his  
Armie too little, and the readinesse of the people to  
returne to their due obedience, none at all. Besides

all which impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the lesse effectuell. The Captaines of the Argyrasides were so froward, that they scorned to repaire to him, and take his directions; and their hidetie was so vntheadie, that he might haue more easily dealt with open Traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authoritie by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe them in order by compulsion. Therefore hee fained, that Alexander had appointed vnto him in a dreame, a place for their meeting, namely in a rich pavilion, wherein an emptie throne was placed, as if Alexander himselfe had beene present at their consultations. Thus hee fired himselfe from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could haue no assurance. Yet when Ptolemie requested them, & Antigonus bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So hee marched on, sending before him the Kings warrant, which Pytho and Seleucus refused to obey, not as reiecting the Kings authoritie, but excepting against the person of Eumenes, as a man condemned to die by the Macedonian Armie, for the death of Craterus. Eumenes, knowing well that he was not to relie upon their assistance, who stood otherwise affected than his affaires required, and were not to bee dealt with by perswasion, sought passage by strong hand, through the Countie of Babylon, in such wise, that Seleucus, having in vaine assaid to hinder him, by opening the sluices of Euphrates, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be ridde of him. Thus he came to Peucestes and the rest of the Easterne Lords, who were glad of his companie, because of the differences betwene Pytho, Seleucus, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiortie, grew very hot among them; euery one finding matter enough, to feed his owne humour of selfe-worthinesse. But the former device of assembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion euery being sure to follow that which Eumenes propounded, who was both wisest in giuing aduice, and best able to reward, by means of the authoritie giuen him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these means hee wonne to himselfe many of those, who had most power to doe good or hurt.

## §. II.

## §. II.

How ANTIGONVS, comming to set vpon EVMENES, was  
diuised off with lesse.



ANTIGONVS, hearing that Eumenes lay in the Prouince of Susa, had an earnest desire to follow him, and drue him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soone as he had made himselfe strong enough, he remoued out of Mesopotamia, where hee had wintered; and taking to him Pytho and Seleucus, with their men, hee marched directly against the enemies, with intent to giue them battaile. Eumenes had fortified the Cattle of Susa, and was retired backe toward Persia, keeping the Riuer of Tigris betweene him and his pursuers. The passages of the Riuer were well garded, and good espiall kept vpon Antigonus, to obserue which way he tooke. Before he came to Tigris: it felte, he was to passe ouer Coprates, a great Riuer, and not foordable, which he sought to doe by small vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Armie had gotten ouer, when Eumenes, who kept a bridge vpon Tigris, came with a thousand horse, and foure thousand foote, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drave them headlong backe into Coprates, wherein most of them were drowned, verie few escaping with life, except foure thousand that yeeld themselves prisoners, in sight of Antigonus, that was not able to relieue them. This losse made Antigonus glad to fall off; and the heate of that Countie in the dog-daies, breeding diseases in his Armie, by which many perished, caused him to remove as farre as into Media. So he tooke Pytho with him; (leauing Seleucus to besedge the Castle of Susa) and seeking to goe the nearest way, passed through sauage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arriue in Media, with his troups that were quite heart-broken.

## §. III.

Of EVMENES his cunning. A battaile betwene him  
and ANTIGONVS.



AFTER his departure, Eumenes with his associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their businesse. Faine he would haue had them to enter vpon those Provinces, which Antigonus had left behind him; to which also the Captaines of the Argyrasides or Silver-shielders were verie inclinable, as desiring to draw nearer to Greece. But Peucestes, and the rest, whose Dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their owne particular Estates, and would needs march Eastward. These carried it; for the Armie was not strong enough to diuide it selfe into parts.

When they came into Persia, Peucestes, ruling there, feasted them royally, and fought by all means to win the Souldiers loue to himselfe. Eumenes, perceiving wherunto those doings tended, suffred him awhile to keepe good cheare, till the time of warre drew nere. Then did he faigne an Epistle, directed, as from Orontes, Governor of Armenia, to Peucestes himselfe: The purport whereof was, that Olympias had vanquished Cassander, and sent ouer a great Armie vnder Polyperchon, to ioine with Eumenes. These newes as they filled the Campe with vaine ioy, so they wrought in all mens mindes a great willingnesse to obey Eumenes, by whom was the likeliest apparence of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, hee being farre the most sufficient Commander, as they found soone after. For when Antigonus, comming out of Media, drew nere vnto them, Eumenes by some mischance was fallen sicke, and

faine to be carried in a litter, the Armie marched in verie bad array, and was likely to haue bene forced to take battaile in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Capitaines were amazed, was carried about the Armie in his litter, and vpon the sodaine did cast his men into so good forme, that *Antigonus*, perceiving him a farre off, could not reframe from giuing him delerued commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Capitaines, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiuing him, hee came to the triall of a battaile. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwile, hee was inferior in number both of horse and foot by a third part. The battaile was fought with variable success, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victorie was vncertaine. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lie farre from their carriages: by which meanes *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command ouer his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the signe of victorie, for he buried his owne, and gaue leaue to his enemies, crauing it, to doe the like. But a greater signe of victorie had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, and nor onely buried his men verie honourably, at great leisure, but held the Countrey round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (hauing tarried but one day) to beale away by night, and returne into *Media*, from whence he came.

## §. III.

Of diuerse stratagems practised by *ANTIGONVS*, and *EVMENES*, one against the other.

**T**HUS did the warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part hauing stout Souldiers, and skilfull Generals; but the side which had hitherto preuailed, being hindered by the equall authoritie of many, from pursuing all aduantages to the best. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker in men and reputation, so that to repaire himselfe hee could find no way safer, than to put all to aduenture. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered farre asunder, so that if he could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distress. Betweene him and them, the way was not long, being onely nine dayes journey, but very bad, through a rough drie wilderness, hardly passeable. Another way, fairer, and leading through a Countrey well peopled, but requiring twentie fiue dayes journey, hee forsooke, partly for the length, partly and chiefly, because hee would come vndiscouered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of Winter, he forbade vnto his men the vse of fire by night, because he would not haue them desired a farre off. This commendement had bene well obserued foure or fiue dayes, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bolde to cherish themselves, being neare to their wayes end. The light of these fires gaue notice of their coming; which being reported to *Penceles*, and other Capitaines, they were so astonished with the sodaine danger, that in all hast they betooke themselves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the newes, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leasurely, and willing them to abide, and draw vp their mentogether. They could scarce beleue him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as hee appointed, who failed not in making his word good. Hee tooke with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith hee occupied certaine toppes of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of *Antigonus*: there he chose a conuenient ground to incampe vpon, and made great store of fires in sundrie places, as if the whole Armie had bene present. This was a sorrowfull spectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himselfe preuented of his purpose; and began to feare least hee should be compelled

compelled to fight, whilst his men were tired with a long and painefull journey. Therefore he refused to turne aside, & take the way to such places, as might better serue to refresh his Armie. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how readie *Eumenes* would be vpon all aduantages. But after a while, considering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and thinke in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some inhabitants of that desert to be taken, and brought before him, of whom hee learned, that they had seene no other Armie than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to finde that hee had bene so deluded. Therefore hee went against these troupes with great furie, meaning to take sharpe vengeance on them, for hauing so deceiued him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not bee forced without much businesse, and long stay. All the Armie was come, saue onely *Eudamus*, Captaine of the Elephants, who, besides those beastes, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his companie. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply comming to his enemies, sent about two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and so to defend himselfe as well hee could; for his horsemen, overlaid with multitudes were quickly broken, and driuen to runne away vpon the spur. Neither knew they, who fate vpon the Elephants, which way to turne them; for on all sides they receiued woundes, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremitie there appeared braue troupes of horse and foot, that came vnspected to their rescue; and charging the assaillants vpon the backe, draue them to seeke their owne safetie by speedie flight. These were sent by *Eumenes*: who though hee knew not what his aduersarie meant to doe, yet hee knew very well what was fittest for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himselfe, prouided the remedie.

## §. V.

The conspiracie of *PEVCESTES* and others, against *EVMENES* his life.

**B**Y these meanes *Eumenes* wanne great honour, and was by the whole Armie acknowledged a most expert Generall, and well worthie of the chiefe command. But *Penceles*, and the other Capitaines, guiltie of their owne much insufficiencie, were so transported with enuie, that they could now no longer containe their vile thoughts, but held communication, as vpon a necessarie point, how they might finde meanes to murder him.

Surely, it is great iniustice to impute the mischiefe, contriued against wortheie men, to their owne proud carriage, or some other ill deserring: For, though it often happen, that small vices doe serue to counterpoise great vertues; (the sense of euill being more quicke and lasting, than of good) yet hee shall bewray a verie foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonie, will thinke it a part of wisdome, to find good reason of the euills, done to vertuous men, which often times haue no other cause than their vertue it selfe. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtelie, of a very sweet conuersation among his friends, and careful by all gentle meanes to winne their loue, that seemed to beare him any secret ill affection. It was his meere vertue that ouertrew him, which euen they that sought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that hee should not bee slaine, before the battaile were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safetie, to be gouerned by his directions. Of this reason,

son, he was quickly aduertised by *Endamius*, to whom hee had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he vsed to borrow monie when he needed not, to the end that they should be careful of his good, for feare of loosing their owne. Considering therefore, and discouering with himselfe of the villanie intended against him, hee made his last will, and burnt all his writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, hee reuolued many things in his minde; being doubtfull what course were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royall blood, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number, than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedonia* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seeke their helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with *Antigonius*, had bene against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may bee thought, that hee forbore, either to loose the battaile willingly, or to flee into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himselfe among his old friends. At length hee refused to doe his best against the common enemy, and afterwarde to looke to himselfe as well as he might.

## §. VI.

## The last battaile betwene ANTIGONIUS and EUMENES.

**T**He Souldiers, especially those old bandes of the siluer-shields, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victorie, but onely to bring them into the field, and set them in arraie, for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacritie was generally found in the common Souldiers faces, but the chiefe Commanders were so mischeiuously bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke vpon being beholding to him for the victorie. Yet hee ordered the battaile so well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly faile of getting the vpper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horseman from the side of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice to the followers of *Antigonius*, That their wickedness, in fighting against their owne fathers, would now bee punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vaine. For the *Siluer-shields* were men of threescore or seauentie yeares olde, strengthened more by continuall exercise, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as hauing passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore *Antigonius* his men (who had often bene beaten by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these resolute warriors, the most Auncient and best regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew verie peniue, and aduanced heauily, suspesing their owne cause, and fearing that the threatnings vttered would proue true.

*Antigonius* was now againe farre the stronger in horse, which gaue him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine leuelled field. Placing therefore himselfe and his sonne *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Pithon*, he did set forward courageously against the enemies, that were readie to giue him a sharpe entertainment.

*Eumenes* tooke vnto him *Peucestes*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battaile, in the face of *Antigonius*, meaning both to prevent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head against him on the sodaine, and (withall) to giue proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his enemies. In the right wing, opposite vnto *Pithon*, hee bestowed the weakest of his horse and Elephants, vnder one *Philip*, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight

light, and make a leisuable retreat, expecting the euent of the other side.

So they joyned verie fiercely; *Antigonius*, labouring to make himselfe master of all *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to winne such a victorie vpon his open enemies, as might giue him leisure and opportunitie to deale with his false friends.

The footmen of *Antigonius*, being, euen in their owne opinions, farre interior to those whom they must encounter, were at the first burnt presently discontent by the *Siluer-shields*, who slew about fife thousand of them, looting of their owne, not one man. But in horse, *Eumenes* was so ouer-matched, that he could not repel *Antigonius*, who pressed him very hard, but was faine to stand wholly vpon defense. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the enemy could not winne one foot of ground vpon him, vntill such time as *Peucestes*, with one thousand fife hundred horse, withdrew himselfe out of the battaile, leauing his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush amongst his enemies, labouring to breake open the way vnto *Antigonius* himselfe. And though hee failed of his purpose, yet with great slaughter hee did so beate vpon them, which came in his way, that the victorie hung a long time in suspence, vncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandie mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and Elephants, did cast vp such a cloude of dust, as hindered the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonius* finding this aduantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed undiscovered beyond *Eumenes* his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, slenderly garded, (for that the whole bodie of the Armie lay betwene them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Peucestes* retired himselfe no further than vnto the carriages, he might not onely haue defended them, but peraduenture haue surprisid those which came to surprisid them, & so haue done as good a peece of seruice as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the euent: and *Eumenes* was so ouer-laboured both in bodie and minde, that he could not giue an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonius* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himselfe enery way ouer-charged, began to giue backe, and withdrew himselfe and his companys in good order; to the other side of the battaile, where *Philip* (as hee was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from losse. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well contented to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come againe; as faine he would haue done.

The losse of the carriages was reported vnto him, as soone as he had any leisure to heare how things went, whereupon hee presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Peucestes* that was not farre off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby hee trusted, not onely to recover their owne goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoiles of the enemies. *Peucestes* not onely refused to joyne with him, but immediately withdrew himselfe into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By this the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to returne into their Campes. Yet *Antigonius* conceived hope of doing somewhat more; and therefore taking halfe his horsemen, he waited vpon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewardest, but found no opportunitie to offend him: the other halfe he committed to *Pithon*, willing him to set vpon the *Siluer-shields* in their retreat, which yet hee forbore to doe, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended; wherein *Antigonius* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot: but the spoile which hee got, by surprisid his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

## §. VII.

## §. VII.

How EUMENES was betrayed to ANTIGONVS, and slaine.



V MENES, coming into his Campe, and finding the *Siluer-shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to chere them vp, and put them in hope of recouering all with aduantage. For their braue demeanour that day had so cruſhed the enemy, that hee had no power left wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much leſſe able to draw their Cartes after him, through that great Wildernesse, our the high mountaines.

But these persuasions auailed nothing. *Penceſtes* was gone; the other Captaines would needs returne into the high Countries; & the Souldiers had no desire either to flie or to fight, but onely to recouer their goods. Wherefore *Tentamus*, one of the two Captaines of the *Siluer-shields*, (who had in former times readily consented vnto traitorous motions, in hope of game, but was letted by his partner *Antigonus*) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making himselfe great, and winning the loue of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requesting him to restore vnto those old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the onely reward of their seruices in the warres of *Philip*, and *Alexander*.

*Antigonus*, as a subtle man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with a little entreatie performe a great deale more than they promised; and therefore he iouingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of greater matters than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make warre against him. This answer pleased them so well, that they forth with deuised how to deliuer him aliuē. Wherefore coming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, and pretending more joy of their victorie, than sorrow of their losse, which they said they would redeeme by another fight in the middelt of this goodly take they leapt vpon him, caught hold of his sword, and bound him fast. So they halld him away; and stopping their eares against all persuasions, would not yeeld so farre, as to loosen one of his handes and let him kill him selfe, but brought him aliuē (that was their owne Generall, vnder whom they had obtained many victories) as it had beene in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The presse of men, running out of the Campe to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was faine to send a garrd of horsemen and Elephanes, to keepe him from being smothered, whom he could not sodainly resolue either to kill or saue. Verie few they were that sued for his life; but of these, *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus* was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly, thinking belike, that if hee were slaued, he would soon be the chiefe in great reputation, for his great abilitie. So after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the safest way to put him to death, which intending to haue done by famine (perhaps because he would keepe it awhile in his own power to reuerſe the sentence, as desiring (if it might be) to haue him liue his friend, haſt of other businesse made him doe it by the sword.

To this end came all the traualles of the worthie Generall, *Eumenes*; who had with great wisdom, fidelitie, and patience, laboured in vaine, to vphold the family which God had purposed to cast downe. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutabilitie, but more notable was his gouernment of himselfe in all her changes. Aduersitie neuer lessened his courage, nor Prosperitie his circumspection. But all his vertue, industrie, and wir, were cast away, in leading an Armie, without full power to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered by *Gaspar de Coligny*, Admiral of France, in our dayes, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soone after in the massacre of *Paris*, That rather than to leade againe an Armie of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

*Antigonus*

*Antigonus* himselfe gaue to the body of *Eumenes* honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deferred vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the *Siluer-shields* he burnt aliuē; many of the other Captaines he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Siluer-shields*, that had betrayed so worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader, that should carie them into farre Countries, vnder pretence of warres; but with a priue charge, to consume them all, as periuied wretches, letting none of them returne aliuē vnto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas, that beate vpon the shoares of Greece and Macedonia.

## §. VIII.

How ANTIGONVS slew PITHON, an occupied MEDIA. How hee removed Generourns of Provinces, and made himselfe Lord of Persia, carrying away PEUCESTES.



HE two Armies being ioyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they spent the rest of the Winter; the common Souldier idly, the principall men intently bent vnto the businesse ensuing. *Pithon* began to consider his owne deservings; for that the whole warre had bene chiefly maintained by the strength and riches of his Province. Besides, he thought himselfe as good a man as *Antigonus*, inlesse it were in the souldiers opinion, which he iudged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberaltie. But in following this course, hee was driuen by necessitie to trust many, of whom he stumbled vpon some, that were vnſeruet, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Pithon*) dissembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of diſſention betwene him, and his honourable friend, vnto whom hee meant to commit the Gouernment of all those Countries: his owne businesse calling him into the lower *Asia*. These reportes, coming daily to his eares, did finely delude *Pithon*. By his greatnesse with *Alexander*, his authoritie in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Gouernour; and the loue of the souldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintaine, euen an offensiue warre. But what neede had he to vse the sword, when hee was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as soone as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to diuide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing lesse than to yeeld to any such diuision. As soone as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slaine out of hand. For *Antigonus*, hauing begunne with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting downe indifferently all that stood in his way: but swamme carelessly through the blood, wherin at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, he appointed a new Gouernour in *Media*, to order the Province; and a Captaine, to suppress all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authoritie, so diuided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were deriued.

After this, he marched into *Persia*, where he was entertained, as absolute Lord of *Asia*. There began he to shew how well he vnderstood his owne mightinesse. For he placed and displaced, at his pleasure, Gouernours in all Provinces; leauing none in Office, that were not his owne creatures, excepting such as lay too farre off to bee dislodged easily.

*Penceſtes*, who ruled in *Persia*, thought with good cheare to redeeme old offences; but was deceiued; hauing to doe with one, that could not be taken with such baits: he was caried away, and sealed with goodly words of promise, that neuer tooke effect. Thus he, that enuid the vertue of his friend, was driuen to flatter (in vaine) the

the fortune of his enemies; after which he liued a contemptible life, till hee died ob-  
scurely a man forgotten.

## §. IX.

How SELEVCUS was chased out of Babylon, by ANTIGONVS. The  
great riches of ANTIGONVS.

**S**ELEVCUS was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to  
time continued in the same tenor of good-will to *Antigonvs*, and  
now gaue proofe of his heartie affection toward him, by making the  
Captaine of the Cattle of *Susa* to meete him on the way, rendering vn-  
to him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This  
offer was so great, that *Antigonvs* (though having in his hands the Keeper of the  
place) could hardly beleue it; but vsed him with excessive kindnesse, for teare so  
good a moode should change. In that Cattle he found all the treasures of *Alexan-  
der*, with the Jewels of the *Perſian* Kings, which, added to his former store of mo-  
ney, made vp twentie five thousand talents. Having all this, he might well account  
himselfe a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happinesse. But large dominion  
was the mark at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent, to leaue no  
Countie behind his backe, that should not acknowledge him for Soueraigne Lord.  
Comming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus* with all possible demonstra-  
tion of loue, and honoured with presents, beſeeming the maiestie of a King. All  
this he accepted with great grautie, as being due to him; and began to require an  
account of the reuenues of that Prouince. This demand *Seleucus* held vnreason-  
able, saying, that it was not needfull for him to render vnto any man an account of  
that Prouince, which was giuen vnto him, in respect of his many good seruices to  
the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonvs* was power-  
full; who vrged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither  
want of money, nor any other necessitie, moued *Antigonvs* to presse him thus, but  
only the desire to picke matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that  
he should find such issue, as *Pithon* and *Peneſter* had done. Therefore taking with  
him onely fiftie horse, he conueied himselfe away, and fled into *Ptolomes* Domini-  
ons; desiring him to protect him from the violence of such a man, as went about to  
opresse all, that in former times had bene his betters, or at least his equals. *Ant-  
igonvs* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countiees were yeelded vnto him  
without battaile, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them hee wanted all pretences  
and to kill him it was not his desire, hauing receiued many benefits of him, and those  
not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any iniuries. Yet it is reported, that  
the *Chaldeans* brought a strange prophetic to *Antigonvs*, bidding him looke well to  
himselfe, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, hee should recouer *Babylon*,  
yea, winne all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonvs* in battaile. Easie believers may giue credit to  
this tale. Had it bene true, methinkes, *Antigonvs* rather should haue hanged those  
*Chaldeans*, for giuing him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they  
say that he did) after him, whome the destinies preferred for so great purposes.

When hee had ſetled things at *Babylon*, he tooke his iourne into *Cilicia*, where  
he wintred. There he tooke vp ten thousand talents more of the

Kings treasures, and caſting his accounts, found his yearly  
income to amount vnto cleauen thou-  
ſand Talents.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

Of the great ciuill Warre betweene ALEXANDERS  
Captaines: and how they assumed the name and  
ſtate of Kings.

## §. I.

The combination of PTOLOMIE, CASSANDER, and others, against ANTI-  
GONVS. Their demands and his answer.



**H**IS great riches, and the rest of his power, made  
*Antigonvs* dreaded, enuied, and suspected, whereby  
he quickly was embarked in a new War. *Ptolomie*, *Cas-  
ſander*, and *Lysimachus*, had priuily combined them-  
ſelues together, intending to hinder his further  
growth, and bring him to more reason, than of his  
owne accord he ſeemed like to yeeld vnto. Of their  
practiſes hee had ſome notice; the good entertain-  
ment giuen vnto *Seleucus*, giuing him ſufficient cauſe  
of miſtruſt. Therefore he ſent Embaſſadors to them  
ſeuerally, entreating them to continue firme in their  
loue toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold an-  
ſweres which they made, occaſioned his haſty preparation againſt the moſt forward  
of them, which was *Ptolomie*; it being likely that a good armie ſhould preuaile more  
than a faire meſſage. Therefore, as ſoone as the ſeaſon of the yeare would permit,  
he tooke the way toward *Syria*, and was encountred by Embaſſage from them all.  
Theſe told him, that their Lords did much reioyce at his victorie, obtained againſt  
*Enmenes* their common enemy, and the honor that he had thereby gotten. In which  
war, ſo far as much as they being his Confederates muſt haue endured great loſſe, with  
hazard of their whole eſtates, if the contrarie faction had preuailed; they held it ve-  
ry iuſt, that all ſhould be partakers in the fruits of that voiage, wherein they had bene  
all aduenturers. Wherefore they deſired him, that making betweene them all an e-  
quall diuiſion, of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing calfe to be done) he  
would alſo take ſome conuenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according  
to the rate of his new purchaſes. This might beſt bee to euery ones liking, if hee  
would make ouer *Cappadocia*, with *Lyſia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering vpon  
the *Hellespont*, to *Lysimachus*; ſo that whereas his own Dominions were ſo much extended  
Eaſtward by his late victorie, he might well ſpare ſome of thoſe weſterne Prouinces,  
to thoſe that were ſeated in the Weſt. As for *Ptolomie*, he would not craue any new  
addition, but reſt contented within his owne Territories. Provided alwaies, that  
*Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be reſtored to his  
owne, out of which hee had bene driuen ſo iniuriouſly, that all of them were forced  
to take it deeplie to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly conſent vnto their de-  
mands, which otherwiſe they muſt labour to obtaine with armed hands.

*Antigonvs* knew, that after many loſſes receiued, hee ſhould yet be able to re-  
deeme peace when ſoever he liſted, with theſe, or perhaps with eaſier conditions.  
Neither was he ſo weak, to giue away quietly any part of his ſtrength into the hands  
of ſuch be-ſet friends, for ſcare onely, leaſt it ſhould be taken from him perforce. Ra-  
ther he hoped that he ſhould be able to find them worke, more than enough to de-  
ſend their owne. Therefore, he roundly answered the Embaſſadors, that it was no  
part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profits of that victorie,  
which he alone without other mens helpe had obtained. Though indeede they had  
alreadie ſufficiently gained by him, if they could ſee it, hauing by his meanes kept

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their

their governments, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polyperchon*, and the council of estate in *Macedon*. But what meruaile was it, if they considered not how he had faued them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a fugitive, and begging succour, he was by his meere bountie relieued, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (saide he) in those daies command me to surrender Prouinces, and giue him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired me to pittie him, and help him against his enemies: which I did; by lending him an Armie, and Fleet, on confidence whereof hee now presumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, how can he complaine of wrong, that durst not stay to please his right? I did vse him well, but his conscience told him that he had deserued ill: else he would not haue fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their owne, which some of them can hardly iustifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings; and after him to deale with others, if they continue to prouoke me.

## §. III.

The preparations and beginnings of the Warrs.

**W**Hen the Embassadors were dismisht with this answer, nothing was thought vpon but warre. *Antigonus* perceiving that he should bee invaded from *Europe*, as loon as hee were entered into *Syria*; left his Nephew *Ptolome* to guard the Sea-coasts, and hinder *Cassander* from landing in *Asia*: giuing him also in charge, to driue out of *Cappadocia* some that were already sent out to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not vnfruition of monie, to draw friends to his side, and raise vp troubles to his enemies. Especially he laboured to make himselfe the strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than forelloved his iourne into *Syria*, that he might get possession of Mount *Libanus*, which alforded many excellent commodities for building of a Nauie. Therefore, hauing erected Beacons, and laid post-horles throughout all *Asia*, to giue swift aduertisement of all occurrences, hee invaded *Syria*, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintain the field.

*Ptolome* lay in *Aegypt*, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord: his other Prouinces hee kept with a few Garrisons, better seruing to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraigne enemy. So *Antigonus* tooke many Cities, and Places of that Countrey, and begane to let great numbers of Artificers on worke in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these buisnesses hee consumed a yeare and three months; not idly. For he tooke *Ioppe*, and *Gaza*, which were yielded vnto his discretion, and well vld. The strong Citie of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end, by famine, to render it selfe vpon compulsion, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Armes; which was permitted.

*Ptolome* was not asleepe, whilst these things were in doing, though he kept himselfe within the bounds of *Aegypt*, as indeede it behoued him to doe. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Neuertheless by Sea (where his enemy was as yet vnready) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chiefe command.

*Seleucus* passed with an hundred saile along the coast of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Armie, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then gouerned by many petty Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolome*; the rest were, by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Aegyptian* with sharpe Steele.

The same commoditie of saide by Sea encouraged the President of *Caria* (called also

also *Cassander*, but not the sonne of *Antipater*, howsoever by the painefull and learned writer *Reinerus Reinecius*, he is by some ouer-light, counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolome*, and his Confederates, and busily employ in their quarrell all his forces, which hee had hitherto kept in good neutralitie, and thereby enioyed rest; but now hee threw himselfe into dangerous warre, choosing rather to vndergoe trouble at hand, than to fall vnder certaine ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would haue ouerwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had braten all the rest.

## §. III.

How each partie sought to winne the assistance of Greece. *ANTIGONVS* his declaration against *CASSANDER*. *ALEXANDER* the sonne of *POLYSPERCHON* reuolseth from *ANTIGONVS*, who had set him up.

**I**N the meane season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure vnto them the people of *Greece*, whose aide which way soeuer it inclined was of great importance. Herein at the first *Antigonus* sped so well by large cession of his treasure, that he drew to him the *Lacedaemonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, of whom hee waged eight thousand, and caused *Polyperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowle himselfe againe, and taking vpon him the title of Captaine of *Peloponnesus*, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kinde. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, hee called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the *Greekes* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, That *Cassander* had very cruelly slaine *Olympias*, mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had shut vp in close prison the poore Ladie *Roxane*, *Alexanders* wife, and his sonne begotten on her bodie. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himselfe King ouer the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Ladie *Thessalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match vnto for a man of no greater Parentage than he, to ioyne with him in marriage. That in meere despight of those dead Princes, *Philip*, and *Alexander*, hee had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new Citie by him built, and called by his owne name *Cassaneria*; and had reedified the Citie of *Thebes*, which for the great treason of the Inhabitants, was leuelled with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons hee required them to make a decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute libertie the Ladie *Roxane*, and her sonne; and should yeeld obedience to the Lord Lieutenant General of the Empire (by which name *Antigonus* himselfe was vnderstood) or else should be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of *Greece* should be restored into freedome, this he did, not because he was carrell of their good, but for the neede which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perswaded, that not only the *Greekes* would adhere vnto him, as to their louing Patron, and fall off from *Cassander*; but that the Rulers of Prouinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardfull of nothing, but his owne benefit, would correct their opinion, and thinke him the most faithfull of all others to the Roiall blood. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wife to be deceiued with vaine shewes. His vnder-taking for the libertie of the *Greekes* was more effectuall, and got eadie beliefe, in regard of his present hatred to *Cassander*. Yet herein also *Ptolome* strove to be as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to winne to himselfe that valiant Nation, which alforded men farre more seruicable in warre, than were to be found in any Prouince of the Empire.

And this indee was the point, at which both sides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all sure, deceiued himselfe, not without great cost. For he gaue to

Alexander the sonne of Palsiparchon five hundred talents, willing him to set the warre on foot in Peloponnesus, whereby it might appeare, that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In Peloponnesus, Cassanders men had, with much bloud-shed, grievously afflicted the contrarie faction; and he himselfe perceiving, that they were more easily spoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way, to make what use he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that Alexander came furnished with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able, not only to winne the doubtfull, but to corrupt such as might seeme best assured: hee thought it a good part of wisdom, to surrender vpon faire conditions, that which he could not assure himselfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore, he sent one to deale with Alexander, about the matters in controuersie, letting him know, that Antigonus was very skilfull in setting men together by the eares, not caring who prevailed, but only desiring to haue them wearie themselves, whilst he was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might finde oportunitie to set vpon the stronger. If therefore Alexander were so wise, as to keepe in his purse the five hundred Talents which he had, and without stroke bricken, to receive the whole Lordship of Peloponnesus; it should be freely put into his hands by Cassander. Provided, that hee should from thenceforth, renounce all confederacie made with Antigonus, and enter into a sure and faithfull league with Ptolemie, Cassander, and the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise, hee might well perswade himselfe, that the Countrie which his Father could not keepe, when he was indeede the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in haste be wonne by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, forsaking himselfe, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had liued a while with Antigonus since the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discouer the intent, (which hee did not carrie verie secret) of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soone entreated to accept of good an offer; and did not stick to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and subiect vnto no mans controll.

Howbeit this his honour continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together, by treason of the Sicontians; who thinking thereby to haue made themselves free, were soone after vanquished in battaile by Cratesipolis, Alexanders wife, a discreet and valiant Ladie. Shee in reuenge of her husbands death crucified thirtie of the Citizens taken in fight; and hauing by severitie taught them obedience, did afterwards containe her Armie in good order, and governed those places that hee held, with the loue and commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

### §. IIII.

The Aetolians rise against Cassander in fauour of ANTIGONVS, and are beaten. A fleet and land-armie of ANTIGONVS, utterly defeated by PTOLEMIES Lieutenant. In what termes the warre stood at this time. ANTIGONVS drawes nearer to Greece.



ANTIGONVS, when he found, that with so much monie he had only bought an enemy, beganne to raise troubles to Cassander and his other aduersaries, in Greece, by stirring vp the Aetolians against them; Likewise he laboured to winne to his partie, the Ilans in the Greeke Seas, by whose assistance he might bee the better able to deale with Ptolemie, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong fleet. But neither of these attempts had the successe which he expected. The Aetolians, a fitious Nation, and alwaies enuying the greatnesse of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but

so, that commonly their gaires equalled not their losses. Cassander wanne some of their owne Countrie, fortified the Acarnanians against them, and compelled Glauces, King of the Ilyrians, whom he vanquished in battaile, to forsake their tide, and binde himselfe to beare no armes against Cassanders friends.

On the other side, as many petty Ilands were drawne to ioyne with Antigonus: so the Fleet of the Rhodians vnder Theodatus, who was Admirall to Antigonus, passing along the coast of Asia toward Cyprus, with an Armie vnder conduct of Perilaus marching on the shore for mutuall assistance, was quite ouerthrowne by Ptolemies Nauike. Polyctus, who in Ptolemies behalfe had bene sent into Peloponnesus against Alexander, finding no neede of his seruice in that Countrie, because Alexander was come ouer to their tide, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these Antigonians held, whom hee very cunningly surpris'd. Hee rode with his Fleet behinde a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces hee placed in ambush, whereto Perilaus falling, was taken prisoner, with many of his men, and many were slaine, making little resistance. Theodatus the Admirall perceiving this, made all halt to helpe his fellowes that were on Land; but whilst hee with all his Fleet were intentie only to that business, Polyctus appeared at their backs; who as soone as he perceived their disorder, hastened about the Cape, and charging them behinde suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused Antigonus to deale with Ptolemie about some composition. First, hee sent Embassadors; afterwards they met in person. But Antigonus would not yeeld vnto the demands of Ptolemie: so the parlie was vain.

Hitherto each part seemed to haue indifferently sped in the Warre, and thereby to haue equal cause of hope and feare. This late victorie with the good successe of his affaires in Cyprus, did seeme to make amends to Ptolemie for his losses in Syria. Likewise the rebolt of Alexander from Antigonus did equal the Confederacie made betweene the Aetolians and him; as also those petty skirmishes, that had bene in Asia the lesse, to Antigonus his aduantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but aduerser to him; and by the troubles brought vpon his estates in those parts by the two Cassanders.

Contrariwise, Antigonus valued the losse of his men, monie, and ships, no other wise than as the pating of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would easily grow againe; but the enlargement of his Territorie by addition of Syria, he priz'd at a higher rate, as if thereby hee had fed vpon a limbe of Ptolemies his enemy, and strengthened the bodie of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceede as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no monie.

That which most molested him was the attempts of his enemies vpon Asia the lesse; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to feare, lest the people, being tied vnto him by no bond of allegiance, might vpon small occasion reuolt from him, to men of as honorable reputation as hee himselfe. To prevent this, and to be nearer to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be therein person, where his affaires did seeme to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Armie in Syria, vnder his sonne Cnemertus, to whom, being then but two and twentie yeares old, he appointed many ancient Captaines as assistants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

## §. V.

How *LYSIMACHUS* and *CASSANDER* vanquished some enemies, raised against them by *ANTIGONVS*. The good successe of *ANTIGONVS* in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against *CASSANDER*.

**T**He coming of *Antigonus* into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the procelle of his businesse therabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to thinke vpon molleling him in Asia: they themselves were held ouer-hardly to their owne worke on Europe side. *Seuthes* a King of the *Thracians*, ioyning with some Townes that rebelled against *Lysimachus*, brought also the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrell. All these relied vpon *Antigonus*, who was to helpe them with monie, and other aide. The *Asiatians* likewise tooke courage, and rose against *Cassander*, hauing *Acidies*, lately restored to the Kingdome of *Epirus*, their assistant. But *Lysimachus* gaue vnto his Rebels no time to confirme themselves. Hee sodainly presented himselfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne to their dutie. He fought a battaile with the *Scythians*, and wild *Thracians*, and draue them out of the Countrie. Finally, he ouer-came *Seuthes*; and following the heat of his victorie, slew *Pausanias* in battaile, whom *Antigonus* had sent ouer with an Armie; and all his men he did either put to ranfome, or fill vp with them his owne Bands. The like successe had *Philip*, *Cassanders* Lieutenant, against the *Asiatians*. For he wasted their Countrie; fought with the *Epiriotes*, that came to helpe them; and after the victorie, fought againe with their forces ioyned in one, ouerthrowing them, and killing *Acidies* that vnfortunate King. Finally, hee draue the *Asiatians* out of most of their Countrie, and forced them to seeke their safetie among the wild Mountaines. Of the *Epiriotes* he sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principall authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present Warre.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his aduerfaries with painefull trauaile; after which they remained only fauers. *Antigonus* himselfe at faire leisure wanne all *Caria* the whilet, and sent Armies into *Peeloponnesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, bestowing libertie vpon all the Cities he tooke out of *Cassanders* hands. The whole Countrie of *Peeloponnesus* (excepting *Sicion* and *Corinth*) with the Ile of *Euboea*, and many places of the firme Land were by these meanes wonne to be his in true and vehement affection, readie to doe or suffer any thing for him, that had made so euident a demonstration of his readinesse, to giue them the libertie indeede, which others promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would faine haue shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassanders* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if he would passe ouer into *Macedon*, by which terror he forced *Cassander* to repaire thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leauing many good Townes of *Greece* to weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to helpe themselves, if any forraigne succour appeared. The aide which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, taking the aduantage of *Cassanders* departure, entered the Countrie; draue his Garrisons out of diuers Cities; forced the Governour of *Athens* to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of *Thebes*, and let the people at libertie. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before beene raised out of her old ruines by the meere power of *Cassander*; of which act hee was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had beene some heinous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the Citie, and the loue of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward vpon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure,

than

than backward vpon their miserable nullitie, that held them vncapable of being any thing.

## §. VI.

Victories of *PTOLOMIE* by Sea. A great battaile at *Gaza*, which

*PTOLOMIE* and *SELEUCVS* wanne, against *DEMETRIUS*, the Sonne of *ANTIGONVS*.

**A**S the presence or nearnesse of *Antigonus* gaue life to his affaires in the lower Asia, and *Greece*, so the designs of his enemies, taking aduantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works in the Easterne parts, wherewith in the yeare preceeding hee had ouertopped them. The Ile of *Cyprus*, whose Princes wauered betwene contrarie affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their covenant with *Ptolomie*, was visited by an *Egyptian* fleet, wherewith *Ptolomie*, in his owne person, easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his owne appointment, Governour of the whole Countrie. With the same fleet he ranne along the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the spoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned laden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers Subjects were oppressed, made all halt out of *Syria* to the rescue, taking only his Horse and light-armed foot with him, because the businesse required expedition. But in vaine did he tire himselfe and his followers, in halfe seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deepe could in a few minutes deliue the labour of so many dayes, if neede had forrequired. Answerable to the vanie of this expedition, was the successe. For *Ptolomie* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certain, whether hauing lightened his ships of their burthen in *Cyprus*, hee would returne vpon those maritime Countries, or make toward *Syria*, where his coming was expected. Hee was indeede gone into *Egypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was describing a royall Armie, which helmed with all conuenient speede, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore hee was faine to choose out of vncertainties the most likelyhood, and returne the way that hee came, with all his companies, which were fitter for seruice in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the *Cilicians*. Hee had scarce refreshed his Men and Horses in *Syria*, when the newes arrived of *Ptolomies* coming with a puissant Armie, to giue him battaile. Hereupon he called to counsaile his principall friends, who aduised him to giue way to the time, and expect some better oportunitie in the future: being a young man, and weakly furnished with meanes to resist such ancient and famous Generalls, as *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus*. This counsaile seemed rather to proceede from the cold temper of those aged men, than that they gaue it, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For *Demetrius* considering himselfe to bee the sonne of *Antigonus*, and now Generall of his Fathers Armie, thought his owne title weightie enough to bee laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found hee much reason that should moue him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore perswading himselfe, that such odds of number, and of great fame, would rather serue to adorne his victorie, than hinder him in obtaining it, hee resolved to put the matter to triall, without expecting the aduantage of more helpe. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoile and rewards, hee abode the coming of the Enemies at *Gaza*, with purpose to encounter them, as soone as they had finished their wearisome iourne ouer the Deserts of *Arabia*.

Ptolomie

*Ptolome* and *Seleucus* tising out of so rich a Province, as *Aegypt*, came so well provided of all necessaries, that their Armie felt no any great grievance of the cill way, when battaile was presented thm, which confidently they vnderooke. In all things else they had the ods of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were wterly vnprouided. But how to deale with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Palisado, latched together with chaines, and sharpened in such manner, that the Elephants could not seeke to breake vpon it, without receiuing much hurt. The rest of their forces, which (besides that they had aduantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate seruices, by them performed that year, whilst the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vaine iournies, or long and dulling expectation, they disposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein *Demetrius* was embattailed. The fight beganne, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part struing more to winne honour, than to satisfie any other passion, as hauing little cause of hatred, or reuenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who vpon no needefulle would needes fight a battaile with disadvantage, beganne to appere by his losses. Hee had committed himselfe to Fortune, hauing more to loose by her than he could get: but in this fight thce was idle, and lett all to be decided by strong hands; vnlesse it may be said, that the terror brought vpon his men, by the losse of his Elephants, was bad luck. Those beasts were in that kind of warre hardly to be relied on plaine ground, and therefore at the first they made great spoile amongst *Ptolomies* men. Afterward seeking to breake through the Palisado, they were forcibly hurt, and euery one of them taken. This disaster caused the Horsemen of *Demetrius* to flint. They had laboured hard, and prouailed little, till now perceiuing that all must lie vpon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they beganne to shrink, and many of them to prouide for their safetie by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had throuen so long in vaine to make his men abide, that hee himselfe was likely to be lost; he was faine to giue place to the stronger, making a violent retreat as farre as to *Asotus*, which was about thirtie miles from the place of battaile. A great part of his carriages was in *Gaza*, whither some of his companie turned aside, hoping to saue such goods, as in hast they could pack vp. This foolish couetousnesse was their destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilst they forgetfull of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter Horses, and cloied vp the gates, thronging, some to get in and tereh, others, to carrie out what they had already laden. *Ptolomies* Armie brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the Citieal together.

This victorie restored vnto *Ptolomie* the best part of *Syria*, a Province more easie in those times to get, than to keepe; and opened the way vnto all the greatnesse of *Seleucus*. For between *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no place offered resistance. In *Calestria* and *Phœnicia*, some townes held out a while, but were soone taken in by *Ptolomie*. Among these were the great Cities of *Tyrrus* and *Sidon*; of which *Sidon* was giuen vp by the Inhabitants; *Tyrrus* by the Garrison, falling to mutinie against their Capitaine; who trusting to the strength of it, had made grear vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomie*, and honorably entertained, in respect of his fidelitie.

¶ VII. 50

¶ VII.

*How SELEVCVS recovered Babylon, and made himselfe Lord of many Countreies in the higher Asia. The REA of the Kingdome of the Greekes, which beganne with this Dominion of SELEVCVS.*



While *Ptolomie* followed his businesse with such prosperitie, *Seleucus* tooke leaue of him, and went vp to *Babylon*, to trie his owne fortune; which hee found so fauourable, that recouering first his owne Province, hee came at length master of the better part of *Alexanders* purchases.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of vnliklihoods. His traine of no more then eight hundred foote, and two hundred horse, a number too small, to haue bene placed as Garrison, in some one of those maine great Cities, against which he carried it into the higher *Asia*. But little force is needfull, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found so good a Gouvernour, that none of them would finde courage to resist him; but lest that worke to *Antigonus* his owne men, wishing them, ill to speede. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by calic compulsion they left off, and followed new Enligens. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves ioyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection so generall, it was not a safe course: for euery man of them should haue bene troubled with daily enemies, in his owne lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and trie the matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man, who reuolted to the enemy, with more then a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that they did no more than seeke to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hottages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held for his securitie in those quarters. This Cattle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly tooke it; and so got the entire possession of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*.

*Antigonus* had bellowed in *Media* and *Persia*, forces conuenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the vtmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about *Euphrates* he had not done the like: for his owne great Armie lay betweene them and all enemies. Therefore when the victorie at *Gaza*, had opened vnto *Seleucus* the way into those parts; he found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. Hauing now gotten what he fought; it behoued him to seeke how he might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too small and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him; his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Armie in *Media*, ioyning vnto himselfe, out of *Persia* and other Countries, all needfull helpe, came with ten thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse, either to saue all from being lost, or to driue *Seleucus* out of that which he had wonne.

Against this power, *Seleucus* had only foure hundred horse, and somewhat about three thousand foot, wherewith to oppose himselfe: his large conquest of vnwarlike Nations hauing yeelded him many louing subjects, but few souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were neare to the River of *Tigris*, he withdrew himselfe from the place where his resistance was expected into certaine marishes not farre off; where he lay secretly waiting for some aduantage. *Nicanor* thought that hee had bene fled, and was the lesse carefull in fortifying his campe. In recompence of this vaine securitie, his campe was taken by surprize, the first night of his arrival; the

the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Perſia*, together with ſundrie of the Captaines, were ſlaine, he himſelfe was driuen to flee for his life into the Deſerts; and the whole Armie yeelded vnto *Seleucus*: whoſe gentle demeanour, after the victorie, drew all *Media*, *Suſians*, and the Neighbour Prouinces, to acknowledge him their Lord, without any further ſtroke ſtricken.

This victorie of *Seleucus* gaue beginning vnto the new ſtile, of *The Kingdome of the Greekes*, an accompt much vſed by the *Iewes*, *Chaldeans*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in thoſe parts. I will not make any long diſputation about the firſt yeare of this *Æra*. The authoritie of that great Altrologer *Ptolomie*, from which, there is

*Ptol. 4. mag. lib. 1. c. 7. §. 8.*

*L. Gauric. in ann. total. ad lucan. Citatur.*

no appeale, makes it plaine, that the ſixe hundred and nineteenth yeare of *NABONASSAR*, was the fourſcore and two yeare of this accompt. Other inference hereupon is needleſſe, than that note of the learned *GAVRICVS*, That the firſt of theſe yeares was reckoned compiet, at *Babylon*, together with the end of ſoure hundred thirtie and eight yeares after *NABONASSAR*. With the obſcuration of the *Saturne*, recorded by *Ptolomie*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Buning*; finding the ſame Planer to haue bene ſo placed in the ſigne of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldeans* had obſerued it, in the ſame yeare; which was from *Nabonaſſar* the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourſcore and two yeare; and the laſt of the hundred thirtie and ſeuenth *Olympiad*. Theſe obſervations of the Ceſtiall bodies, are the ſureſt markes of time: from which he that wiſely varies, is inexcusable. As for ſuch occurrences in Hiſtorie, and the yeares of ſucceeding Princes (that are not ſeldome ambiguous, by reaſon of vnmembred fractions) if they ſeeme to be here-againſt, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthe of note; that theſe yeares of the *Greekes*, were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one yeare, that is found betwene actions, related by ſeuerall Authors of the two Bookes of the *Machabees*, who follow diuers accompts. He that ſhall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomie*, may apply the other ſupputations therunto, as being no farther from it, than a yeares diſtance.

### §. VIII.

How *PTOLOMIE* loſt all that he had wonne in *Syria*. What the cauſes were of the quiet obedience, perſonne vnto the *Macedonians*, by thoſe that had bene ſubjected vnto the *Perſian* Empire. Of diuers petite enterprizes, taken in hand by *ANTIGONVS* and *DEMETRIVS*, with ill ſucceſſe.



N A happie houre did *Seleucus* adventure, to goe vp to *Babylon*, with ſo few men as his friend could then well ſpare: for had he ſtaied longer vpon hope of getting more ſouldiers, *Ptolomie* could haue ſpared him none at all, *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus*, hauing loſt the battaile at *Gaza*, receiued from *Ptolomie* all his owne goods, his Pages and Seruants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous meſſage, to this effect: That no perſonall hatred was the ground of this Warre, which hee and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only termes of honour, wherein they would ſecke to right themſelues after ſuch manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, ſhould not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomie*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earneſt deſire, of requiting him, with ſome as braue liberalitie. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troups; drew as many as could be ſpared, out of the *Garrifons* in *Cilicia*, or other Prouinces thereabouts; and aduerting his Father of his miſfortune, beſought him to ſend a new ſupply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour loſt. *Antigonus*, vpon the firſt newes of this ouerthrow, had ſaid,

That

That the victorie which *Ptolomie* wanne vpon a beardedleſſe Boy, ſhould bee taken from him by bearded men: yet vpon deſire that his ſonne, whom hee tenderly loued, ſhould amend his owne reputation, He was content to make a ſtand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolomie* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did neuertheleſſe follow his owne buſineſſe in *Celeſyria*; thinking it enough, to ſend part of his Armie vnder *Cilles* his Lieutenant, againſt the remnant of thoſe that had bene already vanquiſhed, when their forces were entire. His peraduenture would haue bene ſufficient: had not *Cilles* too much vnderualued the power of ſuch an Enemy. Hee thought that this young Gallant, hauing lately ſaued his life by flight, would now bee more careful of hauing a faire way at his back, than aduenturous in ſetting further forward, then vrgent reaſon ſhould prouoke him. In this confidence he paſſed on without all feare, as one that were already Maſter of the field, and ſhould meete with none, that would iſſue out of their places of ſtrength, to make reſiſtance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careleſſe march; he tooke the lighteſt of his Armie, and made his iourne with ſuch diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came vpon *Cilles* vnexpected, and was on the ſuddaine, without any battaile, Maſter of his Campe: taking him aliue, with his ſouldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit ſerued not only to repaire the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loſſe at *Gaza* had almoſt ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomie*, with equall fauor, in reſtoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich preſents. But neither was *Ptolomie* ſo weakened by this loſſe, nor *Demetrius* ſo emboldened by his victorie, that any matter of conſequence there-vpon enſued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolomie*; and therefore he fortified himſelfe in places of aduantage: *Ptolomie* on the other ſide was loath to engage himſelfe in an enterpriſe, wherein he might perceiue, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he ſhould either be driuen to make a ſhamefull retreat, or a dangerous aduenture of his whole eſtate, in hope of not much more than already he poſſeſſed.

*Antigonus*, in deede, was nothing ſlow in his way towards *Syria*; whither hee made all haſte, not ſo much to relieue his ſonne, as to embrace him. For hee rejoyced exceedingly, that the young man had ſo well acquitted himſelfe, and being left to his owne aduice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increaſe the reputation of this late victorie, he brought ſuch forces, as might ſerue to reconquer all *Syria*: meaning, that the honour of all, ſhould be referred vnto the good foundation, laied by his ſonne; whom from this time forwards, he imploied in matters of greateſt importance.

*Ptolomie* had now leſſe reaſon, to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to haue aſſailed the Campe of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of conſultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines aduiled him to retire into *Egypt*; alleging many good arguments, to that purpoſe: which they might well perceiue to bee agreeable to his owne intent, by his propounding that counſel; not without remembrance of the good ſucceſſe againſt *Perdiccas*, in the like deſenſiue warre, So he departed out of *Syria*, preſeruing his honor; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any ſuddaine paſſion of feare: and he departed at faire leiſure, not only carrying his treaſures along with him, but ſtaying to diſmantle ſome principall Cities, that he thought moſt likely to trouble him in the future. All the Countrey that he left at his back, felt preſently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by peeces: ſo eaſie was it in thoſe times, for the Captaine of a ſtrong Armie, to make himſelfe Lord of a great Prouince.

We may juſtly wonder, that theſe Kingdomes of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations, (which the victorie of *Alexander* had ouer-runne, with ſo haſtic a courſe, as gaue him not leiſure to take any good view of them) were ſo eaſily held not only by himſelfe, but by the Captaines of his Armie after him. The be-  
tentions

tentions for superiortie betweene the King of *Israel*, and those of *Damascus*; betweene *Egypt*, and *Babylon*; *Babylon*, and *Nimue*; the *Perfians*, and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to haue once bene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheepe or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, wonne, lost, and againe recovered, by contentious Masters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appeare the more strange, if wee shall consider, how the severall States of *Greece* (many of which had neuer possessed so large Dominion, as might cause their Spirits to (well beyond their abilities) did greedily embrace all occasions of libertie: and how these proud Conquerors were glad to offer it, desiring to haue them rather friends than seruants, for feare of further inconvenience.

It muſt therefore be noted, that moſt of theſe Countries, had alwaies bene ſubject vnto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords; whom the *Babylonians* and *Perfians* long ſince had rooted out, & held them in ſuch bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Maſters. This had vterly taken from them all remembrance of home-borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the *Perſian* Empire: ſo that wanting within themſelves all ſoueraign power, or high authority, the life and ſpirit of euery Eſtate; then lay aſ dead, and were bereaued of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had bene members.

Why the *Perſian* *Satrapa*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captaines, after the death of *Alexander*, ſtrive to lay hold vpon thoſe Prouinces, which had many ages bene ſubject vnto them, and ſcarce foure yeares in quiet poſſeſſion of their enemies; or why at leaſt they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did ceaſe to aſſright them) to get their ſhares among his followers, if not wholly to diſpoſſeſſe them of their new purchaſes: it is a queſtion, wherein, who is not ſatisfied, may finde no leſſe reaſon to ſuſpect the Hiſtorie, than authoritie to confirme it. For wee ſeldome reaſe, that any ſmall Kingdome, preuailling againſt a farre greater, hath made ſo entire a conqueſt, in the compaſſe of ten yeares, as left vnto the vanquiſhed no hope of recouerie, nor meanes to rebell; eſpecially when ſuch diſorders, or rather vter conuulſion hath enſued, by the furie of ciuill warre among the Victors.

The cauſe why the *Macedonians* held ſo quietly the *Perſian* Empire, is well ſet downe by *Maſchiuſell*, and concerneſ all other Kingdomes, that are ſubject vnto the like forme of Gouvernement: the ſumme whereof is this. Whereſoeuer the Prince doth hold all his Subjects vnder the condition of ſlaues; there is the conqueſt eaſie, and ſoone aſſured: Where ancient Nobilitie is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is wonne. Examples of this are the *Turkiſh* Empire, and the Kingdome of *France*. If any Inuader ſhould preuaile ſo farre vpon *Turkie*, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for brethren hee ſeeth not to ſuſſer alie) were taken or ſlaine: the whole Empire would quickly be wonne, and eaſily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the *Baſſas*, how great ſoueray they may ſeeme, are mere ſlaues; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whoſe perſonall regard could get the people to follow him in ſuch an attempt, where in hope of priuate gaine, ſhould not counteruaile all apparent matter of feare. Contrariwiſe, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a conqueſt, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though hee further got the better part of the Countie, and were by farre the ſtronger in the field. For, beſides the Princes of the Roiall blood, there are in the Kingdome ſtore of great men; who are mightie in their ſeueral Countries, and haue certaine Royalties and Principalties of their owne; are able to raiſe Warre, in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobilitie, will alwaies ſtirre vp and inflame them, ſo that vntill euery one peace were wonne, and euery one (an endleſſe worke) of the chiefe Nobilitie, brought

brought vnder or deſtroyed, the victorie were not compleat, nor well aſſured. It is true, that ſuch power of the Nobilitie, doth often-times make way for an Inuader; to whom the diſcontentments of a few can eaſily make a faire entrance. But ſuch aſſitants are not ſo eaſily kept, as they are gotten: for they looke to bee ſatiſfied at full, in all their demands; and hauing what they would, they loone returne to their old allegiance, vpon condition to keepe what they haue, vntill they be deadely hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to pleaſe one man, without offending another as good as himſelfe. The *Turks*, on the other ſide, needes not to feare any perill, that might ariſe from the diſcontented ſpirits of his principall men. The great miſchiefe that any of them could worke againſt him, were the betraying of ſome frontier Towne, or the wiſfull loſſe of a battaile: which done, the Traitor hath ſpent his ſting, and muſt either ſlie to the enemy, whereby he looſeth all that he formerly did hold, or elſe, in hope of doing ſome further harme, he muſt adventure to excuſe himſelfe vnto his Maſter, who ſeldome forgives the Captaine, that hath not ſtriven by deſperate valour, againſt miſfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers againſt the great *Sultan*, and ſo joining themſelves vnto any Inuader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them haue any followers or dependants at all, other than ſuch, as are ſubject vnto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commiſſions. Now as this baſe condition of the principall men, doth leaue vnto them no meanes, when by to oppoſe themſelves againſt the flouriſhing eſtate of their Prince; ſo would it weaken both their power and their courage in giuing him aſſiſtance, if aduerſitie ſhould make him ſtand in neede of them. For there is ſcarce any one among the *Turkes* *Baſſas* prouinciall Gouvernours, that knowes either from whence he was brought, or from whom defended, nor any one among them, that by the loſſe and vter ruine of the *Turkiſh* Empire, can looſe any foot of his proper inheritance, and it is the proper inheritance of the ſubject, which is alſo a Kingdome vnto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart againſt the Conquerour, who hath no other deuice painted on his Eniigne, than the picture of ſlauiery.

As is the *Turkiſh* Empire, ſo was the *Perſian*, void of libertie in the Subjects, and vterly deſtitute of other Nobilitie, than ſuch as depended vpon mere fauour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall blood, and others, deſcended from the Princes that joyned with *Darius*, the Sonne of *Hystaſpes*, in oppreſſing the *Magi*: theſe were men of reputation in *Perſia*; but their reputation conſiſted only in their Pedigree, and their ſuſtice in not meddling with affaires of State, which made them little eſteemed. In what ſmall capacity theſe *Perſian* Princes were held, it may appeare by this, that the Kings Vnclis, Coſin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their* *Slaves*, and ſo did ſtile themſelves, in ſpeaking vnto theſe great Monarchs. That vpon euery light occaſion of diſpleaſure they were handled as ſlaues; it is eaſie to be diſcerned, in that example of crueltie, practiſed by *Xerxes* vpon his owne brother *Masſiſtes*, which hath bene formerly noted, in place more conuenient. As for the *Satrapa*, or Gouvernours of the Prouinces, it is needleſſe to cite examples, proving them to haue bene mere ſlaues: it may ſuffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of thoſe Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was gouerned.

To this want of Nobilitie in *Perſia*, may be added the general want of libertie, conuenient among the people: a matter no leſſe auailable, in making eaſie and ſure the conqueſt of a Nation, then is the cauſe aligned by *Maſchiuſell*. For as *Aeſop* his Aſſe, did not care to runne from the enemies, becauſe it was not poſſible, that they ſhould loade him with heavier burthens, than his Maſter cauſed him daily to beare: ſo the Nations, that endure the worſt vnder their owne Princes, are not greatly fearefull of a forraigne yoke; Nor will be battie to ſhake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, then was that whereunto they had bene long

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accustomed. This was it that made the *Gaſcoignes* beare ſuch faithfull affection, to the Kings of *England*; for that they governed more mildly than the *French*: this enlarged the *Venetian* iuriſdiction in *Lumbardie*; for the Townes that they wanne, they wanne out of the hands of Tyrannous oppreſſors: and this did caule the *Macedonians*, with other Nations, that had bene ſubject vnto the poſteritie of *Alexanders* followers, to ſerue the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were caſed of many burthens, which had bene impoſed vpon them by their owne Kings.

So that of this tamenefſe, which we finde in thoſe that had bene ſubjects of the *Perſian* Kings, the reaſons are apparent. Yet ſome of theſe there were, that could not ſo eaſily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeede bene abſolutely conquered by the *Perſian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caspian* Sea. Such alſo were the *Arabians* bordering vpon *Syria*: againſt whom *Antigonus* ſent part of his Armie; thinking therewith to bring them vnder; or rather to get a rich bootie. The Captaine that hee ſent fell vpon the *Nabathians*, at ſuch time as they were buſied in a great Mart, wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians*, for *Myrrhe*, *Frankincenſe*, and other ſuch commodities. All, or moſt of theſe rich wares, together with five hundred talents of ſilver, and many priſoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold vpon: for their coming was ſuddaine, and unexpected. But ere they could recouer *Syria*, the *Nabathians* ouer-tooke them, and finding them wearie with long marches, made ſuch a ſlaughter, that of ſoure thouſand foot, and fixe hundred horſe, only fiftie horſe eſcaped. To reuenge this loſſe, *Lemetrius* was ſet out with a greater power: yet all in vaine; for he was not reſiſted by any Armie, but by the natural defence of a vaſt Wilderneſſe, lack of water, and of all things neceſſarie. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein hee loſt not much honor: for they craued it, and gaue him preſents. Returning from the *Nabathians*, hee viewed the Lake *Aſphaltites*, whence hee conceiued hope of great profit that might be raiſed, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandrie of his ſonne, *Antigonus* was well pleaſed, and appointed men to the worke: but they were ſlaine by the *Arabians*, and ſo that hope vaniſhed.

Theſe petty enterpriſes, with the ill ſucceſſe accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage againſt *Ptolomeus*: when the newes of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the loſſe of thoſe great and wealthy Prouinces, a matter to be neglected; neither was it ſafe to tranſport the warre into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria* and the lower *Aſia* ſhould haue bene expoſed, to the danger of ill affected Neighbourſ. A middle courſe was thought the beſt; and *Demetrius*, with fifteene thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, was ſent againſt *Seleucus*. Theſe forces being ſent away, *Antigonus* did nothing; and his ſonne did leſſe. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themſelves from neceſſitie of fight; ſome places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without letting in Garriſon more men than he could ſpare; neither did hee get much; and therefore was faine to ſet out the brauerie of his expedition by burning and ſpoiling the Countrie; which hee did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong vnto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his owne aſſured.

*Antigonus* had laid vpon his ſonne a peremptorie commandement, to returne vnto him at a time prefixed: reaſonably thinking (as may ſeeme) that in ſuch an vnſetled ſtate of things, either the Warre might bee ended, by the ſurie of the firſt brunt; or elſe it would bee vaine to ſtrive, againſt all difficulties likely to ariſe, where want of neceſſaries ſhould fruſtrate the valour, that by length of time was like to become leſſe terrible to the Enemy. *Demetrius* therefore, leauing behinde him five thouſand foote, and a thouſand horſe, rather

rather to make thew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himſelfe, with greater forces, could doe little more than nothing, forooke the enterpriſe, and went back to his Father.

## §. IX.

A general peace made and broken. How all the houſe of ALEXANDER was deſtroyed.

THEſe ambitious heads, hauing thus wearied themſelves with vneſſual trauaile, in ſeeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them ſhould hold quietly, that which at the preſent he had in poſſeſſion. As no priuate hatred but meere deſire of Empire had moued them to enter into the warre; ſo was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulneſſe growing vpon the flow aduancement of their ſeueral hopes, that made them willing to breath a while, till occaſion might better ſerue to light againe.

Besides that in mine point, Of reſigning the Prouinces which euery one held, there were two Articles of the peace, that gaue a faire, but a falſe colour, to the buſineſſe: That the ſonne of ALEXANDER by ROXANE, ſhould be made King, when he came to ſo full age; and, That all the Eſtates of Greece ſhould be ſet at libertie. The aduancement of yong *Alexander* to his Fathers Kingdome, ſeemes to haue bene a matter, forceably extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was diſcouered a purpoſe, to make himſelfe Lord of all. But this, indeede, more nearly touched *Caiſſander*. For in his cuſtodie was the yong Prince and his Mother: neither did hee keepe them in ſort as ſeruable to their degree; but as cloſe priſoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had ſcene the old Queene *Olympias* taken and murdered, that fought to haue put them in poſſeſſion of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and feare betwene them, rooted in theſe grounds, of injuries done, and reuenge expected; vpon this conſequence of peace, grew vp ſalter than any time before, in the heart of *Caiſſander*: who ſaw the *Macedonians* turne their laudourable expectation, towards the ſonne of their later renowned King.

All this, either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The yong Prince muſt firſt haue poſſeſſion of *Macedon*: whereby *Caiſſander* ſhould be reduced to his poore office, of Captaine ouer a thouſand men, if not left in worſe caſe. As for them that held Prouinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done vnder *Antians*; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne ſtrength. Hee in the meane time, by his readineſſe to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himſelfe from that ill-fauoured imputation, of ſeeking to make himſelfe Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like advantage had hee in that Article, of reſtoring the *Greekes* to their libertie. This libertie had hitherto bene the ſubject of much idle diſcourſe; but it neuer took effect. *Antigonus* held ſcarce any Towne of theirs, *Caiſſander* occupied moſt of the Countrie: which if he ſhould ſet free; he muſt be a poore Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell againſt him, as againſt a Diſturbor of the common peace.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Countries lying betwene *Euphrates* and the *Greece* ſeas, together with a great Armie, and monie enough to entertaine a greater, might ſerue to hold vp the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raiſe his hopes, as high as cuer they had bene.

With much diſadvantage doe many men contend, againſt one that is equal to them

them all in puffiance, *Cassander*'s friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not doe withall: for where euerie one mans helpe is necessarie to the warre, there may any one make his owne peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the reit are wearie. The best was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becoming Subjects vnto any man; much lesse to the sonne of an *Asiaticke* woman, of whom they had long since refused to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a short course and caused both the Child and his Mother to be slaine: freeing thereby himselfe in a trice, from the dangerous necessitie of yielding vp his gouernement, which he must haue done when the child had come to age. *Roxane* was a Ladie of singular beautie, which was perhaps the cause, why *Perdiccas* desired to haue her sonne, being as yet vnborne, proclaimed Heire to the great *Alexander*. Immediately vpon the death of *Alexander*, she had vsed the fauour (if it were not loue) of *Perdiccas*, to the satisfying of her owne bloudie malice, vpon *Statira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom *Alexander* had likewise married, according to the custome of those Countries, wherein pluralitie of wiues is held no crime. For hauing by a counterfeit letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten this poore Ladie into her hands, shee did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Sister, and threw their bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled vp with earth. But now, by Gods iust vengeance, were shee and her sonne made away, in the like secret fashion; euen at such time, as the neare approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer vnto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander*, was not so much detested in outward shew, as inwardly it was pleasing vnto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords, of all that they had vnder them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of warre, wherein euerie one perswaded himselfe of successe, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had worke enough at home) beganne to rowze themselves: as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his owne stock. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were bulie in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: while their Master was carefull in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the libertie of *Greece*: yet did the same argument minister vnto *Ptolemie*, matter of quarrell, against both him and *Cassander*. *Ptolemie* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garrison into some Townes, which ought, in fairedaling, to be set at libertie. Vnder colour of redressing this enormitie, he sent an Armie into *Chilica*; where he wan foure Townes, and soone after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his Enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a strong fleet, he ranne along the coast of *Asia*, winning many places: and in that voyage alured vnto him a Nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requitall of his seruices) who finding shortly, as false to himselfe, as he had bene to his owne Vncle, hee was faine to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the *Greekes* at libertie, appeared not so plaine, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered, by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the loue of that valiant Nation, He made at the last an expedition into *Greece* itselfe: where hauing set free some little Islands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised so great an expectation, of finishing the long desired worke, that *Cratespolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polyperchon*'s sonne, gaue vp into his hands the Townes of *Sicion* and *Corinth*.

*Ptolemie* had conceived a vaine beleefe, that the *Greekes* emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart, and rise vp in armes: whereby with little labour, their libertie might be gotten; and hee bee acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long seruitude had well-nere extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recouer

recouer freedome, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stirre in pursuit thereof; but sat idly till, as wishing it to fall into their mouths.

The *Lacedaemonians*, about these times, beganne to fortifie their Towne with walls; trusting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the discipline that vpheld it, were too much impaired) that had beene a wall to their Towne & Territorie.

The *Athenians* were become as humble seruants as they had been, in times past, insolent Masters: erecting as many statues in honor of *Demetrius Phalerens*, as there were dayes in their yeare. This *Demetrius* was now their Gouernour; and he gouerned them with much moderation: but in spite of their hearts, as being let to ouer them by *Cassander*. By this base temper of the principall Cities, it is easie to gather, how the rest of the Countrey stood affected. *Ptolemie* could not get them, to set their helping hands, to their owne good; and to furnish them with the promised supplies, of monie and vittuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliuer them from thraldome; as judging the commoditie, that would arise by annexing them to his partie, a matter of more weight, than the losse that *Cassander* should receiue thereby, who could hardly retaine them, if once *Antigonus* tooke the worke in hand. But when he found such difficultie in the buisnes, he changed his purpose: and renewing his former friendship with *Cassander*, he retained *Sicion* and *Corinth* in his owne possession.

Before the coming of *Ptolemie* into *Greece*, *Cassander* had bene held occupied with very much worke. For (besides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) he found meanes to allure vnto him selfe, the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: making his owne advantage of their discontentments. By the like skilfull practice, Hee freed himselfe from a greater danger: and made those murders which he had committed seeme the lesse odious, by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old *Polyperchon*, that had made so great a stirre in the raigne of *Aridaus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her Child, enter againe vpon the Stage: leading in his hand another sonne of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: hee was begotten on *Barsine*, the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*; but had bene lesse esteemed than the sonne of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the fauour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did beare vnto *Roxane*. At this time, the death of his brother, had moued such compassion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* only liuing child, had procured vnto him such good will, that the demand which *Polyperchon* made in his behalfe, was deemed very iust and honorable. There were indeede more hearts then hands, that joynd with this young Prince: yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him, that least ought, had not bene moit faine. *Cassander* had raised an Armie, to withstand his entrie into *Macedon*: but little trust could he repose in that Armie, whole wishes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he assaid *Polyperchon* himselfe, with gifts and promises; wherewith at length hee prevailed so farre, that the old Villaine was contented to murder his Pupill, chooling rather with many curses, and fowle dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus* and Commander of an Armie; than to purchase a Noble fame with dangerous trauaile, in maintaining his faith, vnto both his dead and liuing Soueraignes.

*Antigonus* had notall this while benee a sleepe; though his losses were hitherto the chiefe witness, of his hauing benee a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present, to retaine his owne: and therefore tooke order for the recouerie of those places, which *Ptolemie* had taken paines to winne. As for the rest, it no way grieved him, to see *Cassander* incurre the generall hatred of men, by committing those murders, of which the profit was like to redound vnto him, that was the most powerfull: or to see *Polyperchon* and *Ptolemie* sweat, in a busie warre

against *Cassander*. If they would haue continued their quarrells, he could well haue afforded them leisure, and haue thought the time well spent, in beholding their contentions. For he was thoroughly perswaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vaine with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all vnder. According to these haughtie conceits, he demeaned himselfe among his followers; looking bigge vpon them, and like a King before his time. T his was it that caused so many of them, to revolt from him; but it was no great losse to bee forsaken by those that looked with enuious eyes, vpon that fortune, whereon their owne should haue depended. Against this cruell of his owne men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedie, such as was like to giec him a goodly title, to the whole Empire.

*Cleopatra*, Sister vnto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*; whom he had a great desire to take to wife. T his his desire was not without good hope: for howsoeuer these discovered much willingnesse thereunto, yet was shee in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpose, to get her by compulsiue means: either because his fancy being an old man, was not ouer violent; or rather because his ambition, wherevnto all his affections had reference, could haue made small vse of her, by doing such apparent wrong. Shee had bene married vnto *Alexander* King of *Egyptus*, after whose death shee came to her brother in *Asia*; hoping, belike, to finde a new husband in his Campe. But neither any of those braue Capitaines, that were, in times following, so hot in loue with her, durst then aspire vnto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himselfe with providing her of an husband. Shee therefore, being a luttie widow, suffered her bloud, so farre to preuaile against her honour, that shee supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Parramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a jest: saying, that shee was his sister, and must be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death, the Empire lay, in a manner, void, and the portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had bene: then did many seeke to obtaine her, while thee her selfe desired only a proper man, with whom thee might lead a merie life. To this purpose did thee inuite *Leontatus* vnto her; who made great haste; but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, thee had her choise of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolomeus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had wives already, *Ptolomeus* had many wives, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kinde. T his hindred not his sute: peradventure it aduanced it; by giuing to *Cleopatra*, some hope of mutuall collation. To him therefore thee bequeathed her selfe, and was taking her iourne from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputie in that Citie, made her to stay, vntill his Masters further pleasure should be knowne. *Antigonus* had now a Woolfe by the eares: he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her goe. Shee would not be his wife; he had none honest pretence to force her; and to keepe her prisoner, had bene the way, by which he might haue incurred a general hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Ladie lesse respected than *Alexanders* owne sister) did well testifie. T herefore he thought it the wisest way, to procure her death: for to let any other enioy the commoditie of so faire a title to the Kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Gouverneur of *Sardes*; willing him in any case to doe it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certaine women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as mischieuous conspirers, against the life of that good Ladie. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least, in his owne opinion: but the world was lesse foolish, than to bee so deluded. How the murther was detected, we neede not aske: for seldom

is that bloudie crime vnreuealed; and neuer so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authors.

This was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought vpon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods iustice, due vnto the crueltie, of these powerful, but mercilesse Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, vpon so wicked foundations of innocent bloud, were soone after cast downe, ouerwhelming themselves or their children, with the ruines, as the sequele will declare.

### §. X.

*How DEMETRIUS, the sonne of ANTIGONUS, gaue libertie to Athens, expelling the Garrisons of CASSANDER out of those parts. The immoderate honors decreed by the Athenians to ANTIGONUS and DEMETRIUS.*

**N**ONE being left alieue, that had any title to the Kingdome; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledged no Superior, should freely profess themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill becommed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbear it: neither seemed it conuenient in the iudgement of *Antigonus*, to crowne his last action with such a title, as if he had attained vnto greatness by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was carefull how to discharge from his owne head. He purposed therefore to undertake a plausible enterprise, euen the libertie of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honor as would not only downe all bad reports, but make him be thought equall to any name of roialtie, whereof in seeming modestie, hee was not conuous. To this purpose, hee delingred a strong Armie, with a Naue of two hundred and fiftie saile, and liue thousand talents of moneie, vnto *Demetrius* his sonne: willing him to beginne at *Athens*, and thence to proceede, in setting all the Countrie free.

*Demetrius* came to *Athens* before he was expected: so that without resistance he entred the Hauens; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolomeus*, *Cassanders* good friend, had bene arriued. But when it was knowne, both who he was, and what was the cause of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations; *Demetrius* *Phalerus* forooke the Towne, and withdrew himselfe to *Thebes*, vnder safe conduct; only the Garrison in *Munychia* stroue to make good that piece, which after a while was wonne vpon them by force. During the siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Aegara*; whence he expelled the Garrison of *Cassander*, and so restored the Citie to libertie.

I thinke it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme no better than meeke trifles: for euen by trifles, are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly straine themselves, to the obstruance of generall commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their owne Natures. T he Ladie *Cratesipolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*, hoping, belike, that he might, by his means, better her estate, and recover her Townes of *Sydon* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomeus* (to whose Lieutenant, in those places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered monie for the surrender of them. Yet the only builnesse pretended was loue. He being aduertised hereof, left his forces in the Countie of *Aegara*, and taking a companie of his lightest armed, for guard of his person, made a long iourne to meeete with her. T his troupe also, he caused to lodge at

great way from his Tent, that none might see her when she came. As closely as the bulineſſe was carried, ſome of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceiued good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*, and bring him to any termes of reaſon, by taking his deare ſonne priſoner. Their project fell but a little ſhort of the effect. For they came to ſuddenly vpon him, that he had no better ſhift, than to muſſe himſelfe in an old cloake, and creepe away diſguiſed; leaving them to ranſack his Tent. There was in this Prince a ſtrange medly of conditions; eſpecially an extreme diſſoluteſſe in wanton pleaſures, and a painefull induric in matter of warre. He was of a moſt amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in deuiling Engines of warre, and curious in working them with his owne hands. He knew better how to reforme his bad fortune, then how to rule his good. For aduerſitie made his v. l. our more actiue; proſperitie ſtupified him w. th an ouerweening, wherein he thought, that he might doe what he liſted. His fortune was as changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, till ſhee had wound vp the thread of his life, in ſuch manner as followeth to be ſhewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finiſhing his buſineſſe at *Aegara*; he reſolued no longer to attend the iſſue of a ſiege, to aſſaile *Munychia* by force, that ſo hee might accompliſh the libertie of *Athenes*: which, vntill it was fully wrought out, he reſuſed to enter into the Citie. *Munychia* was ſtrongly fortified: yet by continuance of the aſſault, the multitude without, through helpe of their Engines that ſcoured the walls, preuailed vpon the reſolution of thoſe that lay within it, and wanne the place in two daies. The wails, and all the defences of that peece againſt the Citie, were leuelled with the ground and ſo was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was giuen their libertie, with promiſe to aide them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victorie, gotten by *Demetrius* with greater ſkill and induric. For the *Athenians*, hauing forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make vp that deſect with their tongues: conuerting to baſe flatterie, that eloquence of theirs, which the vertues of their Anceſſors had ſuted vnto more manly arguments.

They decreed, vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the name of Kings; they conſecrated the place, in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when hee entered their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of *DEMETRIUS the a-lighter*; they called them by the Names of the *Gods their Sautours*, ordaining that euery yeare, there ſhould be choſen a Prielt of theſe Gods; and further, that ſuch as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of theſe two Princes, ſhould not be called Embaſſadors, but *Theori*, or *Conſulters with the Gods*; like as were they, whom they ſent vnto the Oracle of *Iupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a fruituouſe diligence, to rehearſe all their flatteries; theſe being ſo groſſe. Hereby they not only corrupted the yong Prince; but made that acclamation, which beſt would haue pleaſed the old man, to be of no vſe. For he could not handſomly take vpon him the name of King, as impoſed by the *Athenians*; vnleſſe hee would ſeeme to approue their vanitie, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he ſo tickled, with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theodari*, or *Conſulters*, came ſhortly after, deſiring him to relieue them with Corne, and Timber to build ſhips; he gaue them almoſt a hundred thouſand quarters of wheat, and matter ſufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his firſt Oracle: or rather, ſo weake is great power in reſiſting the aſſaults of flatterie.

## §. XI.

The great victorie of *DEMETRIUS* againſt *PTOLOMIE* in *Cyprus*. How *ANTIGONVS* and *DEMETRIUS* tooke vpon them the ſtile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.



From this glorious worke, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, vnto a bulineſſe of greater difficultie: meaning to imploy his ſeruiſe againſt *Ptolomie* in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed, to eſtabliſh a generall Counſaile; that ſhould treat of matters, concerning the common good of the Countrie. About the ſame time, *Antigonus* withdrew his owne Garrillon out of *Imbras*, committing their libertie entire, into the peoples hands: whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit any other, to oppreſſe the *Greekes*, ſo would he be farre from doing it himſelfe. This was enough, to hold his reputation high, among theſe new purchaſed friends: it followed, that he ſhould conuert his forces, to the winning of ground vpon his Enemies.

A pittifull Tragedie had lately happed in *Cyprus*; through the indifferencie of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Iſle. *Nicoles*, King of *Paphos*, was entered into ſome praſtiſe with *Antigonus*: yet not ſo farre that he thought himſelfe paſt excuſe; by which confidence, he was perhaps, the more eaſily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the falſe hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was ſent thither: who ſurrounding *Nicoles* his houſe with Souldiers, required in *Ptolomies* name, to haue him yeelded to the death. *Nicoles* offered to clear himſelfe; but *Menelaus* told him, that die he muſt, and ſo had him come forth quietly. This deſperate neceſſitie, cauſed the vnhappy King, to rid himſelfe of liſe: and his death ſtrooke ſuch an impreſſion into his wife, that ſhee not only flew her ſelfe, but perſwaded the wiues of her husbands brethren, to doe the like. Alſo thoſe brethren of *Nicoles*, vnto whom *Ptolomie* had intended no ill, being amazed with the ſuddaineſſe of this calamitie, did ſhut vp the Palace, and ſetting it on fire, conſumed it, with all that was in it, and themſelues together.

What ſo euer the crime objected was; *Nicoles* perished as a man innocent, becauſe he was not ſuited to make his anſwere. Of this ſad accident, though *Menelaus* deſerued the blame, for his rigorous proceeding; yet is it to bee thought, that much diſlike, fell alſo vpon *Ptolomie*: as men that are grieued, caſt an ill affection, euen vpon thoſe, that gaue the fartheſt remoued occaſion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power ſufficient, againſt any oppoſition that *Ptolomie* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did liſe or nothing againſt him: either becauſe they had ſmall ſtrength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being ſure that they ſhould not themſelues haue the rule of their owne Countrie. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garrifons, drew forth an Armie, and fought with *Demetrius*. But hee was beaten, and driuen to face himſelfe within the walls of *Salmis*; where he was ſo hardily beſieged, that without ſtrong ſuccour hee had no likelihood to make good the place, much leſſe to retaine poſſeſſion of the whole Iſland. His greateſt helpe at the preſent, was the fidelitie of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could winne from him, nor good vſage (when any of them were taken priſoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the firſt opportunitie. Moſt of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Aegypt*, which was enough to keepe them faithfull. Yet could not this their reſolution haue ſtood long, againſt the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as reſolute, and againſt his terrible Engines of batterie, if *Ptolomie* had not halted to the reſcue.

*Ptolomie* brought with him, a hundred and fortie Gallies, beſides two hundred ſhips

ships of burden, for transporting his Armie and Carriages. This fleet made a terrible thew, when it was decried a farr; though more than halfe of it, was vntil for seruice, in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadfull, *Ptolomie* sent vnto *Demetrius*, a threatening message: willing him to be gone, in lesse he would be ouerwhelmed with multitudes, & trampled to death in a throng. But this yong Gallant, repaid him, with words of as much brauerie, promising to let him escape, vpon condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of *Siegon* and *Corinth*.

*Demetrius* had no more then one hundred and eghteen Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of *Ptolomie*, better stored, with weapons fit for that seruice; and very well furnished with Engines in the prowes, to beat vpon the Enemie. Neuerthelesse he stood in great doubt, of three score Gallies, that lay in the Haven of *Salamis*, least *Menelaus* with them should set vpon his back; in which case, it was likely that all should goe very ill with him. Against this mischiefe, hee bellowed ten of his owne Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to keepe *Menelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his horse-men on the shore, to giue what assistance they could, he with the rest of his fleet, puts to Sea against *Ptolomie*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull success. The Generalls were not ranged opposite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his owne fleet. Each of them preuailed against the Squadron wherewith he encountered; but the success of *Demetrius* was to better purpose. For his victorie in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally draue all to betake themselves vnto speedie flight. As for *Ptolomie*, he was faine to leaue his advantage vpon the enemie in one part of the fight, that he might relieue and animate those of his owne which needed him in another. Wherein hee found his losse ouer-great, to be repaired, by contending any longer, against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to saue himselfe, in hope of better euent, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battaile, no vnusuall accident; yet was the victorie greater then could haue bene expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-seruices, which the *Greekes* and *Phanicians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had, about those which followed *Ptolomie*: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein consisted no lesse, than in the qualitie of those with whom they were manned. Further, we may reasonably iudge, that the two hundred ships of burthen, carying the strength of *Ptolomies* Armie, did not more encourage his owne men and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight; than breede in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight, they fell out, and stood aloofe. For though it were fitting, that they should so doe; yet a multitude, prepossessed with vaine conceits, will commonly apprehend very slight occasions, to thinke themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation, that *Menelaus* issuing with his fleet out of *Salamis*, should charge the enemies in sterne, was vtterly frustrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to barre vp the mouth of the Haven: which they manfully performed, as a great necessitie required.

Such disappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in fight; especially of the assailants: whereas on the contrary, they that finde some part of their feares vaine, doe easily gather hopefull spirits, and conceiue an opinion of their owne abilitie to doe more than they had thought vpon, out of their not suffering the harme that they had imagined.

Whatsoever the causes of this victorie were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomie* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken or sunke. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer stirre against the violence of Fortune; but yielded vp all that hee held in *Cyprus*, together with his Armie, consisting of twelue thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse,

horse, and those Gallies in the Haven of *Salamis*. The same dejection of Spirit, was found, in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had serued the *Egyptian* by Land: none of them repoying any more confidence in *Ptolomie*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whose Armie they now increased.

It was generally beleued, that much more depended on the euent of this fight, than the Ile of *Cyprus*; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking euery day a yeare, till he were aduertised of the issue. In this moode *Aristodemus* found him, a notable flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured, with the Message of these good newes. *Aristodemus* had betought himselfe of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his ioyfull errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; he himselfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the ship; and so all alone, he went forward, looking very sadly that no part of his tidings, might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arriual (for it was knowne where he had bene) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after Messenger, to meet him on the way, and bring speedie word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be wonne from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he faire and softly forward, with a great throng at his heeles (that serued well to set out his Pageant) vntill he came in sight of *Antigonus*; who could not containe himselfe, but went downe to meet him at the Gate, and heare the newes. Then did *Aristodemus*, vpon the suddaine, with a high voice salute *Antigonus* by the name of King; uttering the greatnesse of the victorie (with as much pompe, as before he had couered it with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gaue that name of King, both to *Antigonus*, and to his sonne *Demetrius*. *Antigonus* in requital of the long silence, wherein *Aristodemus* had held him, said that it should also be long ere he receiued his reward. But the title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, he could not with a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his sonne.

When it was once noised abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long, ere their fellowes were readie to follow the good example. *Ptolomies* friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord should be thought a man dejected, for the losse of a fleet: therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace* had boldnesse enough, to put the Diademe about his owne head. *Selenus* had, before this time, among the Barbarous people, taken vpon him as King: but now he vsed the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himselfe contented, with his owne name: whereby howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his crueltie, against his Masters house. But the name which he forbore, his sonnes, after him, were bold to vsurpe, though with ill success, as will appeare, when they shall enter vpon the Stage; whereon these old *Tragicians*, vnder new habits, as no longer now the same persons, beginne to play their parts, with bigger lookes, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes already past.

## CHAP. VI.

Of the warres betweene the Kings of *Egypt, Asia, Macedonia, Thrace, and others*: vntill all *ALEXANDERS Princes* were consumed.

## §. I.

The Expedition of *ANTIGONVS* against *Egypt*; with ill successe.



ALL the rest of these Kings had taken that name vpon them, in imitation of *Antigonvs* himselfe, as be-  
seeming his greatnesse: which was such as gaue him  
hope, to swallow them vp, together with their new  
titles. Being not ignorant of his owne strength, hee  
resolved to linge out *Ptolomie*, and make him an ex-  
ample to others: who should hardly be able to stand,  
when the greatest of them was fallen. To this pur-  
pose hee prepared an Armie of eightene thousand  
foot, and eight thousand horse, with foure-score and  
three Elephants: as likewise a fleet of a hundred and  
fiftie Gallies, and a hundred ships of burden. The Land-forces he commanded in  
person: of the Nauie *Demetrius* was Admirall.

When all was readie for the iourne, the Sea-men aduised him, to stay yet eight  
dayes longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleades*. But his haitie desire, to prevent  
all preparations for resistance that *Ptolomie* should make, rejected this counsaile,  
imputing it rather to their feare than skill. Wherefore he departed from *Antigonia*  
(a Towne which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his owne name, that was  
foone changed into *Selenus*, by his mortall Enemy) and came to *Gaza*; where hee  
met with his fleet. The nearer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haile hee made:  
thinking by celeritie to preuaile more then by his great power. He caused his Sould-  
iers to carrie ten daies prouision of victuals; and had many Camells loaden with  
all necessaries for passing the Deserts, ouer which he marched with no small toile,  
though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Casius*, which is neare adjoining to  
*Nilus*, he saw his fleet, riding at Anchor, not farre from the shore; in ill case,  
and many ships wanting. It had bene sorely beaten with loule weather, wherein some  
were lost, others driuen back to *Gaza*, or scattered else where into such creeks as they  
could recouer: *Demetrius* himselfe, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long  
beat it vp against the winde, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremitie,  
he and all his must haue perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and *Anti-  
gonus* appeared in sight, from whom these ouer-weared, thirlye, and Sea-beaten  
Souldiers receiued reliefe. After these painfull traualles there followed a Warre  
no lesse painefull than to little purpose, for *Ptolomie* had so fortified all the passages  
vpon the Riuer of *Nilus*, as he assured himselfe either to end the warre there, or if  
his guards should happen to be fort, yet could it not be done, but so much to the  
weakening of the Assailants, as he should afterward, with a second Armie (which he  
held entire) entertaine the Inuader vpon aduantage enough. All that *Antigonus*  
sought was to come to blowes speedily, *Ptolomie* on the contrarie to beat *Antigonus*  
by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gaue him water enough, but wood hee had none  
to warme it, and while *Antigonus* assaulted the Rampiers raised vpon the Riuer in  
vaine,

vaine, *Ptolomie* assured the faith of his Souldiers with good successe, for with great  
gifts, and greater promises, he karried them ouer so fast, as had not *Antigonus* thrust  
some assured Regiments, vpon the passages next the enemy, and in the meane  
while taken a resolution to returne, *Ptolomie* had turned him out of *Egypt*, ill  
attended.

Some of them indeede he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he  
put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the same ill successe  
that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he inuaded *Egypt*: had he not readily re-  
moued his Armie further off, from the noise of their entertainment, that had al-  
readie bene wonne from him. To prevent therefore as well the present danger of  
his stay, as the shame following a forth retreat, hee secretly practized the aduice of  
his Councell, vpon whom the burden must be laid of his entrance, and leaving  
*Egypt*.

It is indeede lesse prejudiciall in such like cases, that errors, dishonours, and  
losses, be laid on Concellours and Captaines, than on Kings, on the Directed than  
on the Director, for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious,  
than that of a Vassall; *Charles* the first, as many other Princes haue done, laid the  
losse and dishonour hee receiued in the inuasion of *France*, by the way of *Provinces*,  
to *Antoine de Lens*, whither iustly or no, I know not; but howsoeuer all the His-  
torians of that time agree, that the sorrow therof cost that braue Captaine his life.  
Certainly to giue any violent aduice in doubtful enterprises, is rather a testimonie  
of loue, than of wisdom, in the giuer; for the ill successe is alwaies cast vpon the  
Councell, the good neuer wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it.  
Yet I haue sometime knowne it that great Commanders, who are for the present in  
place of Kings, haue not only bene disswayed, but held in a kinde by strong hand,  
from hazarding their owne persons, and yet haue those kinde of Mutiners neuer  
bene called to a Marshalls Court.

## §. II.

How the Citie of *Rhodes* was beseged by  
*DEMETRIUS*.

His departure of *Antigonus* left behind it many dead carcases, and a  
great deale of joy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomie* held a solemn feast, and sent  
Messengers abroad, loaden with glad newes, to *Selenus*, *Lysimachus*,  
and *Cassander*, his Confederates: strongly encouraging all that side  
with the report of this his late felicitie, though it appeared but in a  
dekinishe warre. *Antigonus* on the contrarie flattered himselfe with another inter-  
pretation, calling the joyes of his enemies for witness of his owne greatnesse, see-  
ing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare fauours by the last  
bargaine, and himselfe, as he supposed, having lost but a little time, and no part of  
his honour in the late retreat. How soeuer it were, yet he meant to follow his affaires  
henceforth in another fashon, for that which he could not cleaue a-sunder by great  
blowes, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first,  
to fell the Tree it selfe with the more facilitie. To effect which, he resolved (lea-  
uing the great ones to grow a while) to roote vp the Dependants of his Enemies:  
Dependants, whom the forenamed Confederates should be fort, either to relieue,  
or to loose; and hereby he doubt.d not, to draw them into the field, where the ad-  
uantage of power, and of all other warlike prouisions, promised him victorie.

At this time the Citie of *Rhodes* was very mightie, being well gouerned, and  
hauing long held it selfe in good Neutralitie, it drew the better part of all the trade  
of

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of those parts, and thereby a great deale of riches to it selfe, to maintaine which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed ships, by which it not only beat off all Pyrates and pettie Theeves, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacie.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must eyther refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendlesse and a part, or joyne themselves to some one; and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carried them to the *Egyptians*, both because the greater part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his disposition, greatnesse, & neighbourhood was fearful vnto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages, more apparent; gaue argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himselfe against them by pettie iniuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grieuances, while he made a more waightie preparation to pursue the warre against them openly and strongly. All things soone after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprise, he employed his sonne *Demetrius* against them in their owne Iland, who brought such terror vpon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance, and seruice against whomsoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this charge came, and that the alteration was perswaded by feare, and not by loue; raised his demands to an intollerable height, requiring a hundred hostages to be deliuered him, and libertie to lodge in their Port as manie ships of warre as himselfe pleased: these conditions, more properly to be imposed vpon a State already conquered, then on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored vnto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, and made them resolute to defend their libertie to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bond-men, and wisely rather to make them their fellow Citizens, than to make themselves fellow slaues with them.

*Demetrius* having refused the faire conditions offered, and the *Rhodians* the fearefull ones propounded them, makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carrie the place in furie, he set in hand with his Engines of batterie, in the inuention and vse of which, he neuer shewed himselfe a greater *Artisan*, then in this warre. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the assaults giuen them for a whole year, after many braue saillies out of the Towne, and the famine which they indured within the Towne, which had proued farre more extreme, if *Ptolomie* had not with many hazards relievied them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embassadors, gaue ouer the siege; a hundred hostages they gaue him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrats and officers of the Citie.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the vsuall policie of warre, and state: for while with the flowre of all his fathers forces, he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the warre as in former times, by practise and surprise, but by a strong and well compounded armie, which hee himselfe led as farre as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed and indangered *Athenis* it selfe. On the other side (though with lesse successe) did *Pyrrhus* inuade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous vndertakings vpon *Greece*, aduised the *Athenians* and *Aitolians* to dispatch their Embassadors towards *Demetrius*, and aduised *Demetrius* rather to abandon the enterprise of *Rhodes*, then to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten, by setting all *Greece* at libertie.

*Demetrius* was no looser out of the Iland, then that the *Rhodians* erected statues in honour of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*, but for *Ptolomie*, whom they most affected, and from whom they receiued their most reliefe, they consulted the Oracle of *Delphos*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a God. The Priests which attended in the Temple

Temple of *Hammon*, gaue the same faire answer for *Ptolomie*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Master, for as *Alexander* consulted the Oracle with an Armie at his heeles; so was *Ptolomie* at this time Lord of the soile: and yet was this a farre more cleanly creation, then that done by the *Athenians*, who deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of *Alexanders* Captaines could not content themselves with the stile of Kings, but that they would needs be called Gods.

### §. III.

How *Demetrius* prevailed in *Greece*, *Cassander* desires peace of *Antigonus*, and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of warre against *Antigonus*.

**D**EMETRIUS comming with a strong Fleet and Armie into *Greece*, quickly draue *Cassander* out of *Attica*; and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of *Thermopylae*. Herein his reputation did much auail him; which was so great, that sixe thousand of his enemies Souldiers reuolted vnto him. So partly by the greatnesse of his name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those straights, and giuing libertie vnto the people, hee bestowed vpon the *Athenians* those peeces, which had bene fortified against them, to block them vp. Then went he into *Peloponnesus*, where he found the like, or more easie successe: for hee suddenly tooke *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the moit of the Countie, bestowing libertie vpon such as needed it. The Towne of *Sicyon* hee translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old seat into another place: and called it after his owne name *Demetrias*. This done, he betooke himselfe to his pleasure: At the *Isthmian* games he caused himselfe to be proclaimed Capitaine Generall of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he despised all others, making it a matter of jest, that any, saue himselfe or his Father, should vsurpe the name of King. But in his behauiour hee was so farre vnlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, he deserved none other name then of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as readie as euer to deuide new honours for him: among which they made one decree, that whatsoeuer King *Demetrius* should command, ought to bee held sacred with the Gods, and iust with Men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great feare, least the warres should fall heauily vpon him in *Macedon*, which to auoide, he knew no better way then to make peace with his enemy betimes. And to that purpose he sent Embassadors; but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, then that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in soliciting his friends, both to assist him, and take heede to themselves; neither found hee them slow in apprehending the common Danger, for *Lysimachus* knew, that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soone be Master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that, which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himselfe in quiet possession of those Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with ioynt forces they should all together set vpon the common Enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That hee would as easily scatter them, as a flock of Birds are driuen away with a stone. With these conceits hee pleased himselfe, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Towne of *Antigonia* (a name

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that

that it must shortly loose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glorie. But thither was brought vnto him the tumultuous newes of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* had committed vnto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to passe ouer into *Asia*, while him selfe with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellepont*, beganne to make hot warre vpon the Subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to ioyne with him, by faire meanes; winning others by force, and waisting the Countrey round about.

To repress this vnexpected boldnesse, *Antigonus* made hastie iournies, and came soone enough to recover his losses, but not long enough to driue *Lysimachus* home, or compell him to come to battaile. *Lysimachus* waited for the coming of *Seleucus*; keeping himselfe the whilest from necessitie of fighting. But *Babylon* was farre off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to bee soone in a readinesse. The Winter also did hinder his iourne: which enforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspence, and bred much expectation. Yet might all haue come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* beene so froward, that hee refused to yeeld vnto any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neare with a mightie Armie of his owne (for hee had gathered strength in that long time of leisure, which *Antigonus* had giuen him) and with great aide from *Ptolomie*, that was ioynd with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull case, *Demetrius* was called ouer into *Asia* by his Fathers letters; which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, vpon reasonable termes: to the end he might not be driuen to leaue any part of his Armie for defence of the Countrey; and that his iourne might bee without any such blemish of reputation, as if hee had abandoned his Dependents: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of *Greece* should be at libertie. *Cassander* was glad to bee so rid of an Enemie, that was too strong for him. Yet would this league haue done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise then they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred vnto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, euery one found meanes to cleare himselfe of all incumbrances elsewhere, to the end that each might freely apply himselfe to the triall of the maine controuerisie in *Asia*.

### §. IIII.

How *ANTIGONVS* was slaine in a great battaile at *Issus*, neare vnto *Ephesus*; wherein his whole estate was lost.

**S**ELEVCVS, with his Sonne *Antiochus*, ioyning with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Armie, which was (all considered) not inferior to that of the Enemie. In greatnesse of name (that helpeth much in all warres, but especially in the Ciuill) they were rather vnswearable, than equal to their aduersaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them vnder with a mastering spirit, and had beene reputed a King indeede, when the rest were held but vsurpers of the title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a braue Commander, hauing giuen proofe of his worth in many great seruices of all kinds, and enriched the Art of warre with many inventions, which euen his enemies, & particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had sometimes flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully stolen away from him to saue his life; with yong *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this iourne; and *Lysimachus*, that had liued long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yielded to their opposites: yet so, that as ancient

ancient Captaines vnder *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthie enough, to receiue any benefit that fortune might giue, and the third a Prince of great hope; whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardie and well exercised: many of them hauing serued vnder *Alexander*; though of those old Companies, the long space of two and twentie yeares had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections; the followers of *Seleucus* were easily perswaded, that in this battaile they must either get the vpper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged vnto the Confederate Princes: whereas *Antigonus* his men could discern no other necessitie of fighting, than the obdurate qualitie of their Lord, that needs would be Matter of all. *Antigonus* had about thre score and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and thre score and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were fixe thousand more of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the odds of fixe hundred; of Elephants they had foure hundred, and a hundred and twentie armed Chariots of warre; which helps, though they little had auailed the *Persians*, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captaine.

*Antigonus* himselfe, either troubled with the vnexpected grantees of his enemies forces, or prelagging little good like to ensue, grew very peniue, communing much in priuate with his sonne, whom he commended to the Armie as his Successor: whereas in former times he had neuer been so ioynd, as towards the houre of battaile, nor had beene accustomed to make his sonne, or any other, priue to his counsaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards deuiled, I hold it needlesse to recount: *Tiana* of *Ephesus* dwelt neare to the place of battaile, a buie Goddess in many great fights, and therefore likely to haue beene thrust into the scale, if any matter, nearly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is ealie to beleene that these two so gallant Armies, contrayning well neare all the strength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by such worthie Commanders, and whom the issue thereof did highly concerne. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an ealie losse in regard of the much varietie, wherewith euery storie aboundeth in this kinde. The most memorable things in the battaile, were these. *Demetrius* with his best force of horse, charged valiantly vpon yong *Antiochus*; whom when hee had broken, and put to flight, hee was so transported with the heat of his good successe, that he neuer gaue ouer his pursute, but left his Father naked, and lost thereby both him, and the victorie. For when *Seleucus* perceived this aduantage, he enteredposd his Elephants, betwene *Demetrius* and the Phalans of *Antigonus*: and with many troupes of horse offering to breake vpon the enemies battaile, wherefor it lay most open, he did to terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather chose to reuolt from their Lord, whilst they were fairly invited, than to sustain the furie of so dangerous an impression. To his cowardize, or rather treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all into flight; expoling their Generall to the last end of his delinies. *Antigonus* was then foure score yeares old, very fat and vniuelle, so that hee was vnapt for flight, if his high spirit could haue entertained any thought thereof. Hee had about him some of his most trustie followers, and as many others as hee could hold together. When one that perceiued a great troupe making towards his person, told him, *Sir King, yonder companie meanes to charge you*; he answered, *Well may they; for who desends me? but anon DEMETRIUS will releue vs*. Thus expecting, to the very last, that his sonne should come to the rescue, he receiued so many Darts into his body, as tooke away his lately ambitious, but then fearefull hopes, together with his troublesome life.

His great abilitie in matter of Armes, together with his insatiable desire of Empire, haue sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loued by his friends; as one that could not moderate

his fortune, but yed insolence towards all a like, as if it had bene some vertue nearest representing a Kingly Majestic. This was the cause that so many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Armie forsooke him in his last needfull. For those Kings and Princes that call all the careful indications of their Vassalls, only dutie and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest services: shall finde themselves vpon the first change of fortune, (seeing it is loue only that staies by aduersitie) not only the most friendlesse, but euen the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he liued; in part he left it to be verified vpon his son.

## b. V.

How *Demetrius* forsaken by the *Athenians* after his ouerthrow, was reconciled to *Seleucus* and *Ptolomie*, beginning a new fortune, and shortly entering into new quarrells.

**H**ow *Demetrius*, at his returne, from the idle pursuit of yong *Antiochus*, finding all quite lost, was glad to saue himselfe, with foure thousand horse, and five thousand foot, by a speedy retreat vnto *Ephesus*, whence he made great haste towards *Athen*, as to the place, that for his sake would suffer any extremities. But while he was in the midst of his course thither, the *Athenian* Embassadors met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their Citie. These were Embassadors, not *Theori*, or *Consulters* with the Oracle. It was a shamelesse ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his miserie, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamitie more afflict the vnforsunate Prince, than to see his aduersitie despised by those whom he had thought his surest friends. Yet was he faine to giue good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Haven, of which he now stood in great neede, and therefore was faine to speake them faire, that sometimes had grossly flattered him. But he shall liue to teach them their old language, and speake vnto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships he sailed to the *Isthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were euerie where broken vp; the Souldiers hauing betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Armie and Fleet, without monie or means wherewith to sustaine him and his followers any long time. All the rest or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in diuiding among the Conquerors, and those few places which as yet held for him (hauing not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieue, for to put himselfe into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power, and to inclose himselfe in any of them, how strong soeuer, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to burie himselfe and his estate. Hee therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest briers, fell vpon a corner of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom, whereof hee gaue all the Spoile, that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne losses hauing bene too great to be repayed againe by small prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to bulie themselves, in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late victorie had made them Lords, wherein *Seleucus* had a notable aduantage by being present and Master of the field, for neither *Ptolomie*, nor *Cassander* were at the ouerthrow giuen, hauing only sent certaine troupes to re-inforce the Armie which *Seleucus* led, who tooke hold of a part of *Asia* the lesse, and all *Syria*, being no otherwise diuided from his owne Territorie than by the Riuier of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order bene taken by the Confederates, for the diuision of all those Lands: because they did not expect to prosperous an issue of that warre, which they made only in their

their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that he could of the victorie, at which, neuertheless others did repine, and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the ouer-greatnesse of *Seleucus* brought no lesse danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted vpon the same reason of state as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined, for he read it in the Law vniuersall of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hercupon they forget friendship on all sides, and cure themselves of all vnprofitable passion, the hatred of each to other, and their loues being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so farre too light, as *Seleucus* who had to day slaine *Antigonus* the father, and driven *Demetrius* the sonne out of *Asia*, sought to morrow how to match himselfe with *Stratonice*, *Demetrius* his daughter, and so by *Demetrius* to serue his turne against *Lysimachus*.

The storie of this *Stratonice*, with whom yong *Antiochus*, the sonne of *Seleucus* fell so passionately in loue, and so dis tempered, as *Seleucus* his father, to saue his sonnes life, gaue her (though she were his wife) vnto him, and how his passion was discovered by his pulle; is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance betwene *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; betwene *Ptolomie* and *Lysimachus*; betwene *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; betwene *Demetrius* and *Ptolomie*; though for the present it brought him againe into the rancke of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages betwene Christian Kings haue done in later times, namely betwene the *Austrians*, the *Aragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither haue the Leagues of those elder times bene found more faithfull, then those of the same later times haue bene; as in the stories of *Charles* the eighth of *France*, and of *Charles* the Emperour, of *France* the first, and of the Kings of *Naples*, *Dukes of Milan*, and others, the Reader may obserue: betwene whom from the yeare of our Lord, *One thousand, foure hundred, ninetie and five*, when *Charles* the eighth vndertook the Conquest of *Naples*, to the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, when *Henrie* the second died, the Histories of those times tell vs that all the bonds, cyther by the bed or by the booke, cyther by weddings, or Sacramentall Oathes, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reape this profit by giuing his daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recouered *Cilicia* from *Plitarchus*, the brother of *Cassander*; who had gotten it as his share in the diuision of *Antigonus* his possessions; for the Intruder was not strong enough to holde it by his proper forces from him, that entred vpon it as a lawfull Heire, neither would *Seleucus* lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacie he should haue done against the common enemy. So *Plitarchus* with very angry complaint, as well against *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went vnto *Cassander*; whither *Phila*, their sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keepe all quiet; being sent for that purpose by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not strong enough to deale with *Cassander*, and therefore glad to make vse of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne prosperitie, he neuer tooke notice to the others good. About the same time he tooke to wife a daughter of *Ptolomie* (pluraltie of wiues being familiar with these *Asie* *Ionians*); that had learned it in their Easterne conquests; and so was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than strengthened with two friends, for neither of them wished him any good, otherwife then might seeme to aduance their owne ambitious desires.

*Seleucus* and *Ptolomie* could both of them haue bene contented better, that *Demetrius*, with helpe of their countenance, should seeke his fortune somewhat farther off than settle his estate vnder their noses. Particularly *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himselfe; and *Ptolomie* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Isle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were so, that *Seleucus* would haue bene set his new father in law vpon the neck of *Lysimachus*; or whether hee were indeede greedie of the bargain, he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready monie,

his late purchase of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not hearken, but meant to keepe as much Land as hee could, hauing alreadye found in *Cilicia* twelue thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would serue him to make sport a while. This refusall so displeased *Seleucus*, that in angrie termes hee demanded the Citie of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to bee surrendered vnto him; which were the only places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaile. In stead of giuing them vp, *Demetrius* tooke present order to haue them better manned; and spake it stoutly, That were hee ouer-come a thousand times, yet would hee not hire *Seleucus* to become his sonne in law. In this quarrell *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his father-in-law for two Townes, from whom he had alreadye taken more then well hee knew how to gouerne. But the fire consumed it selfe in words, which had it falned vpon armes, like it is that the weaker should haue found friends, out of enuie to the stronger.

## §. V I.

How *Demetrius* wanne the Citie of *Athens*, and preuailed in *Greece*, but lost in *Asia*. Of troubles in *Macedon* following the death of

CASSANDER.

**I**N the meane while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to vse the liber- tie, which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, vnder the tyrannie of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their dis- tempered Citie was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keepe off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage haile- ned him, whom they had once called their God and Saviour, to present him selfe vnto them, in the habit of a reuenging Iurie. Hee brought against them all the force that he could wel spare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull *Esallene* friends, were vnwilling to giue imped- 30 ment to any businesse, that might entangle him in *Greece*. His last enterprise in *Athens* had beene successfull; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But hee soone repaired the losse; and (after some victories in *Peloponnesus*, where hee wanne diuers Townes that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprise, wasted the Countie of *Attica*, and cut off all reliefe from the Citie, both by Land and Sea. *Athens* was not able to feede the great multitude within it, any long time: for it stood in a barren soile, and wanted now the command of those Ilands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals; being also destitute of meanes to keepe such a Nauie, as might bring in supply, or dare to doe any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolemie*, 40 who (trusting thereby to winne the loue of *Greece*) had loaden a hundred and fiftie ships with corne, and sent them to releue the hungrie Citie. But these hundred and fiftie were vnable to deale with three hundred good fighting ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore basted them away betimes, as hauing done enough, in aduenturing to come so neare, that they might be discised. This brake the heart of the people; among whom the famine was so extreme, that a Father and his Sonne did fight for a dead Mousie, which dropped downe betwene them from the housetop. Wherefore they sent Embas- sadours to yeeld vp the Towne, and craue pardon, hauing so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence, to propose any motion of peace. 50 Yet were they faine to abolish this decree: rather because they knew not what else to doe, then because they hoped to be forgiven.

*Demetrius*, contented with the honour of the victorie, did not only forbear to take away the liues of these vnthankfull men; which they had submitted vnto his mercie;

mercie; but out of his liberalitie gaue them soode, and placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Neuertheless hee was growne wiser then to truit them so farre as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their *Hauens*, and dis- 10 pose of them at his pleasure; he was readie to lay hold vpon the word, and leaue a sure Garrison within their walls, to keepe them honest perforce. After this he went into *Peloponnesus*, vanquished the *Lacedemonians* in two battailes, and was in very faire possibilitie to take their citie: when the dangerous news called him in all haste, of *Lyfimachus* and *Ptolemie*, that preuailed faster vpon him else where, than himselfe 15 had gotten all the Iste of *Cyprus*, except the Citie of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children and Mother, that were straightly besieged. Whilste he was be- thinking himselfe which way to turne his forces, a notable peece of businesse offered it selfe, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

*Cassander* was lately dead in *Macedon*, and soone after him, *Philip* his eldest sonne, whose two yonger bretherens, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, fought for the Kingdome. In this quarrell *Thessalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had mar- 20 ried, seemed better affected to *Alexander*, then to her elder soane: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his owne Mother. The odiousness of this fact gaue a faire lustre to *Alexanders* cause: drawing the generallitie of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in reuenge of the *Queenes* death, vpon that wicked parti- 30 zan *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lyfimachus*, whose Daugh- ter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his partie good without some forraigne aide. For which cause he called in both *Pyrhus* and *Demetrius*, who how they dealt with him, it will soone appeare, in the following Tragedie, of him and his brother. Their Father *Cassander* had bene one that shifted well for him- selfe, at such time as euery man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered di- 40 uision of the Empire. Hee was cunning in practice, and a good Souldier: one of more open dealing then were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely haue made away. Hee deeply hated the memorie of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head against a wall, vpon some o- pinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditarie quarrell, deriued from his Father, whom shee could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by crueltie, that shee vsed against his friends, both aliue and dead, as it made him aduenture vpon shedding the Royall blood; wherewith, when once hee had stained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that course of murder. His carefullnesse to destroy those women and children, whose liues hindered his pur- 45 pose, argues him to haue bene rather skilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: such crueltie being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a farre off the dan- gers, that may quietly passe away: and seeks to auoide them by base and wicked meanes, as neuer thinking it selfe safe enough, vntill there be nothing left, that car- ries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may bee said, that they had well deserued the bloudie end which ouer-tooke them; yet ill befecmed it *Cassander* to doe the office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no law of men de- 50 serued, to die for the tyranie of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his bed, yet the diuine Iustice brought swords vpon his wife and children, that well reuenged the crueltie of this bloudie man, by destroying his whole house, as he had done his Masters.

## §. VII.

## p. VII.

OF PYRRHVS and his doings in Macedonia. The death of CASSANDERS children.  
 DEMETRIVS gets the Kingdome of Macedon; preuailes in warre against the Greeks;  
 Looseth reputation in his warre against PYRRHVS, and in his Ciuill Govern-  
 ment, and prepares to win Asia. How all conspire against DEMETRIVS.  
 PYRRHVS and LYSIMACHVS invade him, his Armie yeelds  
 to PYRRHVS, who shares the Kingdome of Macedon  
 with LYSIMACHVS.

**P**YRRHVS, the Sonne of that vnfortunate Prince *Acides*, which perished in warre against *Cassander*, was hardly preferred, being a sucking Infant, from the furie of his Fathers enemies. When his Followers had conueighed him to *Glaucias*, King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would haue bought his life with the price of two hundred talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his Heire. *Glaucias* was so far from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that hee restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelue yeares of age. Within the compasse of sixe yeares, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, draue him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went hee to *Demetrius* (who married his sister) became his Page; followed him a while in his wars; was with him in the great battaile of *Issus*, whence hee fled with him to *Ephesus*; and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolonie*. In *Aegypt* he so behaued himselfe, that he got the fauour of *Berenice*, *Ptolonie* principall wife; so that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon sent home, with monie and men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolonie*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdome of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out that businesse betweene the children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

*Antipater*, the elder of *Cassanders* sonnes, was so farre too weake for *Pyrrhus*, that hee had no desire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an halfe agreement, and diuided the Kingdome with his younger brother *Alexander*; who likewise felt the aide of *Pyrrhus* so troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacitie to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Countrie, as the reward of his paines: leaving the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessitie leaured the brethren to composition: but their composition would not satisfie *Demetrius*, who tooke the matter hainously, that he was sent for, and made a toole, to come so farre with an Armie, and finde no worke for it. This was a fruitles complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to doe as *Pyrrhus* had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wise course, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him vpon some aduantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the storie, and it might bee true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, beleued it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himselfe was sealed and slaine by *Demetrius*; who tooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; executing the fact so well, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughtie man *Cassander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lysimachus* was bulied in warre with a King of the wilde *Thracians*: for thereby hee was compelled to seeke peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtaine, he caused the remainder of *Macedon* to bee giuen vp; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his sonne in law. At this ill bargain *Antipater* grievously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stormed, vntill his Father in law, to saue the labour of making many excuses, tooke away his trouble-

trouble some life. Thus in haste, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to auoide molestation, were slaine the children of *Cassander*: of *Cassander* that had slaine his owne Masters children, in a wise course of policie, with carefull meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his owne house, that fell downe vpon his graue, ere the earth on it was thoroughly settled.

It might be thought, that such an access of Dominion, added much to the greatness of *Demetrius*. But indeede it shewed his infirmic; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of ciuill Government: but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the vse and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none other, than to doe what a King listed. Hee gaue himselfe ouer to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those that offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing iustice. He hath more skill in getting a Kingdome, than in ruling it: warre being his recreation, and luxurie his nature. By long rest (as sixe yeares raigne is long to him, that knows not how to raigne one yeare) hee discoursed so much of his worst condition, as made both the people wearie of his idleness; and the Souldiers, of his vanitie. He was freed from care of matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost, though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolonie* had with great honor, entertained and dismissed his mother and children. This afforded him the better leisure, of making warre in *Greece*: where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and wonne their Citie twice in short space, but vied his victorie with mercie. Against *Lysimachus* he would faine haue done somewhat (the peace betweene them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this iourney purchased nothing but enmitie. Another expedition he tooke in hand against *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse euent. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Macedon*; which hee had indeede as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdome; he had also made excursions into *Thessalie*; but there needed not any hand some pretence of quarrell, seeing *Demetrius* thought himselfe strong enough to ouer-runne his enemies Countrie, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they haue knowne raw Nouices in that facultie, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinarie. *Pyrrhus* was a Capitaine, whom later ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the ranke of Generalls, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, he missed that part of the Armie, which *Demetrius* led, and fell vpon the other halfe: which hee ouerthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his priuate valour, shewed in single combat against *Pantachus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of bodie, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was vtrly beate. The losse of this battaile did not so much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behauiour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the liuely figure of *Alexander* in his best qualitie. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (said they) none, saue *Pyrrhus*, is like him indeed, in performing the office of a Capitaine.

These rumours were not more nourished by the vertue of the *Epirot*, than by dislike of their owne King; whom they began to dislike, so much in regard of his vnprofitable journey into *Epirus* (for he had wasted much of the Countrie, and brought home his Armie in good case) as of his insolence, that grew daily more and more intollerable. His apparell seemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too sumptuous and new fangled, but very vnmanly; and seeming chiefly to be a daily witness, how much hee contemned them and their good opinion. Of his Souldiers liues he was rechelesse: and suffered vniuersally this vn-princely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay. Hee made a mockerie of iustice; and (as it were, to publish vnto all his Subjects, how

little he esteemed it or them) hauing by a shew of popularitie inuited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poore suters after him in great hope, till comming to a bridge, he threw all their writings into the Riuer; pleasing himselfe, in that he could so easily and so boldly deliue the cares of other men. By these courtes he grew so odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacitie, and inuading *Macedon*, had almost wonne it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sick in his bed: who recouering health, and taking the field, had such great odds of strength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he beganne to haue some feeling of the generall hate, which to redresse, he did not (for he could not) alter his owne conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by letting them on worke in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appeare; that is, in a great warre. His intent was to inuade *Asia*, with a Royall Armie: wherein the fortune of one battaile might giue him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, hee first made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that so hee might leaue all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mightie Armie, of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse: with a Naue of fife hundred saile, wherein were many ships, farr exceeding the greatnesse of any that had bene scene before; yet so swift and vntail withall, that the greatnesse was least part of their commendation.

The terrible time of these preparations made *Seleucus* and *Ptolemie* suspect their owne forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to ioyne against this ambitious sonne of *Antigonus*; that was like to proue more dangerous to themall, than euer was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Asia*, there could be no securitie for his friends in *Eurepe*; what league fouer were of old concluded. Therefore they resolu'd to beginne with him betimes, and each to inuade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his owne Kingdome. *Lysimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Armie: but whilst he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Campe, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Borthea*. The matter was not ouer great: were it not, that mindes prepared with long discontent, are ready to lay hold vpon small occasions of dislike. All the camp was in vpror: some wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to vtter scdition words, and many desired leaue of *Demetrius*, to goe to their owne houses, meaning indeede to haue gone to *Lysimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Armie, he thought it the wisest way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lysimachus* their owne Countreman, against *Pyrrhus* that was a stranger: hoping by victorie against the *Epirot*, to recouer the loue of his followers, in such sort that hee might afterwards at leisure deale with the other. But herein his wisdome beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as batties he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, others answered, of his person, his armor, and other tokens whereby he might be knowne; as particularly, by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his crest. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Diuers of them stole away, and ranne ouer into *Pyrrhus* his campe: where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get light of *Pyrrhus*, they would all salute him King. To trie this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and presented himselfe bareheaded in view of the camp, whether some were sent before to prepare his welcome. The newes of his arrival found a generall applause, and euerie one began to looke out, with desire to set eye on him. His face was not so well knowne as his helmet; therefore he was admonished to put it on; which done, all came about him, and proffered their seruice; neither were there any, that spake for *Demetrius*; only some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes, and shitt for himselfe.

himselfe. So *Demetrius* threw aside his maskers habit, and attiring himselfe poorly, did fearefully steale away out of his owne Campe: deferring well this calamitie, whether it were so, that he would not hearken to the good counsaile of his friends, or whether his behaviour depriued him of such friends, as would dare to let him heare the vnpleasant found of necessitie truth.

Whilst *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entrie, into the Kingdome of *Macedon*; *Lysimachus* came vpon him, very vnseasonably, and would needs haue battle: saying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the warre, and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gaines. The bargain was quickly made, and the diuision agreed vpon: each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to worke his fellow quite out of all, vpon better oportunitie.

### ¶ VIII.

How *Demetrius* gathering forces, enterprised many things with ill successe, in Greece and *Asia*. How he was driuen vpon *Seleucus*, and compelled to yeeld himselfe. His imprisonment and death.

THE *Athenians*, were as vnthankfull to *Demetrius* in this his aduersitie, as they had bene in former times. For they presently forsooke his friendship, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when hee went against *Lysimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in Greece, vnder his sonne *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had soone gotten an Armie; though *Phila* his wife (who is highly commended for a wife and vertuous Ladie) did poison her selfe, vpon desperate griefe of his misfortune. The first, vpon whom he attempted to throw his anger, were the *Athenians*, that had well deserued it. Hee beganne to lay siege to their Towne: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philosopher, whom they made their spokeman; and taking faire words instead of satisfaction, passed ouer into *Asia*, with eleuen thousand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune against *Lysimachus*, for the Prouinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile vpon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulsion, yielded to his obedience. There were also some Capitaines, that fell from *Lysimachus* to him, with their companies, and treasures. But it was not long, ere *Agathocles*, the sonne of *Lysimachus*, came vpon him, with an Armie so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his last stock against it. Wherefore, he resolu'd, to passe through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Prouinces of the higher *Asia*; trulling to finde a Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsaile was grieuously impeached by *Agathocles*: who pursued him close, and cut off all his prouisions, driuing him to take which waies he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes, *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome enemy: neuertheless, hee could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titularie King, with extreme famine. At length, in passing the Riuer *Lyens*, so many of *Demetrius* his men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were driuen to traualle with such speede, as might well be called a plaine flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Capitaine, escaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of *Cilicia*, whilst *Demetrius* was occupied in Greece: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claime to the Countrey; but with vehement and humble letters he besought his sonne in law, to call to minde their alliance, and to pitie him in his great miserie. These letters, at the first wrought wel with *Seleucus*; and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how

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Demetrius

Demetrius had carried himselfe, when he recovered strength after the battaile at Ipsus, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Armie.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none tooke effect, through the jealousie of Seleucus. Therefore, mere desperation enforced Demetrius, to fight like a mad man; and his furie got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sickness tooke and held him fortie dayes, in which time, a great number of his few men, ranne to the enemy. This notwithstanding he still held out, and once had like to have taken Seleucus in his bed, had not his coming been discovered by fugitives, that gave the alarme. Finally, when all his Armie had forsaken him, and left him, with a few of his friends, to shift for himselfe: hee was compelled, by the last of those adherents (for euen some of those few forsooke him) to yeeld vnto Seleucus.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his owne humanity, by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting Demetrius to his presence, though otherwise he vied him with as much fauour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept vnder sure guard in a demie island, wherein were goodly walks, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he asked roially, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his libertie was referred vnto the coming of young Antiochus and Stratonica, out of the high Countries. In this sort he spent three years, liuing merrily all the while (as one that now enioyed the happinesse, which with so much trouble and blood-shed, hee had fought in vaine) and then died, leaving to his sonne Antigonus, the same which his father had left vnto himselfe; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in Carinth; his qualities haue appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his house will shew it selfe hereafter, in times and places conuenient.

### §. IX.

The death of PTOLOMIE, of LYSIMACHVS, and of SELEVCVS, that was last of ALEXANDERS Captaines: with other occurrences.

About the same time that Demetrius died, died also Ptolomie King of Egypt; a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. Hee had, by many Wives and Concubines, many children: out of whom he selected Ptolomie Philadelphus, and caused him to raigne together with himselfe, two or three years before he died, that so hee might confirme him in the inheritance of the Kingdom. At this, Ptolomie Ceraunus (for all of that house assumed the name of Ptolomie) was grieuously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to Seleucus, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now only two of Alexanders Captaines left; Seleucus and Lysimachus. These two needed would fight for it, who should be the longest liuer of that braue Companie. The true ground of their quarrell was, their neare equalitie of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was, the murders which Lysimachus had committed vpon many of his Nobles, together with his poisoning Agathocles his eldest sonne: whose wife and children fled vnto Seleucus for aide.

The Macedons, after seuen Moneths pause, hauing spent their first heat of admiration, beganne to hearken so well to Lysimachus, their naturall Countre-man, that they forsooke Pyrrhus, vpon none other ground than because he was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, what they lightly gaue him. Lysimachus had reigned about

about five yeares alone, when the Citie of Lysimachia (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by euents, to haue foretold the fall of his house. His owne ialousie, and the infligation of a mother in law, caused him to poison his sonne Agathocles, which drew vpon him that warre, wherein (after the losse of all his fiftene children, that were taken away by diuers accidents) he perished himselfe.

Seleucus was encountered by Lysimachus on Asia side, where one battaile concluded the warre, with Lysimachus his death. It pleased Seleucus more than the victory, that he was the last of all the great Heroes which had followed Alexander. For now he seemed to himselfe, as Lord and Heire of all the conquered world. So he passed out into Macedonia, to take possession of Europe, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his daies, and within seuen moneths followed Lysimachus, and other of his fellowes, by a bloudie death: being treacherously slaine by Ptolomie Ceraunus, whose friend and Patron he had beene. Seuentie and seuen yeare old he was, when hee fought with Lysimachus, and Lysimachus was seuentie and foure. With them ended the generation of old Captaines, that had scene the daies, as it were of another world vnder the Persian: yet was there left one equall to any of them, in the Art of warre: euen Pyrrhus the Epirot, of whom we spake before; that is now readie to enter into warre with the Romans, a more warlike people, than Alexander himselfe euer did encounter. Of which warre, and of which people it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a storie more important, than any likely to ensue in Greece, or in the great Kingdomes, that were held by Alexanders Successors, with lesse (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

## CHAP. VII.

### §. I. The growth of Rome: and setting of the Easterne Kingdomes.

#### §. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominion in Italie, from the death of TULLVS HOSTILIVS, vnto such time as they were assailed by PYRRHVS.



OW Rome was founded by Romulus; settled in good order by Numa Pompilius; and by many, though small, victories, it gathered strength; vnto such time as it became the head of Latium, by the conquest of Alba, in the raigne of Tullus Hostilius: it hath bene already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the Roman greatnesse, beginneth to encounter the power of Greece, and extending it selfe out of Italie, to ouerwhelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it conuenient (as in like cases I haue done) briefly to set downe the growth of this mighty Citie, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not haue bene deliuered in the ages, wherein they were severally performed, without much interruption of the Historie, that was then occupied in matter more important.

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After

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who when hee had reigned two and thirtie years, was burnt together with his house by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grand-child to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, and not much unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdome of *Rome*. He walled the Citie about; enlarged it with the hill *Auruntine*, which he enclosed; built a bridge ouer *Tybris*, and the Citie of *Ostia* vpon the Sea, fixteene miles distant from *Rome*. Finally, hauing reigned foure and twentie years, he died, and by his last will hee left his children in charge with one *Lucunus*, the sonne of *Damaratus* a *Corinthian*, who auoiding *Cypselus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquiny*, by the name of which Towne hee was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that Citie in *Hetruria* comming to *Rome*, and encouraged by some ominous occurrents, together with his wife *Tauaquil* propheticke, he grew a fauourite of *Ancus Martius*; by his *Gracian* wit humoring the factions of the *Roman* Court, in so much that after his decease, he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the Citie. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centuries of Horse-men: neither was he lesse eminent in warre, than in peace: for he preuailed often against the *Tuscan*, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph rocke their original. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned eight and thirtie years, he was slaine by the sonnes of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had beene left Guardian. But *Tauaquil* his wife, perceiuing what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and sicke, but not dangerously. And withall signified vnto them, that in the interim of his sicknesse, one *Seruius Tullius*, whom from his birth the alwaies propheticke to be borne to great hopes, (the sonne of *P. Corniculani* and *Oscilia*, a well defended, but captiue woman) brought vp in her house, and husband vnto her daughter, should supplie her husbands place, in governing the State, vntill his recouerie: which government, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards vsurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourecore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdome in as good sort, as if it had beene a priuate household. At length, hauing two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous: and finding also that the two sonnes of *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had beene committed to his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to adde water, not oile, to fire) gaue the milde daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed sonne; and the violent, to *Aruns*, the gentle, in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it happened, the two milde ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joyned in marriage: who soone concurring, and calling the Senate together, beganne to lay claime to the Kingdome. Vpon this tumult, *Seruius Tullius* halting to the Senate (where he thought by authoritie to haue bridled insolencie) was throwne downe the staires, and going home fore bruised, was slaine by the way, when he had reigned fortie and foure yeares. Then *Tullia* his daughter, first proclaiming her husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to driue his Chariot ouer her fathers corpes; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This *Tarquine*, exercising crueltie without iustice, and tyrannie without mercie, vpon the people and Senators hauing tired him selfe and them at home, vfed the same rage of treacherie vpon his borders. He tooke *Osciculum*, *Suessula* *Pometia*, and the *Gaby*. The issue of besieging *Ardea*, a towne eighteene miles distant from *Rome*, was of bad successe. In the heate of which warre, his sonne *Sextus Tarquinius* violently rauished that chaste Ladie *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatine* wife: who in way of expiation for so vnchaste a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamie with her owne blood; so (hauing first bequeathed the reuerge vnto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatine*, and *Junius Brutus*) she

she killed her selfe: whereupon (chiefly by *Junius Brutus* his resolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was depouled and banished; and fled to *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria* for succour, in the hve and twentieth yeare of his reigne, and the two hundred fortie and fourth from the building of their Citie: in which space *Rome* had scarce gotten full possession of fiftene miles round about her.

*Junius Brutus* by the helpe of *Collatine*, hauing expelled *Tarquine*, and freed his country from that heauie yoke of bondage, enforced the people by solemn oath, neuer to admit any government by Kings amongst them: whereupon they ransacked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State vpon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But because the name of King was odious in their eares, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetuall to annuall, and from a single gouernour to a double, left perpetuall or sole dominion might be some motiue to vsurpation; and in stead of Kings they called them *Consuls*, signifying, as it may be interpreted, *Providers*: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be alwaies mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard settling of troubled waters, that the people after this innouation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their owne securitie, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to reigne vp his authoritie, fearing that tyrannie would be hereditarie, and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of *Tarquins*, fauoured alreadie of their condition. In his room was substituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the peoples eyes, gaue libertie, in matters of controuersie, to appeale from the *Consuls* to the people: and that he might as well in good as in person, auoide occasion of suspicion, caused his owne house to be pulled downe, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had beene a *Citadell*. Neyther was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples safetie, as their fauour: for hauing got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first ranke his owne sonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to rettore the banished Kings; he caused them, publickely in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all vnpartially to the blocke.

Hitherto the *Romans*, hauing by the vnblemished integritie of *Brutus*, well appeased all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter employ their militarie designements, against Forrainers; first, for their libertie; secondly, for enlarging of their possessions, and lastly, for defending their confederate Prouinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome* situated as it were in the mid-way betwene *Latium* and the *Tuscan*, hauing as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, cannot but giue occasion of offence to her neighbours; vntill by maine opposition, hauing preuailed against her borders, shee vsed them as instruments, whereby to obtaine the rest.

Their first warre, in the first yeare of *Consuls*, was against *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria*, who being ouer-perfwaded by *Tarquines* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the banished King, and with great forces, to seate him againe in his Kingdome.

In the first conflict, *Horatius Codes*, hauing long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, on the bridge ouer *Tybris*, at length feeling himselfe too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into the Riuer, like a hunted Stagge, refreshed his hote spirits, and returned safe to his fellowes, with the like resolution to giue a new charge. *Porfenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Ianiculum*, which is the verie entrance vnto the Citie, and found the victorie, in a manner, assuredly his owne: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of *Mutius Scauola* (who hauing by error slaine *Porfenna* his Secretarie, instead of the King himselfe, did in scorn of torments threatned, burne off his owne hand) hee thought it not

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any whit prejudiciall, either to his safetie, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleene, was not quite abated, though *Arms* his sonne, and *Brutus* his enemy, in single combat, had slaine each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field; and their Ladies, whose Champion hee was, for their chastitie, not for beautie, mourned the losse of him one whole year. Into his place, for the residue of his yeare, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his room (deceasing naturally before the yeare expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

*Tarquine*, vpon his ouerthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to strue against the streame, and spent the residue of his time; which was about fourteen years, priuately at *Tusculum*. Yet his sonne-in-law, *Atamilius Tullianus*, hatching a fire at thole old repulles, because *Porfenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further succour vnto the *Tarquines*, mulstered vp his *Latines*, and gaue battaile to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue vncertaine, vntill *Aulus Posthumus*, the *Roman Dictator*, (for they had created this Magistracie greater than Consuls, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Ensignes amidst the Enemy; and *Cosius* or *Spurius Cosius* (master of the Horse-men, an assistant Officer to the *Dictator*) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might runne with free violence, to recouer againe their Ensignes. This fight was so well performed, that a report went current, of *Caelor* and *Pelax*, two Gods, who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye witnesses of their valour, and fellow helpers of their victorie; for the Generall consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their paines. After this the *Romans* fierce spirits, hauing no object of valour abroad, reflected vpon themselves at home; and the sixteenth yeare after the Kings expulsion, vpon instigation of some desperate bankrupts, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an uproare in the holy Mount; vntill by *Neuenius Agrippa*, his discreet allusion, of the inconuenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might haue some new Magistrates created, to whom they might appeale in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in their controuersies, the Consuls authoritie notwithstanding. This was enacted; and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attoneement amongst themselves, they had continuall Warre with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Amongst these, the *Volsci* and *Aequi* held them longest; who made warre, of themselves, vpon the *Romans*: whereby they lost the best Citie in their whole iurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conquest, *T. Martius* got the surname of *Coriolanus*: a name honorable then, as deriued from a great victorie: although, by reason of the pouertie of the Towne, as a *Roman* Generall, in after times, would haue bene ashamed of that title. But yet these graces had bene no occasion of disparagement, had hee not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, aduised to sell corne, which they procured from *Sicily*, at too high a rate, to the people: whereupon, *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, and after iudgement, banished him. *Coriolanus* lying to the *Volsci*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renew their forces againe; which being committed vnto him and to *Altitus Tullus*, he prevailed in field, so farre forth, that hee was come within foure or fife miles of the Citie. Incapable there hee made so sharpe warre, and was at such defiance, with his Countie, that hee would not relent, by any supplications of Embassadors, vntill his Mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better Subjects to their Countie, than friends to their sonne and husband, were more available to *Rome*, then was any force of armes. Hereupon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Armie, was after put to death among the *Volsci*, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunitie: or (as others surmise) liuing with them vntill old age, hee died naturally.

Not

Not long after this, the *Vej* in *Uetruria*, prouoked the *Romans*; against whom the *Faby*, three hundred and fixe in number, all of one Familie, intreated and obtained, that they only might be imployed, as it had been in a priuate quarrell. These *Faby*, after some good seruices, lying incamped at *Cremora*, were circumvented and all slaine: one only of that whole house, had bene left, by reason of infancie, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In procelle of time, the *Romans* were also troubled with the *Volsci*, at the hill *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minucius* their Confull, with his whole Armie, had bene discomfited, had not *L. Quintus Cincinnatus* chofen *Dictator*, and taken from the plough to the highest honour in *Rome*, with successe answerable to his expedition, disperfed his enemies, and freed his Countie in the space of sixteen dayes. In the continuance of this *Volscian* warre it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeares before chofen Gouernours of the State, and inactours of *Solons* lawes amongst them, procured from *Albans* (abrogating in the meane while the Consuls, and all other Magistracies) would haue rauished *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginus*, Captaine of a Companie, and lying then in campe at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people, in an uproare, tooke the Hill *Auentine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to resigne vp their authoritie againe, to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrells, or desire to reuenge old losses, drew the *Romans* into a new warre, against the *Vientes*, and their adherents, vpon whom hauing tried their forces, with diuersitie of Captaines, and varietie of euent, they vanquished the *Falsci*, and the *Fidenates*, and vicerly subdued the *Vientes*. In conquering the *Falsci*, *Furius Camillus* shewed no lesse integritie than fortitude. For when a Schoole-master, by trayning forth into the *Roman* campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yielding them all vp as Hostages: *Camillus* deliuered this Traitor bound vnto his Schollers, willing them to whip him back into the Citie; which forthwith yeelded vnto him in reuerence of his iustice. The siege of *Vej* was ten yeares, and so troublefome, that the *Romans* were there first enforced to winter abroad vnder beasts skines (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they receiued pay), and to make vowes neuer to returne without victorie.

At length winning the Citie by a Mine, they got so large spoiles, that they consecrated their tenths to *Apello Pythius*: and the whole people in generall, were called to the ransacking of the Citie. But yet they were no lesse vnthankfull to *Camillus* for his seruice, than before they had bene to *Coriolanus*; For they banished him the Citie, vpon some occasion of inequalitye in diuiding the spoiles: yet he requited their vnkindnesse with a new peece of seruice, against the furie of the *Gauls*: who being a populous Countie, and very healthfull, the fathers (as sometimes now) liued so long, that the sonnes, delitute of meanes, were enforced to roaue abroad, seeking some place, where to set vp their rest: and withall being a Nation vast in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rovers ouer many Countiees. Some of them lighting on *Italie*, set vpon *Clussum*, a Towne in *Uetruria*; whereof *Rome* hauing information (and being careful of her Confederate Townes) sent Embassadors, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, vpon some iniurie offered by the *Roman* Embassadors, conuerred their forces from *Clussum* towards *Rome*; and giuing a great ouerthrow to the *Romans*, by the River *Alia*, vpon the sixteenth day before the Calends of *August* (which day was after towards for vn-luckie, and called *Allenfis* in the *Roman Kalender*) they hastened towards the Citie. Then was *Rome* the true map of miserie and desolation. For some leauing the Citie, some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and euery one shifiting for himselfe, ere the enemy came; *Rome* was abandoned, as indefensible. The Vestall Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conuaid away; the Ancients of the Citie, gathering

thier boldneſſe out of deſperate feare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leaue of the world, did ſeate themſelues in Thrones, in their ſeuall houſes, hourly expecting the meſſengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had liued, in State. The younger ſort, which *M. Manlius* their Captaine, tooke vpon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this, the *Gauls* were entred the Citie, who ſeeing all quiet, at firſt ſuſpected ſome ambuſh; afterward finding all ſecure, they fell to the ſpoile, committing all to the fire and ſword. As for the old Senators, that ſate in their Majeltie, with a graue reſolution: hauing firſt reuerenced them as *Gods*, anon they tryed whether they would die like men. When the Citie was thoroughly riſed, they attempted the Capitoll: which held them worke for the ſpace of ſuen Moneths. Once they were like to haue ſurpriſed it by night, but being diſcried by the gaging of *Ceeſar*, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a compoſition was agreed vpon: the *Gauls* being wearie, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* ſhould take a thouſand pound waight in gold, to deſiſt from their ſiege. Whileſt the gold, was in waighing, the *Gauls*, with open inſolencie, made their waights too heauie: *Brennus*, their Captaine, calling his ſword into the ballance, and, with a proud exprobration, ſaying, that the vanquiſhed muſt be patient perſeuer. But in the midſt of this cauiling, came *Furius Camillus*, with an Army, from *Ardea*, (where he had liued in his baniſhment) and fell vpon the *Gauls*, with ſuch violence, that hee diſperſed their troupes, quenched the fire of the Citie with their blood, forcing them to reſtore the ſpoiles with advantage, and forbear the gold, in accepting which, they had lately bene ſo nice. Further, hauing rid the Citie of them, he ſo hotly purſued them, through a great part of *Italie*, that the remainder of their Army, which eſcaped from him, was very ſmall. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this firſt, had the like ill ſucceſſe. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; eſpecially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in ſingle fight, ſlew a Champion of the *Gauls*) abated their preſumption, and reſtored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable ſeruiſe, was afterwards accepted a ſecond *Romulus*.

The people, after this deſtruction of their Citie, were earneſtly bent to goe to the *Friz* to inhabit; but *Camillus* diſſwaded them.

About the ſame time, ſomewhat before the ſiege of *Friz*, they changed their gouernement from Conſuls to militarie Tribunes. The gouernement of theſe alſo, after ſome yeares, was by ciuill diſſention interrupted: ſo that one while Conſuls ruled: another while there was an Anarchie: Then the Tribunes were reſtored and ruled againe, till after many yeares expired, the Conſular authoritie was eſta- bliſhed; it being enacted, that one of the Conſuls ſhould alwaies bee a *Plebeian*. This was after the building of the Citie, three hundred ſixtie ſue yeares. And now *Rome* by ſuppreſſion of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her 40 Monitie, dares ſet forth againſt the warlike *Sannites*, who dwelt almoſt one hundred and thirtie miles off: ſituated betwene *Campania* and *Apulia*. Theſe did ſtrongly invade the *Campanians* their Neighbours, that they forced them to yeeld themſelues ſubiects to *Rome*, and vndergoe any conditions of Tribute, or what elſe what ſoever to obtaine protection, which the *Romans*, although both Countries had bene their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fiſh, ſhould deuour the leſſe, eaſily allowed off; eſpecially aiming themſelues at the good ſituation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corne and Wine, pleaſant Cities and Townes, but eſpecially *Capua* it ſelfe, the faireſt Citie then in all *Italie*.

The Families of the *Papyrij* and *Fabij* were moſt employed in the managing of this warre, which indured the ſpace of fiftie yeares. And in this ſeaſon were the *Romans* oftentimes dangerously encountered by the *Sannites*, as when *T. Peturinus*, and *Sp. Poſthumius* were Conſuls, and diſcomfited by *Pontius at Caudium*, with no ſmall ignominie: and when *Q. Fabius Gurgus* loſt the field with three thouſand men.

But

But for theſe loſſes, many great victories made large amends: The greateſt where- of were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Sannites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrell. But the force of the *Sannites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but leſſe warlike Nation) beganne to ſtirre. So the one and the other of theſe two Countries, be- came at length, tributarie to *Rome*.

In the continuance of this long warre it was, (though in time of truce betwene the *Romans* and *Sannites*) that the *Latines* beganne to challenge equal freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing Office, ſo that they required to haue one of the Conſuls yearly choſen out of them.

This demand, of the *Latines*, was not vnreaſonable. For the *Romans* themſelues were a *Latine* Collonie; beſides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud, to admit any ſuch capitu- lation. So a great battaile was fought betwene them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* preuailed, by the vertue of the Conſuls.

*Mucius Torquatus*, and the elder *Decius*, were then Conſuls, whom the Sooth- ſayers aduerted, that the ſide ſhould be victorious, which loſt the General in fight. Hereupon, *Decius* the Conſull, expoſed his life to the Enemy, and purchaſed victo- rie (as was beleued) by his death. In which kinde of deuoting himſelfe for his Ar- mie, the ſonne of this *Decius*, being after Conſull, did imitate his father, in the *Hetrurian* warre. But (as *Tullie* well notes) it was rather the deſperate reſolution of theſe *Decij*, that purchaſed victorie, by ruſhing into the miſt of the enemies, where- in their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of ſuch a religion, as required the liues of ſo worthie Citizens, to be facilitated for their Countrey. The diſcipline of *Manlius* was no leſſe eſolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forſake his place, and fight ſingle with an enemy. For breach of which or- der, he cauſed his owne ſonne to be put to death, who had ſlaue a Captaine of the *Latines*, being challenged, in ſingle fight.

When the *Latines*, the *Aequi*, *Volſci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Sannites*, and *Hetrurians*, with ſome other people, were brought vnder obedience; it was a vaine labour for any people of *Italie*, to contend againſt the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* aduertured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the Roman Conſull, waſting all their Countrey with fire and ſword, from the *Riuier Nar* and *Felſa*, to the *Adriatique Sea*, brought them into quiet ſubjection.

The laſt of the *Italians*, that made triall of the Roman Armes, were the *Tarentines*, and their adherents. Theſe had interpoſed themſelues as Mediators, betwene the *Romans* and *Sannites*; with a peremptorie denunciation of warre, vnto that partie, which ſhould dare to reſuſe the peace by them tendered. Theſe threats, which diſcouered their bad affection to *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Sannites* were vtterly ſubdued, matter enough of quarrell was found, to examine their abilitie of performance.

The *Romans* complained, that certaine ſhips of theirs were robbed; and ſent Em- baſſadours vnto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Vpon ſome wrong done to theſe Embaſſadours, was laid the foundation of that Warre; wherein the *Lucani*, *Meſſa- pians*, *Bruttians*, and *Apulians*, joyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Sannites*, and other Subjects of *Rome*, to rebell, and take their part. But ſome experience of the Roman ſtrength, taught all theſe people to know their owne weakneſſe. Where- fore they agreed to ſend for *Pyrrhus*, by whole ſide (being a *Græcian*, as the *Taren- tines* alſo were) great hope was conceiued, that the Dominion of *Rome* ſhould bee 50 confined, vnto more narrow bounds, than all *Italie*, which already, in a manner it did ouerſpread.

## §. I I.

*How Pyrrhus warred upon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battailes.*

**P**YRRHVS, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and vnable to deale with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to liue in rest: which he abhorred no lesse than a wifer Prince would haue desired. He had a strong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that vnsettled estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdome: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so encreased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom, to make an offensive warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth*, at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. Vpon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might haue wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that hee might serue to giue some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of imploiment, and couetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadors came very fittly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with braue offers, as needing none other aide then his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would call themselves vnder his protection. They had in their companie, some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others; which promised, in behalfe of their severall Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and still by one victorie open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is said, that once he answered *Cyneus* his chiefe Counsellour, asking what he meant to doe after every of the victories which hee hoped to get: that, having wonne *Rome*, he would soone be Master of all *Italie*; that, after *Italie* he would quickly get the Ile of *Sicily*; that, out of *Sicily* hee would passe ouer into *Affricke*, and winne *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Countrey; and being strengthened with the force of all these Provinces, hee would be too hard, for any of those that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cyneus* enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all: Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would liue merrily; a thing (as *Cyneus* then told him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his owne.

Neuertheless, this *Italian* expedition seemed vnto *Pyrrhus*, a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholasticall dispute. Wherefore he prepared his Armie, of almost thirtie thousand men, well sorted, and well trained Souldiers: part of which he sent ouer before him vnder *Cyneus*, with the rest he followed in person. At his comming, he found the *Tarentines* very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, vtterly carelesse to provide for the Warre. Wherefore he was faine to shut vp their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making such a stricke muster, as was to them very vnpleasing, though greatly behooning to their estate.

Whilest he was occupied with these cares, *Lucius* the *Roman* Consul drew near, and beganne to waite *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this Warre.

The *Lucanians* were not readie to defend their owne Countrey; the *Samnites* were carelesse of the harme, that fell not (as yet) vpon themselves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would haue bene, but their valour was little: all of these had bene accustomed to shrinke, for feare of the *Roman* fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more vpon his owne forces, than the issue of their vaunting promises. Hee was now driven, either to set forward, with those that himselfe had brought into *Italie*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein

wherein little was to be repofed; or else to weaken the reputation of his owne sufficiency, which by all meanes he was carefull to vp-hold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had bene scattered by foule weather at Sea, were lately come to him: with which he refused to assaye the valour of the *Romans*, against whom hee proudly marched.

*Lucius* the Consul was not affrighted, with the terrible name of a great King, but came on confidently to meet him, and giue him battaile, ere all his adherents should be readie to joyne with him. This boldnesse of the *Roman*, and the slacknesse of the *Messapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger moit concerned, caused *Pyrrhus* to offer a treate of peace: requiring to haue the quarrel, betweene the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to winne time, that the *Samnites* and their fellows might arrive at his Campe; or whether, considering better at neare distance, the weight of the business, which he had taken in hand, he was desirous to quit it with his honour; the short answer, that was returned to his proposition, gaue him no meanes of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* sent him this word, that they had neither chosen him their Iudge, nor feared him their enemy.

Hereupon, both Armies hastened their march vnto the Riuer of *Siris*: *Lucius* intending to fight, before the arrivall of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that Riuer, vntill his owne Armie were full. Vpon the first view of the *Roman* Campe, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a braue discipline of warre: which caused him to set a strong Corps de garde, vpon the passage of the riuer, that he might not be compelled to fight, vntill he saw his best advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was not only skilfull in the Art of warre, but courageous in execution. For the *Roman* Armie entred the Foord, in face of his Corps de garde; and their horse, at the same time, beganne to passe the Riuer, in sundrie places: which caused the *Greekes* to forsake the defence of their banke, and speedily retire vnto their Campe.

This audacitie forced *Pyrrhus* to battaile; wherewith he thought it best to present them, ere their whole Armie had recovered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marshall his battailes; himselfe with the horse, charged vpon the *Romans*: who stoutly received him, as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transporth him beyond the dutie of a carefull General; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personall valour. It behooved him indeede to doe his best; for he neuer met with better opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slaine vnder him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the vse of his Kings armour, which was torne from his back. This accident had almost lost him the battaile: but he perceiving it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and tooke from the *Romans* their vaine joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater losse (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as only speare and sword were vsed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose vnusuall forme and terrible aspect, the horses of the *Romans* (vnaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustaine; then was the victorie quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battailes, perceiving their horse put to rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themselves both charged in flanke, and ouer-borne, by the force, and huge bulke, of these strange beasts; gaue way to necessity, and suied themselves, as well as they could, by hasty flight: in which confusion, they were so forgetfull of their discipline, that they carried not to defend their Campe, but ranne quite beyond it, leauing both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victorie was soone spread ouer *Italie*; and the reputation was nolesse than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Consul,

Confull, with a select Armie, should loofe in plaine battaile, not only the field, but the Campe it selfe, being so notably fortified, as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more brauely wonne by *Pyrrhus*, for that hee had with him none of his *Italian* friends, save the vnrwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he tooke, in hauing the glorie of this action peculiarly his owne, at such time as he blamed the *Lucians* and *Samniters*, for comming (as we say) a day after the faire. Neuertheless, he wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore, he thought it good to compound with them, whilest with his honour he might; and to that purpose hee sent vnto them *Cyneus* his Embassadour; demanding only to haue the *Tarentines* permitted to liue at rest, and himselfe accepted as their speciall friend. This did *Cyneus*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts, labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recouering their captiues, or their danger, by the riling of many States in *Italie* against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blinde Senator, did stirre them vp to make good their honour by warre. So they returned answere, that whilest *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italie*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was thereport, that *Cyneus* made, at his returne, of the *Roman* puissance and vertue; as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great desire of confederacie, with that gallant Citie. Hereupon many kinde Offices passed betwene them: but still when hee vrged his motion of peace, the answere was, *He must first depart out of Italie, and then treat of peace*.

In the meane season, each part made prouision for warre; the *Romans* leauing a more mightie armie than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with access vnto his forces; all the East parts of *Italie*. So they came to triall of a second battaile, wherein (though after long and cruell fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants, gaue to *Pyrrhus* a second victorie. But this was not altogether so joyfull, as the former had bene: rather it gaue him cause to say, that such another victorie would be his vtter vndoing. For hee had lost the flower of his Armie in this battaile, and though he draue the *Romans* into their Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of preuailling against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilest he should bee driuen to spend vpon his old stock. Neither could hee expect, that his Elephants should alwayes stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would soone teach the *Romans*, that were apt Scholers in such learning, how to make them vnserviceable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carrie his honour safe out of *Italie*: which to doe (seeing the *Romans* would not helpe him, by offering or accepting any faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a slight occasion, presented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

## §. III.

## §. III.

The great troubles in Macedonia and Sicill. How *Pyrrhus*, being invited into Sicill, forsooke *Italie*; wanne the most of the Isle; and lost it in short space.

*Pyrrhus* returnes into *Italie*; where he is beaten by the *Romans*, and so goes back to his owne Kingdome.



When *Ptolomie Ceraunus* had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Selencus*, he presently seized vpon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had bene the due reward, vnto him, that had slaine the Conquerour. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Asie* any man of strength and reputation enough, to aduance himselfe against *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to haue him their King, that had (as hee professed) reuenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousness of his fact, by which they were freed from subiection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that vpon remembrance of his Fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perswading themselves that his raigne might proue good, though his entrance had bene wicked. These afflictions of the *Macedonians* did serue to defeat *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt vpon the Kingdome. As for *Antiochus*, the sonne of *Selencus*, he was farre off, and might be questioned about some part of *Asie*, ere he should be able to bring an Armie neare vnto *Europe*. Yet hee made great shew of meaning to reuenge his fathers death: but being stronger in monie than in armes, hee was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murderer. While these three stroue about the Kingdome, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made vse of their dissention: threatening warre, or promising his assistance, to euery one of them. By these meanes he strengthened himselfe, and greatly aduantaged his *Italian* voiage, which hee had then in hand: requesting monie of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and souldiers of *Ptolomie*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to haue them restored at two yeares end) more farre feare than for loue: that so he might free himselfe from trouble, & quietly enjoy his Kingdome.

Thus *Ptolomie* grew mightie on the suddaine; and the power that by wicked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked he increased.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the strong Citie of *Cassandria*, was held by *Arconce* his siller, the widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay therein with her young children. Her hee circumvented by making loue to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinitie) taking her to wife, with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere he slew them, and draue her into exile.

In the pride of this good successe, which his vilanie found; vengeance came vpon him from a farre, by the furie of a Nation, that hee had neuer heard off. *Belgus* a Captaine of the *Gauls*, hauing forced his passage through many Countries, vnto the confines of *Itace*, sent a proud message to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with monie, or other wise, to looke for all the miseries of warre. These *Gauls* were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrie, to seeke new feates, in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* tooke and burnt the Citie of *Rome*. They had diuided themselves, at their setting forth, into two Companies; of which the one fell vpon *Italie*, the other passing through the Countries that lie on the Northerne side of the *Adriaticke* Sea, made long abode in *Pannonia*, and the Regions adioyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeme peace with tribute, as now they would haue compelled *Ceraunus* to doe; vnto whose borders they came, about an hundred and eight yeares after such time as their fellows had taken *Rome*.

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When their Embassadors came to *Ptolomie*, asking what he would giue : His answer was, that he would be contented to giue them peace, but it must bee with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hostages, and yield vp their armes; for otherwife, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor giue any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the *Gauls* did laugh; saying, that they would soone confute with deeds, the vanitie of such proud words. It may seeme strange, that he, who had giuen away part of his Armie vnto *Pyrhus*, for very feare, should bee so confident in vndertaking more mightie enemies. The King of the *Dardaniens* offered to lend him twentie thousand men against the *Gauls*; but hee scorned the offer; saying, that hee had the children of those, which vnder the conduct of *Alexander*, had subdued all the East. Thus hee issued forth against the barbarous people, with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the victorie mult needs haue followed the reputation of a great name. But hee soone found his great error, when it was too late. For the enemies were not only equall in strength of body, and fiercenesse of courage, but so farre superiour to the *Macedonians* in numbers, that few or none escaped their furie. *Ptolomie* himselfe grievously wounded, fell into their hands, whilst the battaile continued; and they presently strooke off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their vtter astonishment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all *Macedon* with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Countrey as lost. Only *Sesphenes*, a valiant Capitaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Armie, with which hee many times got the vpper hand, and hindred *Belgius* from vsing the victorie at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would haue made him King; which title he refused, and was content with the name of a Generall. But (as mischiefs doe seldom come alone) the good successe of *Belgius*, drew into *Macedon* *Brennus*, another Capitaine of the *Gauls*, with an hundred and fiftie thousand foot, and fiftene thousand horse; against which mightie Armie, when *Sesphenes* with his weake troups made opposition, hee was easily beaten, and the *Macedonians* againe compelled to hide themselves within their walls, leaving all their Countrey to the spoile of the Barbarians.

Thus were the *Macedonians* debilitate of a King, and troden downe by a Nation, that they had not heard of; in lesse then fiftie yeares after the death of *Alexander*, who fought to discouer and subdue vnknown Countries, as if all Greece, and the Empire of *Persia*, had beene too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very seasonably had these newes beene carried to *Pyrhus* in *Italie*; who found a faire pretext of relinquishing his warre with the *Romans*; had not other tidings of *Sicil* distracted him, and carried him away in pursute of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned ouer the whole Island, the *Carthaginians* sent an Armie to conquer *Sicil*, out of which, by him, they had beene expelled. This Armie did so fast preuaile, that the *Sicilians* had no other hope to auoide slaueerie, than in submitting themselves to the rule of *Pyrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to liue vnder the well knowne heauie yoke of *Carthage*. To him therefore, the *Syracusans*, *Leontines*, and *Agrogentines*, principall Estates of the Isle, sent Embassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions, of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so vnluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the businesse of *Sicil* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps hee beleued (as came after to passe) that his aduantage, vpon *Macedon*, would not so hastily passe away, but that he might finde some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leaue, ouer into *Sicil* he transported his Armie, leaving the *Tarentines* to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as hee found them, but with a Garrison in their Towne, to hold them in subiection.

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As his departure out of *Italie*, was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature aduice; so were his actions following, vntill his returne vnto *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered, or more worthie. The Armie which hee carried into that Isle, consisted of thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse: with which, soone after his descent in *Sicil*, hee forct the *Carthaginians*, out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He also wonne the strong Citie of *Eryx*, and hauing beaten the *Mameritines* in battaile, hee beganne to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For hee draue *Sofistratus* (to whom his crueltie was suspected) out of the Island, and put *Theron* of *Syracuse* to death, being jealous of his greatnesse; which two persons had faithfully serued him, and deliuered the great and rich Citie of *Syracuse* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as hee serued himselfe, and salued the disreputation of his leauing *Sicil*, by an Embassage sent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Sammites*, imploring his present helpe against the *Romans*, who since his leauing *Italie*, had well neare disposited them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occasion, hee embarked for *Italie*; but was first beaten by the *Carthaginians* Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assailed in *Italie* sent, by eightene hundred *Mameritines*, that attended him in the straits of the Countrey. Lastly, after hee had recovered *Tarentum*, hee fought a third battaile with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curtius*, who was victorious ouer him, and forct him out of *Italie*, into his owne *Epirus*.

A Prince hee was farre more valiant than constant, and had hee beene but a General of an Armie, for some other great King or State, and had beene directed to haue conquered any one Countrey or Kingdome, it is to be thought, that hee would haue purchased no lesse honour, than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Capitaine, or a valiantier man, hath bene nowhere found. But hee neuer staid vpon any enterprize; which was, indeede, the discafe hee had, whereof not long after hee died in *Argos*.

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## §. IIII.

How ANTIGONVS, the sonne of DEMETRIVS, deliuered *Macedon* from the *Gauls*. How PYRRHVS wonne the Kingdome of *Macedon* from ANTIGONVS.

The vertue of *Sesphenes* being too weake, to defend the Kingdome of *Macedon*; and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgius*, failing him in his attempts against *Brennus*; the *Macedonians* were no lesse glad to submit themselves vnto the government of *Antigonus*, than they had formerly beene desirous, to free themselves, from the impotent rule of his father *Demetrius*. His comming into the Countrey, with an Armie, Naue, and treasure, becoming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for hee was driuen to vse against the *Babarians*, only those forces, which hee brought with him, hauing none other than good wiues of the *Macedons*, to take his part. *Brennus*, with the maine strength of his Armie, was gone to spoile the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delfos*; hauing left no more behinde him, than he thought necessarie to guarno the borders of *Macedon*, and *Pannonia*; which were about fiftene thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of their fellows: and then sure sent vnto *Antigonus*, offering to sell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceraneus*, hee had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was vnwilling to weaken his reputation, by condescending to their proud demands: yet hee judged it vnfit to exasperat their furious choler, by vncurteous words or vslages, as *Ceraneus* had ouerfondly done. Wherefore

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he entertained their Embassadors in very louing and sumptuous manner, with a roiall feast: wherein he exposed to their view, such abundance of masse gold and siluer, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vessels, wherein it was serued. He thought hereby, to make them vnderstand, how great a Prince he was, and how able, if neede required, to wage a mightie Armie.

To which end, he likewise did shew vnto them, his Camp and Nauie, but especially his Elephants. But all this brauerie serued only to kindle their greedie appetites; who seeing his ships heauie laden, his Campe full of wealth, and ill fortified, himselfe (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferior vnto the *Gauls*: thought all time lost, wherein they suffered the present possessors, to spend the riches, which they accompted assuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other newes in their mouthes, than of spoile and purchase: which tale, caried the *Gauls* head-long, to *Antigonus* his camp, where they expected a greater bootie, than the victorie ouer *Ceraunus* had giuen to *Belgius*. Their coming was terrible and suddaine; yet not so suddaine, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it: who distrustful of the courage of his owne men, dislodged somewhat before their arriual, and conueighed himselfe, with his whole armie and carriage, into certaine woods adioyning, where he lay close.

The *Gauls*, finding his Camp forsaken, were not battie to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the empty Cabines of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched euery place in vaine, angrie at their lost labour, they marched with all speed toward the Sea-side; that they might fall vpon him, whilst hee was busie in getting his men and carriages a ship-board. But the successe was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought vpon *Antigonus*, they were so careless of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoile of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in couert, and had saved himselfe by getting aboard the fleet: in which number were some well experienced men of warre, who discouering the much aduantage offered vnto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others, to lay manie hold vpon the opportunitie. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gaue so braue a charge vpon the disordered *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldnesse was thereby changed into suddaine feare, and they, after a great slaughter, driuen to cast themselves into the serueice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this victorie, caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertaine their ancient beliefe of the *Macedonian* valour: by which, the terrible and resistlesse oppressors of so many Countries, were ouerthrowne.

To speake more of the *Gauls*, in this place; and to shew how, about these times, 49 three Tribes of men passed ouer into *Asia* the lesse, with their warres and conquests there; I hold it needlesse: the victorious armes of the *Romans*, taming them hereafter, in the Countries which now they wanne, shall giue better occasion, to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howsoever the good successe of *Antigonus* got him reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading, had wonne this victorie, could not thereupon be perswaded, to thinke him a good man of warre: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the seruice, wherein his conduct was no better, than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greatly helpfull vnto *Pyrrius*: though as yet, he knew not so much. For *Pyrrius*, when his affaires in *Italie* stood vpon hard termes, had sent vnto *Antigonus* for helpe: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he sure to get, either a supply, wherewith to continue his war against the *Romans*, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake *Italie*, vnder colour of making

making his word good, in seeking reuenge. The threats which he had vsed in brauerie, were necessitie forced him, at his returne into *Epirus*, to put in practice.

He brought home with him, eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: an armie too little to be imploied, by his reslesse nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had meanes to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell vpon *Macedon*; intending to take what spoile he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this businesse, two thousand of *Antigonus* his Souldiers, reuolted vnto *Pyrrius*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, receiued him. Such faire beginnings, easily perswaded the 10 courage of this daring Prince, to set vpon *Antigonus* himselfe, and to hazard his fortune, in trial of a battaile, for the whole Kingdome of *Macedon*.

It appeares, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight, with this hot warrior; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the Countrey. For *Pyrrius* ouertooke him in a straight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the *Gauls*, and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength: a manifest proofe that he was in retreat. The *Gauls* very brauely sustained *Pyrrius* his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slaine) after a sharpe fight: wherein it seemes, that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian* *Phalanx* within the streight, and not aduancing to their succour, tooke away 20 their courage, by deceiuing their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken soone after; who, finding themselves exposed to the same violence, that had consumed so many of the *Gauls*, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus*, and his *Macedonians*, to their great discomfort: which emboldened *Pyrrius*, to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was a matter of extreme difficultie (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had scene so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrius*; who discouered so well their affections, that hee aduentured to draw neare in person, and exhorted them to yeeld. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refused to become his follower.

All forsooke *Antigonus*, a few horse-men excepted, that fled a long with him to *Thessalonica*; where he had some small forces left, and monie enough to entertaine a greater power, had he knowne where to leaue it. But whilst he was thinking, how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his seruice; whereby hee might re- 30 pare his losse: *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Pyrrius*, came vpon him, and easily defeating his weak forces, draue him to flee from the parts about *Macedon*, to those Townes a farre off in *Peloponnesus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himselfe a King.

This good successe reuiued the spirits of the *Epirois*, and caused him to forget all sorrow, of his late misfortunes in the *Roman* warre: so that he sent for his sonne *Hecleus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Caste of *Tarentum*) willing him to come ouer into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest, and let the *Italians* shift for themselves.

#### §. V.

How *Pyrrius* assailed Sparta without successe. His enterprise vpon *Argos*, and his death.

**P**YRRIUS had now conceiued a great hope, that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing, that in open fight, he had vanquished the *Gauls*, beaten *Antigonus*, and wonne the Kingdome of *Macedon*; There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeede, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had wonne, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set vp against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what he

he pleaded. He raised therefore an Armie, consisting of five and twentie thousand foot, two thousand horse, and foure and twentie Elephants; pretending warre against *Antigonus* and the gaining libertie to those Townes in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important, than warre against a Prince already vanquished, and almost vterly dejected. Especially the *Lacedemonians* feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrie, had betaken himselfe to *Pyrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his Kingdome. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrhus* make thew of any displeasure, that he bare vnto *Sparta*; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to haue two of his owne yonger sonnes trained vp in that Citie, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours hee deluded men, euen till he entred vpon *Laconia*; where presently he demeaned himselfe as an open enemy: excusing himselfe, and his former dissembling words, with a iealet; That he followed herein the *Lacedemonian custome*, of concealing what was truly purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedemonians*, to deale in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatness, they fought to oppress: but now they complained of that, as falsehood, in *Pyrhus*, which they alwaies practised as wilddome, till it made them distrustful, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Neuerthelesse, they were not wanting to themselves, in this dangerous extremity. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; causing such as could beare armes, to rescue themselves fresh against the assault: which *Pyrhus* had vnwisely deferred, vpon assurance of preuailing.

*Sparta* was neuer fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soone after this (it being built vpon vneuen ground, and for the most part hard to approach) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with walls; at the present, only trenches were cast, and *barriadoes* made with Carts, where the entrance seemed most easie. Three daies together it was assailed by *Pyrhus*, exceeding fiercely, and no lesse stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preferred the Towne the first day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindfull of sauing the person of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though already they had torne in sunder the *barriadoes*. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captaines got into *Sparta*, with a good strength of men; and *Arew* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had beene helping his friends in warre) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his owne countrie stood, vntill he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kindle in *Pyrhus* a desire to preuaile against all impediments. But the third daies worke shewed, how great his error had bene, in forbearing to assault the Towne at his first coming. For he was so manfully repelled, that hee saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course, he had no desire to spend his time.

*Antigonus* had now raised an Armie, though not strong enough to meet the enemy in plaine field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrhus* doubtful what way to take; being diuersly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprize in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilst hee was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inuiting him thither; with promise, to deliuer that Citie into his hands.

Civil diffension raging then hotly in *Argos*, caused the heads of severall factions, to call in *Pyrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the coming of these two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous, to rid their hands of such powerfull Assistants, as each of the two Kings pretended himselfe to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to saue them from the tyrannic of *Pyrhus*; and that hee would be

be gone if they needed not his helpe. On the other side, *Pyrhus* would needes perswade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them safe from *Antigonus*, offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The *Argues* tooke small pleasure, in hearing the Foxe and Kite at strife, which of them should keepe the Chickens from his enemy: and therefore prayed them both, to diuert their powers some other way. Hercunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gaue hostages to assure his word: for he was the weaker, and stood in neede of good-will. But *Pyrhus* thought it enough to promise: hostages he would giue none, to his inferiours; especially, meaning deceit. This made them suspect his purpose to be such, as, in indeede, it was. Yet he leif regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthe of assurance, by giuing such a bond, as hee intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie should be opened by night vnto *Pyrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Armie, without any tumult, entred the Citie: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to passe the Gate. The taking off, and setting on againe, of those Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both giue alarme to the Citie, and some leisure to take order for defence, before so many were entred, as could fully Master it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindered the *Gauls* (that had the Vanguard) being ignorant of the waies, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much aduantage, by their knowledge of euery by-passage: and setting vpon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great losse, and more trouble.

*Pyrhus* therefore, vnderstanding by the confused noise, and vnequall shoutings of his owne men, that they were in distresse, entred the Citie in person, to take order for their reliefe, and assurance of the place. But the darkenesse, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, vntill break of day. Then beganne he to make his passage by force, and so farre preuailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is said, that seeing in that place, the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in such posture as if they had bene combattant, hee called to minde an Oracle, which threatened him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indee, the coming of *Antigonus* to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his owne men; with diuers ill accidents, gaue him reasonable cause to haue retired out of the Citie, though the Wolfe and Bull had bene away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gaue back, so did others thrust forward, and the *Argues* pressing hard vpon him, forced *Pyrhus* to make good his retreat, with his owne sword. The tops of the houles were couered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her owne sonne in dangerous case, fighting with *Pyrhus*. Wherefore, shee tooke a tile stone, or slate, and threw it so violently downe on the head of *Pyrhus*, that hee fell to ground astonished with the blow; and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the rellesse ambition of *Pyrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith possessed the armie, the bodie, and the children of his enemy. The bodie of *Pyrhus*, had honourable funeral, and was giuen by *Antigonus* vnto *Helene* his sonne; which young Prince he graciously sent home, into his Fathers Kingdome of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus*, held the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the posteritie of *Seleucus*, reigned ouer *Asia* and *Syria*; and the house of *Ptolemie* had quiet possession of *Egypt*: vntill such time, as the Citie of *Rome*, swallowing all vp, digested these, among other Countreies, into the bodie of her owne Empire.



10 THE FIRST PART OF  
THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM

the setled rule of ALEXANDERS Successors  
in the East, vntill the ROMANS, preuailing  
ouer all, made Conquest of ASIA and

MACEDON.

THE FIFT BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Punicke Warre.

§. I.

A discussion of that probleme of LIVIE; Whether the Romans could  
haue resisted the great ALEXANDER. That neither the Macedonian  
nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to  
the English.



40 THAT question handled by LIVIE, Whether the  
great ALEXANDER could haue preuailed against  
the Romans, if after his Easterne conquest, he had  
bent all his forces against them, hath bene, and  
is, the subject of much dispute; which (as it  
seemes to me) the arguments on both sides do  
not so well explaine, as doth the experience  
that Pyrrhus hath giuen, of the Roman power,  
in his daies. For if he, a Commander (in Han-  
nibals judgement) inferior to Alexander, though  
50 to none else, could with small strength of men,  
and little store of monie, or of other needfull  
helps in warre, vanquish them in two battailes, and endanger their estate, when it  
was well setled, and held the best part of Italie, vnder a confirmed obedience: what  
would Alexander haue done, that was abundantly provided of all which is need-  
full

full to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of employment, comming vpon them before their Dominion was halfe so well settled. It is easie to say, that *Alexander* had no more, than thirtie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse (as indeede, at his first passage into *Asia*, he carried ouer, not many more) and that the rest of his followers were no better than bafe effeminate *Asiatiques*. But he that considers the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Cyrtus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolemy*, *Antigonus*, and *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, euery one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Emperours power; shall easily finde, that such reckoning is farre short of the truth.

It were needlesse to speake of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of batterie, and the like: of all which, the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* hauing nought, save men and armes. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punicke* warre, were trained, in the rudiments of Navigation; sitting vpon the shoare, and beating the land with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oare, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceiue, how farre too weakie they would haue proved in such seruices.

Now for helpers in warre; I doe not see, why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deserue to be laid in ballance, against those parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subiection. To omit therefore all benefit, that the Easterne world, more wealthie, indeede, than so valiant, could haue afforded vnto the *Macedonian*: let vs only conjecture, how the States of *Sicill* and *Carthage*, nearest neighbours, to such a quarrell (had it happened) would haue stood affected. The *Sicilians* were, for the most part, *Graecians*; neither is it to bee doubted, that they would readily haue submitted themselves vnto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what termes they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is, that *Alexander* recomming into those parts, would haue brought excellencie joy, to them that were faine to get the helpe of *Pyrrius*, by offering to become his subjects. As for the *Carthaginians*; if *Agathocles*, the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne besieged Citie, could, by aduenturing to saile into *Africke*, put their Dominion, yea and *Carthage* it selfe, in extreme hazard; shall wee thinke that they would haue bene able to withstand *Alexander*? But, why doe I question their abilitie, seeing that they sent Embassadors, with their submission, as farre as *Babylon*, ere the warre drew neare them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Roman* mult, without other succour, than perhaps of some few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none, that forooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) haue opposed their valour, and good militarie discipline, against the power of all Countries, to them knowne, if they would haue made resistance. How they could haue sped well, in vndertaking such a match; it is vncasie to finde in discouerie of humane reason. It is true; that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is against cowardly fooles, and the vnfortunate: for whosoever contends with one too mightie for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enimie goes beyond him in power; or else must looke, both to be ouer-come, and to bee cast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman*, or the *Macedonian*, were in those daies the better Souldier, I will not take vpon me to determine: though I might, without partialitie, deliuer mine owne opinion, and preferre that Arme, which followed not only *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of warre; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning so fortune; who can giue a rule that shall alwaies hold? *Alexander* was victorious in euery battaile he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of euery warre. But forasmuch as *Liuie* hath judged this matter worthe of consideration; I thinke it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy*: where in three

three yeares after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the power of that State, were surprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yeeld vp their armes. We may therefore permit *Liuie* to admire his owne *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captaines of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the same conceipt should blind our judgment, we cannot permit without much vantage.

Now in deciding such a controuerisie, me thinks it were not amiss, for an *Englisht* man, to giue such a sentence betwene the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) betwene the *Aradians* and *Aricians*, that strife about a peece of land; saying, that it belonged vnto neither of them, but vnto the *Roman* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman*, were the best Warriour? I will answer: The *Englisht* man. For it will soone appeare, to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no aduantage of weapon; against no fawge or vnmannerly people; the enimie being farre superiour vnto vs in numbers, and all needfull prouisions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of warre.

In what sort *Philip* wanne his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Persians* and *Indians* were; whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what force the *Macedonian* Phalanx was, and how well appointed, against such armies as it commonly encountered: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing storie of them, doth sufficiently vnderstand. Yet was this *Phalanx* neuer, or very fewe, able to stand, against the *Roman* Armies: which were embattailed in so excellent a forme, as I know not, whether any Nation besides them haue vied, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater vice, than those with which any other Nation hath serued, before the fierie instruments of Gunne-powder were knowne. As for the enemies, with which *Rome* had to doe; we finde, that they, which did ouer-match her in numbers, were as farre ouer-matched by her, in weapons; and that they, of whom there had little aduantage in armes, had as little aduantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well obserueth) was a part of her happinesse; that there was neuer ouer-laid, with two great warres at once.

Hereby it came to passe, that hauing at first increased her strength, by accession of the *Sabines*, hauing wonne the State of *Alba*, against which shee aduentured her owne selfe, as it were in wager, vpon the heads of three Champions: and hauing thereby made her selfe Princessesse of *Latium*: shee did afterwards, by long warre, in many ages, extend her Dominion ouer all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well neare oppressed her: but their Souldiers were Mercinarie; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their owne doores. The *Etolians*, and with them all, or the most of *Greece*, assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian*: hee being beaten, did lend her his helpe, to beat the same *Etolians*. The warres against *Antiochus*, and other *Asiatiques*, were such as gaue to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of joy: for those opposites were as bafe of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicill*, *Syracuse*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands by vnging her aide, to protect them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not neede to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when shee had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I say; that among all their warres, I finde not any, wherein their so valour hath appeared, comparable to the *Englisht*. If my judgement seeme ouer-partiall; our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

First therefore it is well knowne; that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had neuer any so braue a Commander in warre, as *Julius Caesar*: and that no *Roman* armie, was comparable vnto that, which serued vnder the same *Cesar*. Likewise, it

is apparent, that this gallant Armie, which had giuen faire proofe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Heluetian* warre, when it first entred into *Gaulies*, was neuertheless vtterly disheartened, when *Caesar* led it against the *Germanes*. So that we may iustly impute, all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Caesar's* men, to their long exercise, vnder fo good a Leader, in fo great a warre. Now let vs in generall compare with the deedes, done by these best of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principall seruice; the things performed in the same Countrey, by our common *Englisch* Souldier, leauied in haite, from following the Carr, or sitting on the thop-stall: fo shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale fairly, and beleuee *Caesar*, in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Historians to witnesse, what actions were performed by the *Englisch*. In *Caesar's* time, *France* was inhabited by the *Gaulies*, a stout people, but inferior to the *French*, by whom they were subdued; euen when the *Romans* gaue them assistance. The Countrey of *Gaulie* was rent in sunder (as *Caesar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were governed by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such fort as might make it applicable to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not only in generall through the whole Countrey, but betwene the petty States, yet in euery Citie, and almost in euery house. What greater advantage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there was a greater. *Ariouistus*, with his *Germani*, had ouer-runne the Countrey, and held much part of it in a subiection, little different from mere slavery: yea, fo often had the *Germanes* prevailed in warre vpon the *Gaulies*, that the *Gaulies* (who had sometimes bene the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equall to those daily Inuaders. Had *France* bene fo prepared vnto our *Englisch* Kings, *Rome* it selfe, by this time, and long ere this time, would haue bene ours. But when King *Edward* the third beganne his warre vpon *France*, hee found the whole Countrey setled in obedience to one mightie King; a King whose reputation abroad, was no lesse, than his puissance at home; vnder whose Ensigne, the King of *Bohemia*, did serue in person; at whose call, the *Genouoyes*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take armes: finally, a King vnto whom one Prince gaue away his Dominion, for loue; & another sold away a goodly Citie and Territorie for mouie. The Countrey lying fo open to the *Roman*, and being so well fenced against the *Englisch*, it is note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were mere vanitie, to match the *Englisch* purchases, with the *Roman* conquest) but whether of the two gaue the greater proofe of militarie vertue. *Caesar* himselfe doth witness, that the *Gaulies* complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of warre, and that their owne hardnesse was ouer-mastered, by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of batterie, raised and planted against their walls, as more than humane workes. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the *Roman*; than that the *Cariés*, a naked people, but valiant, as any vnder the skie, are commonly put to the worke, by small numbers of *Spaniards*? Besides all this, we are to haue regard, of the great difficultie that was found, in drawing all the *Gaulies*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with ioynt forces they might oppose their assailants: as also the much more difficultie, of holding them long together. For hereby it came to passe, that they were neuer able to make vse of oportunitie: but sometimes compelled to flay for their followers; and sometimes driuen, to giue or take battaile, vpon extreme disadvantages, for feare, least their Companies should fall a-sunder: as indeede, vpon any little disaster, they were ready to breake, and returne euery one to the defence of his owne. All this, and (which was little lesse than all this) great oddes in weapon, gaue to the *Romans*, the honour of many gallant victories. What such helpe? or what other worldly helpe, than the golden metall of their Souldiers, had our *Englisch* Kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of Warre? Yea, did they not thinke themselves therein our superiours? Were they not in armes, in horse, and in all prouision, exceedingly beyond vs?

Let

Let vs heare, what a *French* writer saith, of the inequality that was betwene the *French* and *Englisch*, when their King *John* was ready to giue the on-let, vpon the Black Prince, at the battaile of *Poitiers*. *JOHN* had all advantages ouer *EDWARD*, both of number, of ce, then, Countrey, and conceit (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choise of all his beste men ( esteemed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme. And what could he with more?

I thinke, it would trouble a *Roman* antiquaire, to finde the like example in their Histories; the example, I say, of a King, brought prisoner to *Rome*, by an Armie of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with fortie thousand, better appointed, and no lesse expert warriors. This I am sure of; that neither *Syphax* the *Nu-midian*, followed by a rabble of halfe Scullions, as *Lince* rightly tearmes them, nor those cowardly Kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, are worthe patters. All that haue read of *Crespe* and *Agincourt*, will beare me witnesse, that I doe not allage the battaile of *Poitiers*, for lack of other, as good examples of the *Englisch* vertue: the proofe whereof hath lent many a hundred better marks, in all quarters of *France*, than euer did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the *French* Crosse-bow: my answer is ready; that in all these respects, it is also (being drawne with a strong arme) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more vse. The Gunne, and the Crosse-bow, are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weakenesse, or sicknesse, or a fore finger, makes the long Bow vnseruicable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custom of our Ancetors, to shoot, for the most part, point blank: and fo shall hee perceive, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battaile. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one flight of arrowes, or two at the most, can be deliuered, before they close. Neither is it in generall true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the Crosse-bow: But this is the rare effect, of an extraordinarie arme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske, How then came it to passe, that the *Englisch* wanne so many great battailes, hauing no advantage to helpe him? I may, with best commendation of modestie, referre him to the *French* Historian: who relating the victory of our men at *Crenant*, where they killed a bridge, in face of the enemy, & these were words; *The Englisch comes with a 10<sup>th</sup> de Serres, conquering bravely, as he, that was accustomed to giue euery where, without any flay: kee forth our garde, placed vpon the bridge, to keepe the passage.* Or I may cite another place of the same Author, where he tells, how the *Britons*, being inuaded by *Charles* the eight, King of *France*, thought it good policie, to apparell a thousand and two hundred of their owne men in *Englisch* Callics; hoping that the very sight of the *Englisch* Crosse, would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not stand to borrow of the *French* Historians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Aemilius*; report wonders of our Nation) the proposition which first I undertooke to maintain; that the militarie vertue of the *Englisch*, prevailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of *Romans*, which was assisted with all advantages that could be desired. If it be demanded; why then did not our Kings finish the conquest, as *Caesar* had done? my answer may bee (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the *Æacids*, of whom the Poet *Ennius* gaue this note; *Belli potentes sunt magis quam sapienti potentes; they were more warlike than politique.* Who fo notes their proceedings, may finde, that none of them went to worke like a Conquerour: saue only King *Henrie* the first, the course of whose victories, it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the conquest of *Gaulie*, before the time of *Caesar*? why not after the *Macedonian* warre? why not after the third *Punic*, or after the *Numidian*? At all these times they had good lei-

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sure.

a The Dolphin of Viennois.  
b The King of Moravia.

Idam autem non communi-  
bus, sed vni com-  
pluribus de pe-  
d'impet: tunc aux-  
offres du mon-  
del; et que fit  
l'élite de la Ca-  
ualerie, lors e-  
l'issue la meil-  
leure de tout son  
royaume.

ture: and then especially had they both leisure, and fit oportunitie, when in the conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquished the *Cimbri*, and *Teutones*, by whom the Countrie of *Gaul* had bene pitcoully wasted. Surely, the words of *Tullie* were true; that with other Nations, the *Romans* fought for Dominion; with the *Gauls*, for preferation of their owne latitude.

Therefore they attempted not the conquest of *Gaul*, untill they were Lords of all other Countreies, to them knowne. We on the other side, held only the one halfe of our owne land; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (wiltic perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferiour) every way equall to our felicity, a Nation, anciently & strongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard, enemy to vs. So that our danger lay both before and behinde vs: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwaies we feared, a stronger invasion by land, than we could make vpon *France*, transporting our forces ouer Sea.

It is vsuall, with men, that haue pleased themselves, in admiring the matters which they finde in ancient Histories; to hold it a great iniurie done to their judgment, if any take vpon him, by way of comparison, to extoll the things of later ages. But I am well perswaded, that as the diuised vertue of this our land, hath giuen more noble proofe of it selfe; than vnder to worthe a Leader, that *Roman* Armie could doe, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cesar* a *Monarch*, so hereafter, by Gods blessing, who hath concerted our greatest hindrance, into our greatest helpe, the enemy that shall dare to trie our forces, will finde cause to with, that auoiding vs, hee had rather encountered as great a puissance, as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that laying a side comparisons, we returne to the rehearsal of deeds done: wherein we shall finde, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrius* had left *Italy*, to strue with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the first *Punic* warre.

## §. II.

The estate of *Carthage*, before it entred into warre with *Rome*.



He Citie of *Carthage* had stood aboue sixe hundred yeares, when first it began to contend with *Rome*, for the maistrick of *Sicily*. It forwent *Rome* one hundred and fiftie yeares in antiquitie of foundation: but in the honor of great atchieuements, it excelled farre beyond this advantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion in *Africa* it selfe, from the west part of *Cyrene*, to the streights of *Hercules*, about one thousand and five hundred miles in length, wherein stood three hundred Cities. It had subjected all *Spain*, euen to the *Pyrenean* Mountaines, together with all the Islands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, to the west of *Sicily*; and of *Sicily* the better part. It flourished about seven hundred and thirtieth yeare, before the destruction thereof by *Scipio*: who besides other spoiles, and all that the Souldiers referred, carried thence foure hundred & fiftie thousand weight of siluer, which make of our monie (if our pounds differ not) fourtene hundred and ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious Citie, ranne the same fortune, which many other great ones haue done. Both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest peeces of the world, fore-flues the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred yeares after such time as it was cast downe, the Senate of *Rome* caused it to be rebuilt: and by *Gracchus* it was called *Iunonia*: it was againe and againe abandoned and re-peopled, taken and retaken; by *Genfericus* the *Pandal*, by *Belofarius* vnder *Iustinian*, by the *Persians*, by the *Agyptians*, and by the *Mohometans*. It is now nothing. The seat thereof was exceeding strong: and, while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, inuincible. For the Sea compassed it about, furing that it was tied to the maine by a neck of land; which passage had two mile and more of breadth (*Africke* is aith three mile, and one furlong) by which we may be induced, to beleue the common report, that the Citie it selfe, was about twentie mile in compass;

compass; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to haue bene twice as great.

It had three walls, without the wall of the Citie; and betweene each of those, three or foure streets, with vaults vnder ground, of thirtie foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food. Ouer these they had stables for foure thousand horse, and Granaries for all their prouender. They had also lodging in these streets, betweene these out-walls for foure thousand horse-men and twentie thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline vied now by those of *China*) neuer pestered the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Citie of *Byssa*; to which *Servilius* giues two and twentie furlongs in compass, that make two mile and a halfe. This was the same peece of ground, which *Licio* obtained of the *Libyans*, when hee got leaue to buy only of most kind of them, as hee could compass with an Oxe hide. On the west side it had also the salt Sea, but in the nature of a standing poole; for a certaine arme of Land, fastened to the ground, on which the Citie stood, stretched it selfe towards the west continent, and left but leuentic foot open for the Sea to enter. Ouer this standing Sea was built a most sumptuous Arsenal, hauing their ships and gallies riding vnder it.

The forme of their Common-weale resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titularie Kings, and the Aristocratical power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well obserueth) the people in later times vltured too great authoritie in their Councils. This confusion in gouernement, together with the trull that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruine, were their auarice and their cruelty. A their auarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinarie tributes) the one halfe of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not vpon gentle and mercifull persons, but vpon those who could best tyrannize ouer the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercie, that had offended through ignorance. The one of these rendered them odious to their vassals, whom it made readie, vpon all occasions, to revolt from them: the other did breake the spirits of their Generalls, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to passe, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces, after some great losse received, haue desperately cast themselves, with all that remained vnder their charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessarie, either to repaire their losses quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them haue dared, to manage their owne best projects, after that good forme, wherein they first conceived them, for feare lest the manner of their proceeding should be misinterpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* rule, to crucifie, not only the vnhappy Captaine, but euen him, whose bad counsaile had prospered euent. The faults, wherewith, in general, they of *Carthage* are taxed by *Roman* Historians, I finde to be these; lust, cruelty, auarice, craft, vnfaithfulness, inello, and perjurie. Whether the *Romans* themselves were free from the same crimes, let the triall be referred vnto their actions. The first league betwene *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: hauing bene made, the yeare following the expulsiion of *Tarquinius*. In that league, the *Carthaginians* had the superiortie, as imposing vpon the *Romans*, the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as haue trade, in some part of *Africa*, nor suffer any ship of theirs, to passe beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *Saine Promontorie*, vnlesse it were by force obtayned: whereas on the other side, no *Hauen* in *Italy* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (how fouler it hath pleased *Licio* to say, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreatie) was more strict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans*, to haue trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the land of *Sardinia*.

By these two treaties it may appeare, that the *Carthaginians* had an intent, not only to keep the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the state of *Africa*; but to countenance & uphold them, in their troubling all *Italy*.

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Xenoph. Grec.  
lib. 1. 1.

whereby they themselves might have the better means to occupie all *Sicill*, whilst that Island should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon were kinde good cause, of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twentie & five pound, sent from *Rome* to *Rome*, when the *Sannites* were overthrowne. But the little state of *Tenete*, prevailed faster in *Italie*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicill*. For that mighty Armie, of three hundred thousand men, which *Annibal* conducted out of *Affric* into *Sicill*, wanne only two Cities therein; many great floods were deuoured by tempests; and howlouer the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their owne valour, or by assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repaire their owne losses, and take reuenge vpon these Inuadours. But neuer were the people of *Carthage* in better hope, of getting all *Sicill*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Land in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible, for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilst the *Carthaginians* were busie, in making their advantage, of this good oportunitie; *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines*, and their fellows, came into *Italie*, where hee made sharpe warre vpon the *Romans*. These newes were vnpleasing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtle Nation, easily foresaw, that the same basic disposition, which had brought this Prince, out of *Greece* into *Italie*, would as easily transport him over into *Sicill*, as soone as he could finish his *Roman* warre. To preuent this danger, they sent *Alco* Embassadour to *Rome*, who declared in their name, that they were sorie to heare, what misadventure had befallen the *Romans*, their good friends, in this warre with *Pyrrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an Armie into *Italie*; if their helpe were thought needfull, against the *Epiriots*.

It was, indeede, the maine desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his worke in *Italie*, that they might, at good leisure, pursue their businesse in *Sicill*: which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high minded: and refused to accept any such aide of their friends; least it should blemish their reputation, and make them seeme vnable to stand by their owne strength. Yet the message was taken louingly, as it ought; and the former league betwene *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed with covenants added, concerning the present businesse. That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it should be, with reservation of libertie, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrhus* should invade either of their Dominion. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, vntill all means to found his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one vpon euery new occasion changeth his owne purposes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leisure to make a step into *Sicill*: where, though in fine hee was neither getter nor sauer, yet hee cleane defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leaving them at his departure thence, as farre from any end, as when they first beganne.

So many disasters, in an enterprise, that from the first vndertaking, had bene so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well haue induc'd the *Carthaginians* to belicue, that an higher providence resisted their intentment. But their desire, of winning that fruitfull Island, was so insatiate; that with vnwearied patience, they still continued in hope, of so much the greater an haruelt, by how much their cost and paines therein buried had bene the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and by force or practise, recovered in few yeares, all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chiefe City of the Island, that so they might the better enable themselves to deale with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had serued vnder *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messina* as friends, and finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, tooke advantage of the power that they had to

doe wrong; and with perfidious crueltie, slew those that had trusted them; which done they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wiues, of those, whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that mere desperation, of finding any that would approve their barbarous treacherie, added rage vnto their frowne. Having therefore none other colour of their proceedings, than the Law of the stronger, they ouerran the Countrey round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messina* against the Cities of *Sicill* Confederate, to wit, against the *Syracusians*, and others, but they rather wan vpon them, yea, and vpon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracusians* wanne fall vpon them, and finally, confining them within the walls of *Messina*, they also with a powerfull Armie besieged the Citie. It happened ill, that about the same time, a contention beganne, betwene the *Syracusan* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*; and Gouernours of the Common-wealth; which proceeded so firre that the Armie elected two Gouernours, among themselves; to wit, *Artemidorus*, and *Theron*, that was afterwards King. *Theron*, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrarie to the policie of that State, to approue any election made by the Souldiers, yet for the great clemencie hee ved at his first entrance, was by generall consent, established and made Gouernour. This Office, he rather ved as a Scale, thereby to climbe to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

In briefe, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himselfe within the Citie; and somewhat without it, that gaue impediment, to his obtaining, and safe keeping, of the place he sought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troups of Souldiers without, often and easily moued to sedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himselfe, hee tooke to wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authoritie among the *Syracusians*. For the second, leading out the Armie to besiege *Messina*, he quartered all his Companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the Citie, and leading the rest of his horse and foot vnto the other side, as if he would haue assaulted it in two severall parts, he marched a way vnder the court of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in peeces by the assaied: So returning home, and leauing an Armie of his owne Citizens, well trained and obedient, hee halted againe towards *Messina*, and was by the *Mamertines* (growne proud by their former victorie ouer the Mutiners) incountred in the plains of *Ayleum*, where hee obtained a most signall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captiue into *Syracuse*, himselfe by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon

the *Mamertines*, finding themselves vtterly infeasible, some of them reselued to giue themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to craue assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom, the severall factions, dispatched Embassadours for the same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soone readie, to lay hold vpon the good offer: so that a

Captaine of theirs got into the Castle of *Messina*, whereof they that had sent him gaue him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doores, and the Towne reserved for other Masters.

These newes did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Cap-

taine, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Armie to besiege *Messina*, as a Towne that rebelled, hauing once bene theirs. *Theron*, the new-made King of *Syracuse* (to gratifie his people, incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom hee entered into a league, for exterminating the *Mamertines* out of *Sicill*. So the *Mamertines* on all sides were

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closed vp within *Messana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Nauie at Sen, and with an Armie on the one side of the Towne, whilest *Hieron* with his *Syracusans*, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger, came *Appius Claudius*, the *Roman* Consull, with an Armie to the streights of *Sicily*: which passing by night with notable audacitie, hee put himselfe into the Towne, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hiera*, required them to depart; signifying vnto them, that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore hee was come to giue them protection, euen by force of warre, if reason would not preuaile.

This message was vterly neglected; And so beganne the warre betwene *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will then be time to shew, on which part was the iustice of the quarrell, when some actions of the *Romans*, lately foregoing this, haue bene first considered.

### §. III.

*The beginning of the first Punick warre. That it was vniusly undertaken by the Romans.*



When *Pyrrhus* beganne his warres in *Italie*, the Citie of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epyri*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize vpon it at that busie time, sought aide from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, consisting of foure thousand Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and assured for the present. But after a while, this *Roman* Garrison, considering at good leisure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Messana*, (a Citie in *Sicily*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise diuided than by a narrow Sea, which feuereth it from *Italie*) and rather weighing the greatnesse of the bootie, than the odioulnesse of the vilanie, by which it was gotten; resolved finally, to make the like purchase, by taking the like wicked course. Confederating therefore themselves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; diuiding the spoile, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate & people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the world made a more seuerer profukion of iustice, than they did, during all the time of their growing greatnesse) resolved, after a while, to take reuenge vpon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italie*, by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulenesse of their fact, hopelesse of pardon) defended themselves with an obstinate resolution: yet in the end, the assailants forced them; and those which escaped the present furie, were brought bound to *Rome*, where after the vusual torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Countrey, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders; and the people of *Rhegium* were againe restored to their former liberties and estates.

This execution of iustice being newly performed, and the fame thereof founding honourably through all quarters of *Italie*: messengers came to *Rome*, from *Messana*, desiring helpe against the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracusans*, that were in a readinesse to inflict the like punishment vpon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. An impudent request it was, which they made: who hauing both giuen example of that vilanie, to the *Roman* Souldiers and holpen them with ioynt forces to make it good; intreat the Iudges to giue them that assistance, which they were wont to recieue from their fellow theetes.

The

The *Romans* were not suddenly resolute, whether the way of honellie, or of profit, were to be followed; they euenmore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered, how contrarie the course of succouring the *Mamertines* was, to their former counsells, and actions: seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment, and to the sword, their owne Souldiers, and restored the oppressed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best parts of *Africa*, of the Mediterranean lands, of a great part of *Spain*, and some part of *Sicily* selfe; whilest also they feared, that *Syracuse* therein feared (a Citie in beautie and riches, little, at that time, inferior to *Carthage*, and farre superiour to *Rome* it selfe) might become theirs; the safetie of their owne estate spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliuer vp *Messana*, with those other holds, that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand betwene *Carthage*, and the Lordship of all *Sicily*: for *Syracuse* it selfe could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten vpon that passage from the maine Land. It was further considered; that the oportunitie of *Messana* was such, as would not only debarre all succours out of the continent, from arrivall in *Sicily*; but would serue as a bridge, wherby the *Carthaginians* might haue entrance into *Italie*, at their owne pleasure.

These considerations, of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers, that threatened from a farre: did so preuaile, about all regard of honellie, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacie with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consull, presently dispatched away for *Messana* into which he entred, and vnder-tooke the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arrivall; and less moued, with his requiring them, to desist from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him in number of men; the whole Island was readie to relieue them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Towne. All this *Appius* himselfe well vnderstood: and against all this, he thought the fittest mettal of his *Roman* Souldier, a sufficient reuenge. Therefore, he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the Towne; not to be besieged by them with him.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such fort, as one quarter was not well able to relieue another in distresse. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, wherinto hee had wilfully cast his owne mutinous followers, not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by vnexpected sallie, to surprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battaile, wherewith hee presented him.

The *Syracusans* wanted not courage to fight; but surely, hee wanted good aduice: else would he not haue hazarded all his power against an enemy, of whom he had made no triall; when it had bene easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorne the beginning of his raigne. But he was well beaten, and driven to saue himselfe with in his Trenches: by which losse, he learned a point of wisdom, that would him and his Kingdome in good stead, all the daies of his life. It was a foolish desire of reuenge, that had made the *Syracusans* so busie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messana* bene taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it selfe must haue sought helpe from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mightie Cities) but a small stock, which it bestowed him to gouerne well: such another losse would haue made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake vp his Camp, and retired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day,

day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sietian* Armie gone, did with great courage, and with much alacrity of hisouldiers, giue charge vpon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forooke both held and campe, leaving all the Countre open to the *Romans*; who hauing spoiled all round, without reitance, intended to lay siege vnto the great Citie of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, how foucer they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes, of attayning to greater matters, than at first they had expected. Yet did they not imprint any forme of terror, in the Citie of *Carthage*, that had wel enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost, than what had bene prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspition of warre from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this warre; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honor (for questionlesse the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict termes of lawfulness, whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeeld themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde, how the messengers of those folke, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendrie, in the publike name of all their Companie.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull surrendrie of themselves and their possessions, were become subject vnto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assilt the *Mamertines*, against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might haue aided the *Campanes*, against the *Samites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it bee supposed, that some point serving to cleare this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtlesse it is, that no companie, of Pirates, Theeues, Our-lawes, Murderers, or such other malefactors, can by any good successe of their villanie, obtaine the priuilege of ciuill societies, to make league, or truce, yea, or to require faire warre: but are by all means, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of some *Ciuitians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith, with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can giue protection to such as these, as long as any other is viting the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessarie to their crimes. Wherefore, we may esteeme this action of the *Romans*, so farre from being justifiable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Theeues, into their protection, they justly deserved to be warred vpon themselves, by the people of *Sicily*; yea, although *Messana* had bene taken, and the *Mamertines* all slain, ere any newes of this Confederacie had bene brought vnto the besiegers. The great *Alexander* was so farre perswaded herein; that he did put to sword all the *Branchidae* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their Citie, notwithstanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; because they were defended from a Companie of *Atreusians*, who to gratifie King *Alexes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Countre, which these of their posteritie enjoyed. Neuertheless, in course of humane iustice, long and peaceable possession giues *ius acquiritum*, a kinde of right by prescription, vnto that which was at first obtained by wicked meanes: and doth free the descendants, from the crime of their Ancestors, whose villanies they doe not exercise. But that the same generation of Theeues, which by a detestable but hath purchased a rich Towne, should be acknowledged a lawfull companie of Citizens, there is no thew of right. For euen the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gaue him first possession: but length of time is requisite, to establish him, vnlesse by some

some alliance with the ancient inheritors, hee can better the violence of his claime; as did our King *Henrie* the first, by his marriage with *Maud*, that was daughter of *Malcolm*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironside*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of iustice, in this quarrell, than had the *Gethes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandalles*, and other Nations, of the warres that they made vpon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her selfe, in the time of her visitation; was burnt to ground.

### §. IIII. Of the Island of Sicily.

#### 1. I.

The qualitie of the Land: and the first Inhabitants thereof.

**T**He defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messana*, being now no longer, since the first victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicily* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage*, are about to contend: it will be agreeable vnto the order, which in the like cases we haue obserued, to make a briefe collection, of things, concerning that noble Island, which hath bene the stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this present Warre.

That *Sicily* was sometimes a *Peninsula*, or *Pemie-Ile*, adjoynt to *Italie*, as a part of *Bruttium* in *Calabria*, neare vnto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempest seuered from the same: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this diuision happened, there is no memoriall remayning, in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Plinie*, and *Dionysius*, affirme, that it was caused by an earthquake; *Strabo*, *Plinie*, and *Cassiodorus*, doe thinke it to haue bene done by the rage and violence of *Sicily*. the tide, and luges of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was *Euboea* seuered from *Bœotia*; *Atlante* and *Maoris*, from *Eubœa*; *Sittia* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornwall*; and *Britaine* it selfe (as may seeme by *Perseus* arguments) from the opposite continent of *Gaulle*. But for *Sicily*, they which lend their eares to fables, doe attribute the cause of it to *Neptune* (as *Eustathius* witnesseth) who with his three forked Mace, in fauour of *Iocastus*, the sonne of *Æolus*, diuided it from the maine land, and so made it an Island, which before was but a *Pemie-Ile*; that by that meanes, hee might the more safely inhabit, and possesse the same. *Diodorus Siculus*, moued by the authority of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of sundring it from *Italie*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountaines) first opened the *Sietian* streights, as *Hercules* did those of *Gibraltar*.

They which value the Islands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantitie and content, doe make this the greatest, as *Eustathius* and *Strabo*, who affirme this, not only to excell the rest for bignesse, but also for goodnesse of soile. As concerning the forme of this Island, *Pomponius Mela*, saith, it is like that Capitall letter of the *Greeke*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally knowen to be true. That the whole Land was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old writers with one consent affirme. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of letting and sowing of *Corn*; to *Proserpina*, not so much, for that shee was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as because (which *Plutarch*

rich and *Diodorus* doe report for truth) that *Pluto*, as soone as three, vncouering be-  
 selfe, first shewed her selfe to be scene of him, gaue her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertile and riches of this Countrey, there is a famous testimonie written  
 by *Cicero*, in his second Oration against *Verres*, where he saith, that *Marcus Cato* did  
 call it the *Granarie*, and *Storehouse* of the Common-wealth, and the *Nurse* of the vulgar  
 sers. The same *Cicero* doth adde in that place, that it was not only the store-houle  
 of the people of *Rome*: but also that it was accounted for a well furnished treasure.  
 For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath vsually clothed, maintai-  
 ned, and furnished, our greatest Armies, with leather, apparel, and corn. *Strabo*  
 reporteth almost the same thing oft. Whatsoever *Stellæ* doth yeeld (saith *Solinus*)  
 whether by the Sunne, and temperature of the aire, or by the indutrie and labour  
 of man, it is accounted next vnto those things that are of best estimation: were it  
 not, that such things, as the earth first putteth forth, are extremely ouer-grown  
 with fallow. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the fields, neare vnto *Leontium*, and in  
 diuers other places of this Iland, wheat doth grow of it selfe, without any labour,  
 or looking to, of the husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in it fixe  
 Colonies, and fixtie Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are  
 found scatteringly in many good Authours.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iland, as well in peace  
 as warre: there be many other things, which haue made it very renowned, as the  
 birth of *Ceres*; the rauishing of *Proserpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Aetna*,  
*Seylla* and *Charibdis*, with other antiquities, and rarities: besides those learned men,  
 the noble Mathematician *Archimedes*; the famous Geometrician *Euclides*; the painfull  
 Historian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles* the deepe Philosopher.

That *Sicil* was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants *Lestrigones*, and *Cyclo-*  
*pes*, barbarous people, and vnciuill; all histories and fables doe joyntly with one  
 consent auerre. Yet *Thucydides* saith, that these sauage people dwelt only in one  
 part of the Iland. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spaine*, possessed it. That these  
*Sicani* were not bred in the Isle (although some doe so thinke,) *Thucydides* and *Dio-*  
*dorus* doe constantly auouch.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who  
 inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driven by  
 the *Pelagi* from their owne leates, and finding no place vpon the continent, which  
 they were able to master and inhabite, passed ouer into this Iland, three hundred  
 yeares before the *Greekes* sent any Colonies thither: and (saith *Philistus*) eightie  
 yeares before the fall of *Troy*. These *Siculi* gaue the name of *Sicilia*, to the Iland;  
 and making warre vpon the *Sicani*, draue them from the East and Northerne part  
 thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the Citie *Zante*,  
 afterward called *Messena*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Syracuse*; the last, be-  
 coming thence the *Aetolians*, who long before had set vpa Towne in that place.  
 As for the name of *Syracuse*, it was not knowne, till such time as *Archias* of *Corinth*  
 (long after) wonne that part of the Iland from the *Siculi*; Neither did the *Siculi* at  
 their first arriall dispossesse the *Aetolians* thereof, but some hundred yeares after  
 their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named,  
 with *Naxos*, *Hybla*, *Trinacia*, and diuers others.

After these *Siculi* came another Nation out of *Italie*, called *Morgetes*; who were  
 thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. These sate downe in that part of *Sicil*, where  
 they afterward raised the Cities of *Morgentium*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the  
*Siculi* were diuided, and by a ciuill warre greatly infeebled. Among these ancient  
 stories, we finde the last voyage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Creet*. *Thucydides*,  
 an Historian of unquestionable sinceritie, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest  
 of many Ilands: and some such businesse, perhaps, drew him into *Sicil*. But the  
 common report is that he came thither in pursuit of *Daedalus*. The tale goes thus:  
*Daedalus* fleeing the reuenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil* to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*,  
 and

and during his aboade there, he built a place of great strength, neare vnto *Alegria*,  
 for *Cocalus*, to lay vp his treasure in; together with many notable works, for which  
 he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he callt a Ramine in gold, that was set vp in the Temple of *Pe-*  
*nni Ergini*; which he did with so great arte, as those that beheld it, thought it ra-  
 ther to be liuing, than counterfeit.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Daedalus*, prepares to invade the  
 Territorie of *Cocalus*; but when he was arriued, *Cocalus* doubting his owne strength,  
 promitteth to deliuer *Daedalus*. This he performs not, but in the meane while, kills  
 10 *Minos* by treason, and perswades the *Cretans*; *Minos*'s followers, to inhabite a part  
 of *Sicil*; the better (as it seemes) to strengthen himselfe against the *Sicani*. Hereunto  
 the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gaue their consent, and builded for themselves  
 the Citie of *Minos*, after the name of their King *Minos*. After, they likewise built  
 the Towne of *Engyum*, now called *Gange*; and these were the first Cities, built by  
 the *Greeks* in *Sicil*, about two ages before the fall of *Troy*; for the grand children  
 of *Minos* serued with the *Greeks* at the siege of *Troie*.

But after such time as the *Cretans* vnderstood, that their King had by treason  
 bene made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to invade *Cocalus*: and  
 landing neare vnto *Camicus*, they belieged the same fixe yeares but in vaine. In the  
 20 end (being forced to returne, without any reuenge taken) they were wrackt on the  
 coast of *Italie*; and hauing no means to repaire their ships, nor the honor they had  
 lost, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyris*, or *Hyrium*, be-  
 twene the two famous Ports of *Brundisium*, and *Tarentum*. Of these *Cretans* came  
 those Nations, afterward called *Iapyges*, and *Messapij*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Aegleus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certaine troups  
 into *Sicil*, and feared themselves among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of  
*Aegleus* and *Elyma*.

It is said, that *Aeneas* visited these places in his passage into *Italie*: and that some  
 of the *Troians*, his followers, were left behinde him, in these Townes of *Sicil*:  
 30 whereof there want not good Authours, that make *Aeneas* himselfe the founder.

About the same time, the *Phenicians* seized vpon the Promontories of *Pachinus*,  
 and *Lilybeum*, and vpon certaine small Isles adioyning to the maine Iland: which  
 they fortified, to secure the trades, that they had with the *Sicilians*; like as the *Por-*  
*tugals* haue done in the East *India*, at *Goa*, *Ormuz*, *Mosambiq*, and other places. But  
 the *Phenicians* staid not there; for after they had once assured their descents, they  
 built the goodly Citie of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

These we finde, were the Nations, that inhabited the Isle of *Sicil*, before the  
 warre of *Troy*, and ere the *Greeks* in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perchance seeme strange to the Reader, that in all ancient storie, he findes  
 40 one and the same beginning of Nations, after the flood; and that the first planters  
 of all parts of the World, were said to bee nightie and Giantlike men, and chat, as  
*Phenicia*, *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Orestes*, *Antaeus*, *Typhon*, and the  
 like; as *Denmarke* had *Starobaterus*, remembered by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Seythia*,  
*Britanie*, and other Regions, had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Isle of  
*Sicil* had her *Lestrigones* and *Cyclopes*. This discourse I could also reject for famed  
 and fabulous; did not *Maso* make vs know, that the *Zamzummim*; *Emims*; *Asa-*  
*kims*, and *Og of Basin*, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountaines and  
 Deserts of *Morab*, *Ammon*, and *Mount Seir*, were men of exceeding strength and sta-  
 ture, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertullian*, *St. Augustine*, *Vi-*  
 50 *cephorus*, *Procopius*, *Isidore*, *Plinius*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many o-  
 ther Authours, haue confirmed the opinion. Yea, *Plutarch*, in his second Nautica-  
 tion into *America*, hath reported, that himselfe hath seene the like men in those  
 parts. Again, whereas the selfe-same is written of all Nations, that is written of  
 any one; as touching their implicitie of life, their meane fare, their feeding on ac-  
 cornes

Tertull. de Re-  
 fur.  
 Aug. de Ciuit.  
 Dei. l. 1. c. 8.  
 Plut. in Gre-  
 qu. l. 2. c. 17.  
 Plinius. l. 2. c.  
 16.  
 Isid. Geli.  
 Plut. l. 2. c. 8.

cornes and roots, their poore cottages, the couering of their bodies, with the skins of beaſts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their firſt paſſages ouer great Riuer, and armes of the Sea, vpon rafts of trees tied together, and afterward, their making boats, firſt, of twigs and leather, then of wood; firſt, with Oares, and then with ſaile; that they eſteemed as Gods, the firſt finders out of Arts; as of Huſbandrie, of Lawes, and of Policie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all liued in the ſame newneſſe of time, which we call *Oldtime*, and had all the ſame want of his inſtruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankind. For other teaching had they none, that were removed farre off from the *Hebrewes*, who inherited the knowledge of the firſt Patriarchs, than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the cauſes: from whence came Philoſophie Naturall; as the Moral did diſt from diſorder and conſuſion; and the Law from crueltie and oppreſſion.

But it is certaine, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth ſtranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie. For we haue now greater Giants, for vice and iniuſtice, than the World had in thoſe daies, for bodily ſtrength; for cottages and houſes of clay and timber, we haue raiſed Palaces of ſtone; we carue them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold; inſomuch as men are rather knowne by their houſes, than their bodies by them; we are fallen from two diſhes, to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkenneſſe; from the couering of our bodies with the ſkinnes of beaſts, not only to ſilke and gold, but to the very ſkinnes of men. But to conclude this digreſſion, *Time* will alſo take reuenge of the exceſſe, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorq; auſcit, longiſſima ſubruit; Long time brought forth, longer time increaſed it, and a time, longer than the reſt, ſhall overthrow it.*

## †. I. I.

## The plantation of the Greeks in Sicil.

WHEN the firſt inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicil*: it happened, that one *Theodes*, a *Greece*, being driuen vpon that coaſt by an Eaſterly winde; and finding true the commendations thereof, which had bene thought fabulous, being deliuered only by Poets; gaue information to the *Athenians* of this his diſcouerie, and propoſed vnto them the benefit of this eaſie conqueſt, offering to become their guide. But *Theodes* was ſo little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *Engliſh*. Wherefore hee tooke the ſame courſe, that *Columbus* afterwards did. Hee ouer-laboured not himſelfe in perſwading the noble *Athenians* (who thought themſelues to bee well enough already) to their owne profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needie and induſtrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By theſe was built the Citie of *Naxos*, and a Colonie planted of *Eubeans*.

But theſe of the *Greekes* were wiſer than our weſterne Princes of *Europe*: for they had no Pope, that ſhould forbid them, to occupie the void places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubeans*, and landed in *Sicil*, neare vnto that Citie, called afterward \* *Syracule*: of which, that part only was then compaſſed with a

\* *Syracule*, at *Cero* relates, was the greateſt, and moſt goodly Citie of all that the *Greeks* poſſeſt. For, the ſituation is both ſtrong, and of an excellent proſpect, from euery entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port was (for the moſt part) enuironed with beautifull buildings; and that part which was without the Citie, was on both ſides bankt vp, and ſuſtained with beautifull walls of Marble. The Citie it ſelfe was one of the greateſt of the World: for it had in compaſſe (as *Syracule* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, 186. furlongs; which made of our miles ſhore 18. It was compounded of foure Cities, (*Strato* ſaith of five) to wit, *Infula*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*: of which greateſt, the ruines and foundations of the walls doe yet winneſe.

wall

wall, which the *Ætolians* called *Homohermen*; the *Greeks*, *Nafus*; the *Latines*, *Infula*. He with his *Corinthians* hauing ouer-come the *Siculi*, draue them vp into the Countrey; and after a few yeares, their multitudes increaſing, they added vnto the Citie of the Iſland, that of *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commoditie of the double Port, capable of as many ſhips, as any Hauen of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertilitye of the ſoile; *Syracule* grew vp in great haſte, to be one of the goodlieſt Townes of the World. In ſhort time the *Greekes* did poſſeſſe the better part of all the Sea coaſt; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themſelues into the ſaile and mountainous parts of the Iſland, making their Roiall reſidence in

10 *Trinacia*.

Some ſeuene yeares after the arriuall of *Archias*; the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the ſucceſſe of the *Corinthians*, did aſſaile, and obtayne the Citie of *Leontium*, burnt and poſſeſt by the *Siculi*. In briefe, the *Greekes* winne from the *Siculi*, and their Associates, the Cities of *Catana*, and *Hybla*, which, in honour of the *Megarians* that ſore it, they called *Megara*.

About hie and ſortie yeares after *Archias* had taken *Syracule*; *Antipheas*; and *Enimius*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Arme into *Sicil*, and built *Gela*; whole Citizens, one hundred and eight yeares after, did erect that magnificent and renowned Citie of *Agriuentum*, gouerned according to the Lawes

20 of the *Dorians*.

The *Syraculians* alſo, in the ſeuentieth yeare after their plantation, did ſet vp the Citie of *Akra*, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth yeare *Casmene*, in the Planes adjoining; and againe, in the hundred and thirtieth yeare of their dwelling in *Syracule*, they built *Camerina*; and ſoone after that, *Enna*, in the very Center of the Iſland. So did the *Cumani*, about the ſame time, recover from the *Siculi* the Citie of *Zande*, which they had founded in the ſtreight betwene *Sicil* and *Italic*. They of *Zande* had bene founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this, *Dorians* the *Lae Leontinior* built *Heraclia*; which the *Phenicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the Neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, ſoone after in-

30

aded and ruined, though the ſame were againe ere long re-edified. *Selinus* alſo was built by a Colonie of *Megara*; and *Zande* was taken by the *Aſſeſſenians*; who hauing loſt their owne Countrey, gaue the name thereof vnto this their new purchaſe. Such were the beginnings of the greateſt Cities in this Iſland.

## †. I. I.

## Of the gouernement and affaires of Sicil, before DIONYSIUS his Tyrannie.

THE moſt part of the Cities in *Sicil*, were gouerned by the rule of the people, till ſuch time as *Phalaris* beganne to ſurpe the ſtate of *Agriuentum*, and to exerciſe all manner of tyrannie therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a deteſtable Engine, gaue an hollow Bull of braſſe, wherein to encloſe men, and ſcorch them to death: praiſing the deuiſe with this commendation; That the noiſe of one tormented therein, ſhould bee like vnto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gaue a due reward to the Inuentour; by cauſing the firſt trial to be made vpon himſelfe. Hee reigned one and thirtie yeares, ſaith *Eufebus*; others giue him but ſixteene: How ſoouer it were, one *Telemachus*, in the end, fell vpon him with the whole multitude of *Agriuentum*, and ſtoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*,

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even whilst the Tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno*, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracie.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their libertie, and enjoyed it long, till *Thero* usurped the gouernement of the Common-weale: at which time *lo Panastus* made himselfe Lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander* of *Gela*: but *Cleander*, hauing ruled seuen yeares, was slaine by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his brother *Hippocrates* succeeded in his roome, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle* or *Messena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with diuers other of the ancient Inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made warre with the *Syracusanians*, and, in the end, got from them, by composition, the Citie of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned nune yeares, he was slaine in a battaile against the *Siculi*, before *Sylla*.

At this time did the *Syracusanians* change their forme of Gouernement, from Popular to Aristocratically, a preparation towards a Principalltie, whereinto it was loone after changed. After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (descended from the *Euboeians*, which together with the *Cretans* had long before, among other of the *Greekes*, seated themselves in *Sicily*) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former warre, with notable successe, became Lord of *Gela*. Hee, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed vnto him by *Hippocrates* ouer his children, and being in possession of *Gela*, took the occasion and aduantage of a contention in *Syracuse*, betweene the Magistrates and the People. For comming with a strong Armie to the succour of the Gouernours, driuen out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeede) the most famous, that euer gouerned the *Syracusanians*. This change happened in the second yeare of the threecore and twelfth Olympiad; wherein the better to establish himselfe, he tooke to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had also usurped the state of *Agirgentum*.

Now this *Gelon*, the sonne of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polydorus*, and *Thrasybulus*: to the first of which hee gaue vp the Citie of *Gela*, when hee had obtaigned the Principalltie of *Syracuse*. For, after that time, all his thoughts traualled in the strenghtning, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuse*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracusanians* who built it; and brought the Citizens to *Syracuse*. The *Sicilianians* that had moued a warre against him, he ouer-came; the richer sort he brought to *Syracuse*; and the people he sold for slaues. In like manner dealt he with other places vpon like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agirgentines*, hauing dispossessed *Terillus*, of his Citie *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawne into the quarrell by *Anaxilus*, Lord of *Messena*, Father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* also was solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after diuers conflicts, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were ouerthrowne by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fiftie thousand of them left their bodies in *Sicily*.

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedaemonians* sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Armie past the *Hellepont*. Hee, for their reliefe hauing armed thirtie thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused neuerthelesse to send them into *Greece*; because they refused him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea or by Land. So he ueltd to their Embassadors only this saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accompting the Armie, by him prepared, to be the flower of the *Greece* Nations.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great losse receiued, fearing the inuasion of their owne Countrey, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadors, to desire peace; who graunts it them on these conditions; That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their children to *Saturne*; That they should pay him two thousand talents of siluer; and present him with two armed ships, in signe of amitie. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for warre, they sent vnto *Demarata*; *Gelon's* wife, a crowne, valued at an hundred

hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended; and *Sicily* in peace; *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the Gods, and created others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloued and honoured of his Subjects, he left the World, and left for his Successour his brother *Thero*. *Philistius* and *Punic* report, That, when his bodie was burnt, according to the custome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and suffered himselfe to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Thero* his brother succeeded; a man rude, cruell, couetous, and so suspicious of his brethren *Polydorus*, and *Thrasybulus*, as hee sought by all means to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this; by the conseruation which hee had with *Amilcar*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the studie of good Arts. Diuers quarrells he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agirgentum*, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gaue a notable ouerthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicily*, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aide the *Grecians*, against him. Hee also ouerthrew in battaile *Thrasydians*, the sonne of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Agirgentines* to their former libertie. But in the end hee lost the loue of the *Syracusanians*; and after he had reigned eleuen yeares, he left the Kingdome to his brother *Thrasybulus*, who became a most vnjust and bloudie Tyrant. *Thrasybulus* enjoyed his Principalltie no longer than ten moneths. For, notwithstanding the force of mercinarie Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuse* by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in *Acradina*, he restored the gouernement, and was banished the Iland. From whence he sailed into *Greece*, where he died a priuate man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracusanians* recovered againe their former libertie, as all the rest of the Cities did, after which they had neuer fought, had the Successours of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principalltie of *Syracuse*. For in all changes of Estates, the preseruacion ought to answer the acquisition. Where a liberall, valiant, and aduised Prince, hath obtaigned any new Signiorie, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himselfe from being a priuate man, to the dignitie of a Prince; it becometh the Successour to maintaine it by the same way and arte, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuse* (though not without blowes, ere shee could cleanse herselfe of the creatures and louers of *Gelon*) was now againe become Mistresse of her selfe, and held her selfe free, well neare threecore yeares, to the time of *Dionysius*; though there were in the meane while greatly indangered, by a Citizen of her owne, called *Tyndarus*.

Now, to prevent the greatnesse of any one among them, for the future, they devised a kinde of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking patterne from the *Athenian Ostracisme*. They called this their new deuised iudgement of exile, *Petalismus*, wherein euery one wrote vpon an Olive leafe (as at *Athen*) they wrote vpon shells) the name of him, whom hee would haue expelled the Citie. Hee that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five yeares. Hereby, in a short time, it came to passe, that those of iudgement, and best able to gouerne the Common-weale, were by the worst able either suppressed or thrust out of the Citie. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could; seeking some place of more securitie, wherein to maintaine themselves. And good reason they had so to doe; seeing there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore againe the wiser sort to the Gouernement; from which, the Nobilitie hauing practised to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being inuaded by *Dionysius*, King of the *Sicilians*,

that inhabited the inner part of the Iland (who had already taken *Enna*, and some other of the *Græcian* Cities, and overthrowne the Armie of the *Agregetines*) the *Syracufians* sent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolcon*. This their Captain made nothing so much haile to finde *Ducitus*, against whom he was employed, as he did to flee from the Armie he led, as soone as *Ducitus* presented him battaile. So, for want of conduct, the greatest number of the *Syracufians* perished.

But making better choice among those, whom they had banished, they leue other troops: by whom, in conclusion, *Ducitus* being beaten, submitted himself, and is constrained to leave the Iland for a time. Yet it was not long ere hee returned againe, and built the Citie *Castellina* on the Sea-side.

*Ducitus* being dead; all the *Greece* Cities did in a fort acknowledge *Syracuse*: *Trinacria* excepted; which also by force of armes, in the foreknowledge and list *Olympus*, they brought to reason.

But they doe not long enjoy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being opprest by them, seeke aide from the *Athenians*, about the fixt yeare of the *Peloponnesian* Warre. In this suite they prevailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to succour them, vnder the leading of *Laches*, and *Charades*. To this fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pytholorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captaines, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracufians*, and their Partisans; wanne and lost diuers places; tooke *Mellana*; and, in the seventh yeare of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, lost it againe. They also, at the same time, attempted *Himera*, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold vpon many Cities, which invaded each others Territories with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all hands, and yet could see none issue of the warre; the *Leontines*, without the aduise of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracufians*, and were admitted into their societie, with equall freedome. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to haue greatened themselves in *Sicily*, by the diuision and ciuill warre, were disappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and faine to bee gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custome of popular Estates) by taking reuenge vpon their owne Commanders. So they banished *Pytholorus*, and *Sophocles*, and laid an heauie fine vpon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable Warre, that euer was made by the *Greekes* in *Sicily*: which was that of the *Athenians*, against the *Selminines*, and *Syracufians*, in fauour of the Cities of *Egesta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had opprest the *Egestians*; and they of *Syracuse*, the *Leontines*, and the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the warre. For, the *Athenians* vnderooke the protection of their old friends: And, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aide from *Lacedæmon* was sent to the *Syracufians*. The *Lacedæmonians* dealt plainly, hauing none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to helpe a people of their owne Tribe, that crauid their succour, being in distresse. The *Athenians* scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to bee none other, than the conquest of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their owne passions, that they would not beleue their owne eyes, which presented vnto them a Fleet, and Armie, farre greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this Expedition, the Citie of *Athens* had ingaged all her power; as regarding, not only the greatnesse of the enterprize, but the necessity of finishing it in a short space of time. For the *Lacedæmonians* (as hath already bene shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken termes of peace with *Athens*: differing not much from open warre. Wherefore it was thought necessarie, either to spend no cost in this great expedition, or altogether to forbeare it: which was likely to be hindred by wars

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at home, if their proceedings were slack abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the *Athenians* bene ouer-passionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstaine from so chargeable a buisnesse, and to referre their forces for a more needfull vfe. But yong counsailes prevailed, against the authoritie of ancient men, that were more regardfull of faletie than of honour.

Of this buisnesse, mention hath bene already made, in that which wee haue written of the *Peloponnesian* warre. But what was there deliuered in generall termes, as not concerning the affaires of *Greece*, otherwise than by consequence; doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicily* was like to haue felt a great conuersion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

These had consultation and direction, as well to succour the *Egestians*, and to re-establish the *Leontines*, cast out of their places by the *Syracufians*; as also, by force of armes, to subiect the *Syracufians*, and all their adherents, in *Sicily*, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were sent off, with an hundred and thirtie Gallies, and five thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirtie ships of burden, which transported their victuals, engines, and other munitions for the warre; and these were *Athenians*, *Asintians*, *Rhodians*, and *Carians*: there were, besides these, fixe thousand *Megarians* light armed, with thirtie horse-men.

With these troops and fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegiens* refuse to giue them entrie; but sell them victuals for their monie. From thence they resort to the *Egestians*, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the warre, seeing, for their sakes, they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answers, that these *Egestians* were poore, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadors with false shewes of gold, hauing in all but thirtie talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegiens*, their ancient friends, and allied vnto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their walls. Hereupon *Nicias* aduise to depart towards the *Selminines*, and to force them, or perfwade them, to an agreement with the *Egestians*; as likewise to see what disbursuments the *Egestians* could make; and so to returne againe into *Greece*, and not to waite *Athens* in a needlesse warre. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would sollicite the Cities of *Sicily* to confederacie, against the *Syracufians* and *Selminines*, whereby to force them vnto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, hee perfwades them to assile *Syracuse* it selfe, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of diuers Cities) they surprize *Catana*: and there they take new counsaile, how to proceede. Thence they imploied *Nicias* to those of *Egesta*, who receiued from them thirtie talents towards his charges; and one hundred & twentie talents more there were of the spoiles they had gotten in the Iland. Thus, the Sommer being spent in idle consultations, and vaine attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assile *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* hauing bene called at home, in his absence, was sent for back by the *Athenians*, to make his answer: and the Armie was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtaine a landing place, very neare vnto *Syracuse*, by this deuise.

They imploie to *Syracuse* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust; and instruct him, to promise vnto the *Syracufians*, that hee would deliuer into their hand all the *Athenians*, within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracufians* draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the meane while, the *Athenians*, letting faile from *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuse*, where they land at faire ease, and fortifie themselves against the Towne. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracufians* had the losse: but the *Athenians*, wanting horse, could not pursue their victorie to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their Armie at *Catana*, for the winter-season.

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From thence they made an attempt vpon *Meſſana*, hoping to haue taken it by intelligence, but in vaine. For *Alcibiades* had diſcouered ſuch as were Traitors within the Citie to the *Meſſenians*. This he now did, in deſpight of his owne Citizens the *Athenians*; becauſe they had recalled him from his command, with a purpoſe either to haue put him to death, or to haue baniſhed him: whereof being allured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the *Lacedaemonians*, and to them hee gave miſchieuous counſaile againſt his Countrey. While this Winter yet laſted, the *Syracufians* ſend Embaſſadors to *Lacedaemon*, and *Corinth*, for aide: as likewise the *Athenian* Captaines in *Sicily*, ſend to *Athens*, for ſupplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth yeare of the *Peloponneſian* warre) the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, ſaile from the Port of *Catana*, to *Stegara*, for ſaken of the Inhabitants; from whence foraging the Countrey, they obtaine ſome ſmall victories ouer the ſtragling *Syracufians*: and at their returne to *Catana*, they receiue a ſupply of two hundred men at armes, but without horſe, which they hoped to furniſh in the Iland, from the *Segetians*, and other their adherents: they were alſo ſtrengthened with a companie of Archers, and with three hundred talents in monie.

Hereupon they take courage, and incampe neare *Syracufe*, vpon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracufians*, that ſailed to impeach their intrincements. They alſo receiued from their Confederates foure hundred horſe-men, with two hundred other horſe, to mount their men at armes. *Syracufe* was now in effect blockt vp, ſo as hardly any ſuccours could enter, but ſuch as were able to force their paſſage: yet the *Athenians* receiue diuers loſſes; among which it was not the leaſt, that *Lamachus*, one of their beſt Commanders, was ſlaine.

In the meane while, *Gylippus*, and *Pythos*, with the *Lacedaemonian*, and *Corinthian* forces arriue, and take land at *Homera*. The Citizens of *Homera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, joyne with them; ſo that with theſe and his owne troups, *Gylippus* aduentured to march ouer-land towards *Syracufe*. The *Syracufians* ſend a part of their forces to meet him, and conſult him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arriuall neare vnto the Citie, vpon a place of aduantage. At the firſt encounter, they had the better of their enemies, by reaſon that the *Syracufian* horſe-men could not come to fight in thoſe ſtreights: but ſoone after, *Gylippus* charging them againe, brake them, and conſtrained *Nicias* to fortifie himſelfe within his Campe. Whereupon *Nicias* made the ſtate of his affaires knowne, by his letters, to the *Athenians*; ſhewing, that, without great ſupplies by Sea and Land, the enterpriſe would bee loſt, together with the ſmall Army remaining. Theſe letters receiued, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generalls, *Eurymedon*, and *Demophones*, to joyne with *Nicias*: the one they diſpatch preſently with ſome ſupply; the other they ſend after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, *Gylippus* at *Syracufe*, fights with the *Athenians*, both by Sea and Land, ſometimes with ill, and at other times with good ſucceſſe: but in conſequence, he tooke from them their Port, neare vnto *Syracufe*, at the *Promontorie*, called *Phormyrum*; wherein the *Athenians* loſt their treaſure, and a great part of all their prouiſions. Notwithſtanding which loſſe, and that the *Athenians* themſelves, in *Greece*, were (in effect) belieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedaemonians*; yet were they moſt obſtinate in perſecuting the warre in *Sicily*, and diſpatched away *Demophones* with new ſuccours. *Demophones*, in his way towards *Sicily*, encountered with *Polyarchus* the *Corinthian*, with his fleet: both the Captaines being bound for *Sicily*, the one to ſuccour *Nicias*, the other, *Gylippus*. The loſſe betwene them was in effect equall; and neither ſo broken, but that each of them perſeuted the enterpriſe they had in hand. But before the ſuccours arriued to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariften* had ſailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracufe*, and in a Sea-fight put them to the worſt, to the great diſcouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demophones*

arriued with threeſcore and thirteene Gallies, charged with foot-men; and (blaming the ſlouth of *Nicias*) he inuaded the *Syracufians*, the ſame day that he arriued. But he made more haſte, than he had good ſpeede, being ſhamefully beaten, and repulſed with great loſſe. Hereupon *Demophones* and *Eurymedon*, determine to riſe vp from before *Syracufe*, and returne to the ſuccour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* diſputed to the contrarie, pretending that hee had good intelligence within *Syracufe*, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

Whatſoeuer *Nicias* his intelligence was; vpon the arriuall of a new ſupply into the Towne, the *Athenians* had all conſented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipse of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill ſucceſſe, cauſed them to deſerre their departure. But this ſuperſtition coſt them deare. For the *Syracufians*, *Lacedaemonians*, and *Corinthians*, with threeſcore and ſeuenteene ſaile of Gallies, entred the great Port of *Syracufe*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, and whereon they had fortified themſelves. The *Athenians*, in the ſame Port, encountered them with foureſcore and ſixe Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*, in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten, by the leſſer number, and *Eurymedon* ſlaine. Now, though it were ſo, that the *Syracufians* receiued the more loſſe by Land (for the fight was generally) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by Sea, in which kinde they thought themſelves inuincible, they were wonderfully caſt downe. For it was well ſaid of *Gylippus*, to the *Syracufians*; When any people doe finde themſelves vanquiſhed in that manner of fight, and with thoſe weapons, in which they perſuade themſelves that they exceede all others, they not only looſe their reputation, but their courage. The *Athenians*, beſides the Gallies ſunk and wrackt, had ſeuenteene taken, and poſſeſſed by the enemy: and with great labour and loſſe they defended the reſt from being fired, haueing drawne them within a *Palſade*, in one corner of the Port, vnaduiſedly: for it is as contrarie to a Sea-warre, to thruſt ſhips into a ſtreight roome and corner, as it is to ſcatter foot in a plaine field againſt horſe; the one ſubſiſting, by being at large; the other, by cloſe imbarailing.

The *Syracufians*, hauing now weakened the *Athenian* fleet, reſolue to imprifon them within the Port. And to that purpoſe they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Hauen, being about a mile ouer, and there they came to Anchor; filling the Out-let with all manner of Veffels, which they man moſt ſtrongly, becauſe the *Athenians*, being now made deſperate, ſhould not with double ranks of Gallies breake through the *Syracufian* fleet; which lay but ſingle, becauſe they were ſoſt to range themſelves ouer all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not only mored themſelves ſtrongly by their Anchors, but chained the ſides of their Gallies together, and laied behinde them againe certaine thiaps, which ſerued in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were ſunk; or the chaine, which joyned them to their fellows, broken, the *Athenians* might yet finde themſelves, a ſecond time, intangled and arreſted. To diſorder alſo thoſe *Athenian* Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a paſſage, the *Syracufians* had left within theſe Gallies and Ships, chained together, a certaine number of looſe ones, to ſtop their courſe and furie. For where the way of any veffell, vling oare or ſailes, is broken, and their ſpeede fore-ſlowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the reſiſtance oppoſing.

On the other ſide, the *Athenians* knew that they were vtterly loſt, except with an inuincible reſolution, they could make their way, and breake downe this great bridge of boats; or (at leaſt) force a paſſage through them in ſome part or other: which they reſolue to hazard, with all their ſhipping (to the number of one hundred and ten, of all ſorts) and with all the ſtrength of their Land-armie, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did ſo diſorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as albeit ſome few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being ſtopped by the ſhips without, and affailed by other looſe Gallies of the *Syracufians*, which were purpoſely left at large in the Sea, they

they were either taken or funke. Three great difadvantages the *Athenians* had: the first, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a freight, they had no room to turne themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the second, that having over-petted their Gallies with Souldiers, who vs'd on ordinarie armes of darts and slings, they had not place vpon the decks to breeth their armes; the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a passage, by which they might save themselves by running away. To be short, the fight was no lesse terrible than the confusion; the slaughter great on all sides; and the noise, and the cries, folowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as suruiued, were beaten back to the Land, with losse of threecore of their Gallies, broken, funke, or abandoned. The *Syracusan*s did also loose twentie of theirs, with *Pythion*, Commander of the *Corinthian*s. The rest of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themselves into the bottome of the Port, saved themselves by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie, there fortified. In this desperate estate, the *Athenian* Commanders goe to counsell. *Demofthenes* perswades them, to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracusians* were triumphing, and made secure by their present victorie, to set vpon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to *Athens*. This was no ill counsaile. For, as we haue heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greatest number of all that haue bene victorious) that haue neglected the speedie prosecution of a beaten enemy; so might we produce many examples of those, who, hauing slept securely in the bosome of good successe, haue bene suddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Armie, and haue thereby lost againe all the honour, and advantage, formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the aduice of *Demofthenes*: Others say, that the Sea men were against it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all resolute to march ouer land to the Cities of their Confederates, till some more favourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedaemonian* and *Corinthian* Captaines, with *Hermocrates*, exhorted the *Syracusians* to put themselves presently into the field, and to stop all the passages, leading to those Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retreat. But many were wearie, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at *Cadex*, lost vs both the *Indian* fleet, and the Spoiles of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracusan*, finding it a lost labour, to perswade his Countreimen to any hallic prosecution, deuised this good stratagem, thereby to gaine time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, hee should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three horse-men out of *Syracuse* by night, willing them to finde *Nicias*; and (after they had assured him, that they were of the *Athenian* faction) to giue him aduice not to march away ouer-hastily from the place, wherein hee was fortified; alleging that the *Syracusians* had lodged their Armie, which could not long stay there, vpon the passages and places of aduantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These tidings *Nicias* easily beleued, and put off his iourne to the third day. For men, newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearefull than wise; and to them, euery thistle in the field, appeares, by night, a man at armes.

The third day (leauing all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remoue; being pierced and pursued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were sick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies swords. The rest march away, to the number of fortie thousand; and make their first passage by force, ouer the Riuer of *Anapus*, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies. But being euery day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracusan* horse-men, beaten in from foraging, and prouision of fooode, they grow weak and heartlesse. The *Syracusians* also possesse the Mountaine *Lepas*, by which they were to passe toward: *Corinthians*, and thereby force them to fall back againe towards the Sea-coast, and to take what

what way they could: being vnable to proceede in their iourne intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as hauing none other meanes to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continuall skirmishing. To keepe all in order, *Nicias* vnder-tooke the leading of the Vangard; and *Demofthenes* conducted the Reare. At the Riuer *Erineus*, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole nights march, leauing *Demofthenes* to make the retreat: who being incompanied, and over-prest with numbers, in the end renders himselfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could haue hoped for, and the faith of his enemies farre worse than he suspected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias*, murdered in prison. The Armie of *Demofthenes* being dissolved, they pursue *Nicias* with the greater courage; who being utterly broken, vpon the passage of the Riuer *Asinarus*, rendered himselfe to *Gylippus*, vpon honest conditions. *Gylippus* sought to preferre him, and to haue had the honour, to haue brought these two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble enemy to the *Lacedaemonians*, and who, at the ouerthrow, which they received at *Pylus* by the *Athenians*, had saved the liues of the vanquished; *Demofthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedaemon* the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the *Syracusan* Armie, dissuaded the rest, by all the art hee had, from using any barbarous violence, after so noble a victorie. But the cruell, and the cowardly sort, (cowardly and crueltie, being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these braue Captaines to be miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be flured in locksome prisons; and the rest sold for slaves. This was the success of the *Syracusan* warre: which tooke end at the riuer *Asinarus*, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the fourescore and eleuenth Olympiad.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicily*, the *Egeffians* (for whose defence, against the *Selinuntines*, this late warre had bene taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracusians*, sought helpe from the *Carthaginians*, to whom they offered themselves, and their Citie, as their Vassalls. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicily*, yet considering the prosperitie of the *Syracusians*, and their late victories ouer the *Athenians*, they stand a while to dispute of the matter: whether they should refuse, or accept, the offer made vnto them: for the *Selinuntines* were straightly allied to the *Syracusians*, as may appeare by what is said. In the end, the Senators of *Carthage* resolute vpon the enterprise; and (by a trick of their *Panick* wit) to separate the *Syracusians* from the *Selinuntines*, they send Embassadors to *Syracuse*: praying that Citie, as in the behalfe of the *Egeffians*, to compell the *Selinuntines* to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of *Syracuse* should thinke meet to allow them. The *Syracusians* approued the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no such appointment: rather they tooke it ill, that the *Syracusians*, with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the *Athenian* war, should offer to trouble them, by interposing as Arbitrators, in a busines, that themselves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would haue it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace craue aide of *Syracuse*; and the *Syracusians* as ill grant it vnto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrement, which the *Carthaginians* would haue put into their hands. Hereupon, an Armie of three hundred thousand men is set out from *Carthage*, vnder the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you haue heard before) was ouerthrowne with the great *Carthaginian* Armie at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedie of this imploiment, that he might take reuenge, as well of his Vncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of whom hauing bene slaine by the *Himerians*; the other by those of *Selinus*. Both these Cities, *Hannibal*, in this warre, wonne by force of armes, sacked, and burnt them; and hauing taken three thousand of the *Himerians* prisoners, hee caused them to be led vnto the place, where *Amilcar* was slaine, and buried there.

After this followed some trouble at *Syracuse*, occasioned by the banishment of *Hermocrates*,

*Hermocrates*, who had lately bene General of the *Syracusan* forces, against the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had so farre prevailed with the ingratefull inultitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meere vertue, at such time, as he was aiding the *Lacedemonians*, in their warre against *Athens*; wherein hee did great service. All the honestest fort within *Syracuse* were forie for the injurie done vnto him, and fought to haue him repcaled. *Hermocrates* himselfe, returning into *Sicill*, gathered an Armie of sixe thousand; with which he beganne to repaire *Selinus*; and by many noble actions laboured to winne the loue of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore, he was aduised to seize vpon a Gate of *Syracuse*, with some strength of men; whereby his friends, within the Towne, might haue the better meanes to rise against the aduerser partie. This he did: but presently the multitude fell to armes, and set vpon him; in which conflict hee was slaine. But his sonne-in-law, *Dionysius*, shall make them with *Hermocrates* aliae againe.

†. IIII.

of *DIONYSIUS* the Tyrant: and others, following him, in *Syracuse*.

THE *Syracusians* had enjoyed their libertie about threescore yeares, from the death of *Thrasibulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionysius* was raised vp by God, to take reuenge, as well of their crueltie towards strangers, as of their ingratitude, towards their owne best Citizens. For before the time of *Dionysius*, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace: which custome they mult now bee taught to amend.

*Dionysius* obtayned the Principalltie of *Syracuse*, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves Masters of other Cities, and of *Syracuse* itselfe. For, being made *Priester*, and commanding their Armies against the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaued himselfe so well, that he got a generall loue among the people, and men of warre. Then beganne he to follow the example of *Pisistratus*, that made himselfe Lord of *Athens*; obtayning a band of sixe hundred men, to defend his person: vnder pretence, that his private enemies, being traitorously affected to the State of *Syracuse*, had laid plots how to murder him, because of his good seruices. He doubled the pay of the Souldiers, alleging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to assure them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had bene banished, which were the best men of *Syracuse*; and these were afterwards at his deuotion, as obliged vnto him by so great a benefit. His first fauour, among the *Syracusians*, grew from his accusation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to raigne ouer their betters: wherefore, gladly did hee helpe them to breake downe, as fetters imprisoning their libertie, the barres that held it vnder safe custodie. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat hee aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see: and some that were needie, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the Citie to smart. He began early to hunt after the tyrannie; being but fise and twentie yeares of age when he obtayned it: belike, it was his desire to raigne long. His first worke, of making himselfe absolute Lord in *Syracuse*, was, the possession of the Citadell; wherein was much good prouision, and vnder it the Gallies were moored. This hee obtained by allowance of the people; and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselfe without all shame or feare: The Armie, the chiefe Citizens, reposed by him from banishment; all the needie fort within *Syracuse*, that could not

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thrive by honest courses; and some neighbour-townes, bound vnto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for his establishing the faction, reigning at that present; were wholly affected to his assistance. Having therefore gotten the Citadell into his hands, he needed no more, saue to assure what hee had already. Hee strengthened himselfe by diuers marriages; taking first to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once: the one a *Locrian*, *Loris*; by whom hee had *Dionysius*, his Successor, the other, *Arifomache*, the daughter of *Hippwinus*, and sister to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuse*, which bare vnto him many children, that serued to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere some of the *Syracusians* (enuying his prosperitie) incited the multitude, and tooke armes against him, even in the noueltie of his Rule. But their enterprife was more passionately, than wisely governed. He had shamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at armes, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the *Carthaginians* waite all, that hee might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselves from his tyrannie. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to *Syracuse*, where they found friends to helpe them: there they forced his Palace, rancked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that for the griefe thereof shee poisoned her selfe. But he followed their heeles apace; and firing a Gate of the Citie by night, entred soone enough to take reuenge, by making a speedie riddance of them. For he spared none of his knowne, nor of his suspected enemies. After that, he grew lo doubtfull of his life, as he neuer durst trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, no, nor so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, vndripped and searched. He was the greatest Robber of the people, that euer reigned in any State; and withall, the most vnrespectfully cruel.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the *Island*, from the rest; like as the *Spaniards* did the Citadell of *Antwerp*: therein he lodged his treasures, and his Guards.

He then beganne to make warre vpon the free Cities of *Sicill*: but while hee lay before *Herbesse*, an in-land Towne, the *Syracusians* rebelled against him; so, as with great difficultie hee recovered his Citadell: from whence, hauing allured the old Souldiers of the *Campanians*, who forced their passage through the Citie, with one thousand and two hundred horse, hee againe recovered the matter ouer the *Syracusians*. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their Haruest, hee disarmed all the Townes-men remayning; and new strengthened the Fort of the *Island*, with a double wall. He inclosed that part also, called *Eppolus*; which, with threescore thousand labourers, hee finished in three weekes; being two leagues in compass. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and fortie thousand Targets, with as many swords, and head-peeces, with foureteen thousand corselets, and all other futable armes. Which done, he sent word to the *Carthaginians*, (greatly enfeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the *Grecike* Townes, which they held in *Sicill*, he would make warre vpon them: and, not staying for answer, hee tooke the spoile of all the *Phoenician* ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the second, did of our *English*, before the warre in our late Queens time. He then goes to the field with foure score thousand foot and three thousand horse, and sends his brother *Lepistes* to sea, with two hundred Gallies and fise hundred ships of burden. Most of the Townes which held for *Carthage* yielded vnto him; saving *Panormus*, *Segesta* or *Egesta*, *Amyra*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of these, he first wonne *Motya* by assault, and put all therein to the sword; but before *Egesta* hee lost a great part of his Armie, by a sallie of the Citizens. In the meane while *Stimice* arrives; but, ere hee tooke land, hee lost in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fiftie ships of warre; and fise thousand Souldiers, besides many ships of burden. This notwithstanding, hee recovered againe *Motya* vpon his first descent. From thence marching towards *Me-*

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*Jena*, he tooke *Lypara*, and (soone after) *Messena*, and rased it to the ground. Now beganne *Dionysius* greatly to doubt his citie. Hee therefore fortified all the places hee could, in the Territorie of the *Lemines*, by which hee supposed that *Himilco* would passe toward *Syracuse*, and he himselfe tooke the field againe, with tour and thirtie thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had divided his Armie into two parts, marching with the one halfe ouer land, and sending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he sent *Leptines*, his brother, to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was viceroy beate by the *Carthaginians*; twentie thousand of his men were slaine, and an hundred of his Gallies loott. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell vs; That one Citie should be able to furnish five hundred saile of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did *Syracuse* arme in this warre) and more strange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any grent Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twentie thousand should be slaine in one fight. In all our fights against the *Turkes*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the most notable, we heare of no such number loott; nor in any other fight by Sea, that euer hapned in our age, nor before vs. When *Charles* the first went to besiege *Algier*, hee had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fiftie saile of ships, and threecore and fiftie Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, he sought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the rest of *Italy*. But in old times it was the manner to carrie into the field, vpon extremitie, as many as were needfull, 20 of all that could beare armes, giuing them little wages, or other allowance: in our daies it is not so; neither, indeede, is it often requisite. Vpon this overthrow, *Timonius* posset away to *Syracuse*, to strengthen it: *Himilco* followes him, and besiegeth the Towne by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant, hauing receiued aide from the *Lacedemonians*, vnder the conduct of *Pharacides*, puts himselfe to Sea, to make provision for his Citizens: who, in his absence, take twentie of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and sinke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne successe prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill; hauing also at the present weapons in their hands; they consult how to recouer their libertie. And this they had done, had not *Pharacides* the *Lacedemonian* resisted them. It also fell out, to his exceeding advantage, that the plague was so increased, and so violent, among the *Carthaginians*; as it is said, that about an hundred thousand of them died thereof. Hee therefore, with the power that he could gather together, sets vpon them both by Sea and Land; and hauing slaine great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to desire peace. This peace *Timonius* sold him for a great summe of monie, on condition, that he should steale away with his *Carthaginians* only: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was pursued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behinde him. The rest of the *Africans* fell vnder the swords of their enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while brauely defended themselves, were (after their submission) entertained, and serued the Conquerour.

Many such examples of perfidious dealing haue I noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliuer vnto memorie the like practises, when they meete with their matches: That which hapned vnto *Monseigneur de Piles*, was very futable to this treacherie, wherewith *Dionysius* pursued *Himilco*. I was present, when *De Piles* related the iniurie done vnto him. He had rendered *St. Iohn d'Angely*, to the French King *Charles* the ninth, who besieged him therein. Hee ended it, vpon promise made by the faith of a King, that he should be suffered to depart in safetie, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himselfe, of the Duke of *Anjou* his brother, Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of diuers Dukes and Marshalls of *France*, he was set vpon and broken in his march; spoiled of all that he had; and forced to saue his life by flight, leauing the most of his Souldiers dead vpon the place: the Kings hand and faith, warranting him to march away with ensigne displayed, and with all his goods and prouisions, no whit auailing him. It needes not therefore seeme strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus breake his faith, since Kings,

Kings, professing Christianitie, are bold to doe the like, or command their Capitaines to doe it for them.

*Dionysius*, after this great victorie, tooke care to re-edifie *Messena*. *Antago*, who staid in *Sicily*, to hold vp the *Carthaginians* therein, is againe beate by *Dionysius*; who is also beate by the *Tauromenians*. A new supply of fourecore thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to *Mago*; but they take egges for their monie, and make peace with *Dionysius*, leauing the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to shift for themselves: whom *Dionysius*, after a long siege, ouer-came, and gaue their Citie to his mercinarie Souldiers.

10 He then past into *Italy*, obtained diuers victories there, brought the *Libegians* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourecore thousand crownes, to furnish him with threecore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for assurance of their future obseruance of covenants. This hee did, not with any purpose to performe vnto them the peace that they had so dearly bought; but that hauing taken from them their Gallies, he might besiege them, and ruine them vtterly, with the more ease. Now to the end he might not, without some colour, failline the faith that he had giuen to them; he pretended to want victuals for his Armie, at such time as he seemed readie to depart out of *Italy*, and sent to them to furnish him therewith; promising to returne them the like quantitie, at his comming home to *Syracuse*.

20 His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, hee would then make their refusal the cause of his quarrell: if they yielded to aide him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of foode, to endure a siege any long time against him. For to ruine them hee had fully determined, at what price soeuer. And great reason he had to take reuenge of them, if he had done it fairly, and without breach of faith. For when, in the beginning of his reign, he desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their Nobilitie vpon him, for a wife: they answered, That they had not any one fit for him, saue the Hang-mans daughter. Princes doe rather pardon ill deedes, than villanous words. 30 *Alexander* the Great forgave many sharpe swords, but neuer any sharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors. And certainly, it belongs to those that haue warrant from God, to reprehend Princes; and to none else, especially in publike.

It is said, that *Hermie* the fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his ouer-bold and biting taunts, than hee vsed against him before *Amiens*, than for his conspuracie with the *Spaniard*, or *Saucy*: for he had pardoned ten thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawne their swords against him. The contemptuous words that *St. Iohn Parret* vsed of our late Queene *Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and not the counterfait letter of the Romish Priest, produced against him. So fared it with some other, greater than hee, that thereby ranne the same, and a worse fortune, soone after.

To bee short, hee made them know new bread from old. Hee assaulted their Towne on all sides, which hee continued to doe eleuen moneths, till hee wonne it by force. He vsed his victorie without mercie; specially against *Phlyten*, who had commanded within it.

Some other warres hee made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking, and raising of this Citie; and those with variable successe. For as in one encounter hee slue *Mago*, with ten thousand *Africans*: so the sonne of *Mago* beate him, and slue 50 his brother *Leptines*, with foureteene thousand of his Souldiers. After which hee bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the aduice of Prosperitie and Aduersitie, as all Kings and States doe.

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When he had reigned eight and thirtie yeares, he died: some say, in his bedde, peaceably; which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruell man hee was, and a faithlesse; a great Poet, but a foolish one. Hee entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyrannie, hee gaue order to haue him slaine, or sold for a slaue. For hee could endure no man, that flattered him not beyond measure. His Paralties therefore siled his crueltie, *The hate of euill men*, and his lawlesse slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his iustice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kinde of vermine, which poison all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better, than the worthiest and valiantest men doe: And I wonder not at it; for it is a world: and as our *Sauieur Christ* hath told vs, *The World will loue her owne*.

To this *Dionysius*, his sonne of the same name succeeded; and inherited both his Kingdome, and his Vices. To winne the loue of the People, hee pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt vp, and condemned. Withall, he remitted vnto his Citizens diuers payments, by his Father imposed vpon them. Which done, and thereby hoping, that he had fastened vnto himselfe the peoples affections; hee cast off the Sheeps skinne, and put on that of the Wolfe. For, being jealous of his owne Brethren, as men of more vertue than himselfe, hee caused them all to bee slaine; and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath beene said) 10 had two Wiues; *Doris* of *Loeris*; and *Artemaschea* a *Syracusan*, the sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded vnto him: and by *Artemaschea* he had two Sonnes and two Daughters; of which the elder, called *Sophrosyne*, he gaue in marriage to his eldest Sonne, and her halfe-brother, *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Areta*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whose death, *Dion* rooke her to Wife, being his Neece.

This *Dion*, a iust, and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that hee was wholly giuen ouer to sensuality, preuailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had beene, as he drew him into *Sicily*, to instruct the young King. And hauing perswaded the King to entercytne him, he wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* beganne to change condition; to change Tyrannie, into Monarchie; and to hold the Principalltie, that he had, rather by the loue of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrisons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For *Philistus* the Historian, and other his Paralties, that hated *Dion*s feueritie, wrought him out of the Tyrants fauour; and caused him soone after to bee banished out of *Sicily*, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrells betwene him and the *Cartaginians*, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great feare, or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fiftie Gallies at his owne charge, during the warre against them: his enemies found meanes, by sinister interpretation, to conuert his good will into matter of treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations, giuen of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to soften his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the studie of Philosophie; whilest *Dion*, in the meane time, hauing furnished fiftie Gallies, vnder colour of the Kings seruice, had it in his owne power, either to deliuer to the *Syracusan* their former libertie, or to make himselfe Lord and Soueraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which he made, to serue the King with so great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had serued the King for none other end, than to raise and enrich themselves, and had alreadie bene raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer, that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to con-  
curre.

ceive it aright. But these couetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring, that *Dion* had, were bold to stile his *Loue* and *Liberaltie*, *Pride* and *Presumption*; and heartned the young King, in his oppressing and eating vp his owne people, of whose spoiles they themselves shared no small portion. I haue heard it, That when *Charles* the fift had the repulse at *Algier* in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Cortes*, one of the bravest men that euer *Spain* brought forth, offered vnto the Emperour, to continue the siege at his owne charge. But hee had neuer good day after it. For they that enuid his victories, and his conquest of *Mexico* in the west *Indies*, perswaded the Emperour, that *Cortes* sought to value himselfe about him; and to haue it said, That what the Emperour could not, *Cortes* had effected; and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented, at first, to send him the reuenues of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his mouables, at his owne pleasure: not without giuing hope, to recall him in short time. Had hee continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that *Dion* would haue bene well pleased to liue well, as he did, at *Athens*. But after some time, *Dionysius* made Port-fale of this Noble-mans goods; and thereby vrged him to take another course; euen to seek the restitution of his Countrie to libertie. The vertues of *Dion*, especially his great liberalitie, had purchased much loue in *Greece*. This loue made him suspected and 10 hated of the Tyrant: but it stood him in good stead, when hee sought to raise men, with whose helpe he might returne into *Sicily*. Yet he got not about eight hundred (for hee carried the matter closely) to follow him in this aduerture. But many of them were men of qualitie, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuse*, as many as should be needfull, that would readily assist him. Therefore hee landed boldly in *Sicily*; marched to *Syracuse*; entered the Citie without resistance; armed the multitude; and wonne all, saue the Citadell.

*Dionysius* was then absent in *Italy*; but hee quickly had aduertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned hastily to *Syracuse*; whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and some forceable attempts to recover the Towne, 30 he was faine to depart; leaving yet the Citie to the custodie of *Apollonides*, his eldest sonne. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philistus*, comming with a strength of men to assist him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countries libertie, had the same reward, that all worthe men haue had from popular Estates. He was disgraced, assaied, and forced to abandon the Citie. He retirerth himselfe to the *Leontines*, who receiue him with great joy. Soone after his departure from *Syracuse*, new troups enter the Citie: they sallie out, assaile, spoile, and burne a great part of the Citie. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request; yet, ere he could arrive, *Dionysius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Townsmen, thinking themselves secure, shut the Gates against *Dion*. But the next 40 night, they of the Citie sallie againe, with greater furie than euer; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and set fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremitie *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the loue of his Countrie surmounting all the injuries that he had receiued. He sets vpon the Garrison of the Citie, with the one part of his Armie; and quencheth the fire, euerie where killed with the other part. In conclusion, after he had conquered both the fire and the fard, that had well-nere burnt to ashes, and depopulated *Syracuse*, hee recovered the Citie, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent *Apollonides*, after *Dionysius* his Father, into *Italy*. But their malice, of whom hee had best deserv'd, and whom he had loued most, gaue an vntimely end to his dayes. For he was, soon after, 50 by his victorie, murdered by *Cleippus*; who, after hee had, with ill success, a while gouerned *Syracuse*, was slaine with the same Dagger, with which hee had murthered *Dion*.

Ten yeares after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in *Italy*, recouers his estate, and returns to *Syracuse*, driving *Nysus* thence, whom he  
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found Governour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing, more than euer, his crueltie, flee to *Ietes*, a *Syracusan* borne, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Ietes* enters into confederacie with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their assistance, not only to preuaile against *Dionysius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracusians* towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The *Syracusians*, being desirously afflicted on all sides, send to the *Corinthians* for succour. *Ietes* also sends thither, and disswades the *Corinthians*, as well as hee can, from intermeddling in the businesse. He tells them, by his Messengers, That he had entred into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were so sterred by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Ietes*, to land any Armie in *Sicily*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treason of *Ietes*, more enraged than disswaded, sent *Timoleon* with nineteene Gallies, to deliuer *Syracuse* from tyrannic. In the meane while, *Ietes* had entred *Syracuse*, and, with the help of the *Carthaginians*, driuen *Dionysius* into the Castle, wherein hee beliedge him.

*Ietes*, being himselfe a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than, how to deliuer his Countrie. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he sent to perswade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in *Sicily*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were also in the same Port of *Rhegium*, whose Captaines aduised *Timoleon*, to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there, than he had, and were like to compell him, if *Timoleon*, hindring himselfe ouer-mannered, makes request to the *Carthaginian* Captaines, that they would be pleased to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliuer vnto him those arguments, for his returne, which they had vsed to him in private; that hee might, by publique testimony, discharge himselfe to the Senate of *Cyrinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perswading themselves, that a victorie, obtayned by a few faire wordes, was without losse, and farre more easie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yielded to *Timoleon*'s desire. But while the Orations were deliuering, *Timoleon*, fauoured by the *Rhegiens*, stole out of the presse; and hauing set sail, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tourmentum*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governour. From thence he marched towards *Adranum*, where surprisng *Ietes*'s Armie, hee slue a part thereof, and put the rest to runne. It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The *Adranians* joyned with him; and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Castle of *Syracuse* into his hands: as thinking it better to yield vp himselfe, and the places which he could not defend, vnto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Ietes*, whom hee disdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom hee hated. Now *Timoleon*, who within fiftie daies, after his arrivall, had recovered the Castle of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* to *Corinth*, to lue there a priuate man, was still invaded by the Armies, and molested by the practices, of *Ietes*. For he beliedge the *Corinthians*, within the Castle of *Syracuse*, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* send vnto *Timoleon* a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are staid in *Italy* by foule weather. *Ietes* is strengthened with threecore thousand *Africans*, brought vnto him by *Mago* (all which hee lodgeth within *Syracuse*) and with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keepe the Port. This was the first time, that euer the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the walls of that Citie. With this great Armie, *Ietes* assaulted the Castle. *Timoleon* sends them victuals, and succour, in small boats, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Ietes* doe therefore resolute to beliedge *Catana*; but they were no sooner on their way towards *yo* it, with part of their forces, than *Leen*, Captaine of the *Corinthians*, sallied out of the Castle, and tooke that part of *Syracuse*, called *Acadina*, which he fortified.

In the meane while, the two thousand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marcheth towards *Syracuse*. *Mago* abandoneth *Ietes*,

*Ietes*, being frighted out of *Sicily* (which he might easily haue conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him returne to *Carthage*; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for feare of further punishment, he hanged himselfe. *Timoleon* enters the Citie, and beats downe the Cattle (which hee called the nest of Tyrants) to the ground. But he found the Citie, when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feede on the grasse, growing in the market-place. Therefore, he writes to *Corinth*, for people to re-inhabite it. Ten thousand are sent out of *Greece*; many come from *Italy*; others, from other parts of the Island.

15 But a new storme ariseth. *Asiarchus* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Liphicum*, with threecore and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their provisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Armie vpon the passage of a River.

A tempest of raine, haile, and lightning, with boisterous windes, beating vpon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are vtterly broken: ten thousand slaine, five thousand taken, with all their carriages and provisions: among which, there were found a thousand corlets, gilt and grauen. After this, *Timoleon* gaue an ouerthrow to *Ietes* and, following his victorie, tooke him, with his sonne *Eusebius*, and the Generall of his horse, prisoners, whom he caused all to be slaine: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great crueltie) hee suffered *Ietes*'s wives and daughters to be put to death. But this was the reuenge of God vpon *Ietes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arcte*, *Dion*'s wife, and a yong child of his, with *Artemache* his sister, to be cast into the Sea.

He againe preuailed against *Mamercus*, Tyrant of *Catana*, and wonne *Catana* it selfe. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippion*, Tyrant of *Messena*: but *Timoleon*, pursuing him, wonne the towne, deliuering *Hippion* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other, the Tyrants in *Sicily*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*; on condition, That they should not passe the River of *Lycus*. After this, he liued in great honour among the *Syracusanians*, till his death; and was solemnly buried by them, in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funerals, being for euer ordayned to bee kept holy among them.

After such time, as *Timoleon* had deliuered *Syracuse*, from the tyrannie of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Island, the Inhabitants enjoyed their libertie in peace, about twenty yeares. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant failed in fateties; and the Labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But, it was impossible, that a Nation, which neither knew how to gouerne, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthe to be Kings, to gouerne them; should any long time subsist.

40 Twenty yeares after the death of *Timoleon*, there flared vp an *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of base condition; who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captaine; and so from degree to degree, rising to bee a *Proter*; finally became Lord and Soueraigne of the *Syracusians*. Many fortunes he ranne, and vnder-went as many dangers, ere hee obtained the Principallitie. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banished. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable seruice, as well for those by whom he was imploied, as also for the *Syracusians*, and against them. For in their warres against those of *Enna*, and the *Campanians*, hee did them memorable seruice: and on the contrarie, as memorable seruice for the *Murgantines* against the *Syracusanians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made Generall of their forces, hee sackt *Leontium*; and beliedge *Syracuse* so streightly, that the Citizens were driuen to craue aide, euen from their ancient and natural enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians*, to relieue *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that hee got him to make peace betwene himselfe and the

the *Syracusians*, binding him selfe by promise and oath, to remaine a friend and servant to the state of *Carthage*, for ever after. *Amilcar* entertained the businesse, and compounded the quarrells betwene *Agathocles*, and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen *Prator*; he entertaines five thousand *Africans*, and diuers old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, vnder colour of a purpose to besiege *Herbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poore and discontented *Syracusians* (the Citie being also diuided into many factions) he assailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; diuides the spoile of the rich among the poore; and giues libertie to his Souldiers, to robbe, to raulh, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controulment: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and fired the streets with ten thousand dead carkasses, besides those that had broken their necks ouer the walls; their furie had no further subject to worke on.

*Agathocles*, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent knaue) perswaded them, that, for the violent licknesse, by which the common-wealth was vtterly cōsumed, he found no better, than the violent remedies, which he had admittred; and that he affected no other thing, than the reducing of the state from an *Oligarchie*, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent *Democratie*, by which it had beene gouerned, from the first institution, with so great glorie and prosperitie. This he did, to haue the crowne clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For as he knew, that he had left none liuing, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted, in the murder and spoile of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawlesse Lord, who had bene partaker with them, in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: againe and againe, saluting, and adoring him, by that name, as if it had beene giuen to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a peece of his patterne; but, the one was of base; the other, of Kingly parents; the one tooke libertie from a Common-weale; the other fought only to succede in a Monarchie; the one continued his crueltie to the end; the other, after he had obtained the Crowne, fought, by making of good lawes, to recover the loue of his people.

The life of this Tyrant, is briefly written by *Iustine*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the summe whereof is this. The same *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuse*, and that had lent him five thousand men, to helpe in the massacre of the Citizens, was also content to winke at many wrongs, that hee did vnto the Confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his tyrannie, and to let him vex and waste the whole Iland; because it was thereby like to come to passe, that hee should reduce all *Sicily* into such termes, as would make it become an easie prey to *Carthage*. But, when the Cities confederate with the *Carthaginians*, sent their Embassadors, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punicke* faith (so much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than mere falsehood) shewed it selfe very honourable, in taking order for their redresse. Embassadors were sent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in minde of his couenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africa*; and a new Capitaine appointed to succede in his charge, with such forces, as might compell *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise he would not hearken to it. All this tended, to saue their Confederates, from suffering such injuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they tooke order to haue it severely punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutinie: the suffrages being giuen, but not calculated; and so referred, vntill he should returne. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had some notice of it. In managing his businesse with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrey. For he had made such a composition with the *Syracusians*, as

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gave him not only meane to weaken others, but to strengthen himselfe, both in power and authoritie, euen against the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the custome of those, that hope to worke their owne ends by cunning practises; thinking to deale subtilly, and finely, they spinne their threads so small, that they are broken with the very winde. *Amilcar* saw, that his *Carthaginians* had a purpose to deale substantially; and that therefore it would bee hard for him, to make them follow his crooked deuices: which if he could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into so much the greater extremitie, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which some of his foregoers had taught him; and, for feare of such a death, as the Iudges might award him, he ended his owne life in what sort he thought best. This desperation of *Amilcar* serued to informe *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resolued to get the start of them in action. He dissembled no longer; but, in steade of spoile and robberie, made open warre vpon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicily* his owne, ere the *Carthaginian* forces arriued: which thinking to haue encountered an ill-established Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and giue them sharpe entertainment. They were beaten by him; and their Naue was fo Tempelt-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leaue their businesse vndone, and returne into *Africa*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furnished, was broken by foule weather, and the best part of it cast away, euen whilst it was yet within kenning of their Citie. But *Amilcar*, the sonne of *Gisco*, gathering together the remainders of this ship-wrack, was bold to passe ouer into *Sicily*, and landed not farre from *Gela*; where *Agathocles* was soone readie to examine the cause of their coming. Many skirmishes passed betweene them, in which (commonly) the *Syracusian* had the better. But his good successe begat presumption; whereby he lost a battaile, more important than all the other fights. One aduersé chance is enough to ouerthrow the state of a Tyrant, if it be not vp-held by great circumspection. The warre was soone transferred to the walls of *Syracuse*; within which *Agathocles* was closed vp, and driuen to make his last defence by their helpe, who may be iudged to haue loued him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuse*, after that great massacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new tyrannie, were (for the most part) such, as had beene either mercinarie Souldiers, enfranchised slaues, or base and needie people; helpers in establishing the present Gouernement, and Executioners of the murders, and spoile, committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well observed, and (withall) so fearfull, that they durst not stirre. But it was not enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their Citie; *Amilcar* was likely to grow vpon them, and enforce them to change their resolution. In this necessitie, *Agathocles* aduentured vpon a strange course, which the euent commended, as wise. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in those vessels that rode in the Hauen; and committing the gouernment of the Citie to his brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had be thought himselfe of a meane, both to raise the siege, and to repaire all other losses. A *Carthaginian* fleet lay in the mouth of the Hauen, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keepe the besieged from issuing forth.

Now, at such time as *Agathocles* was readie to depart, aduertisement came, that many ships of burden, laden with corne, and other provisions, were drawing neare vnto *Syracuse*. To intercept these, the *Carthaginians* hoise saile, and launch forth into the deepe. They were not farre gone, when they might behold *Agathocles*, issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to giue conuoy vnto his victuallers. Hercupon they wheele about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their coming, nor fled back into the Citie,

Citie, but made all speede towards *Africk*; and was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as day would giue them light. In the meane season, the victuallers were gotten into *Syracuse*; which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had unburdened the place of no small number. When the *Carthaginian* Admirall perceived; first, that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had mislead of them both; and secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not againe, but was gone to seeke his fortune elsewhere; he thought it good to pursue those that were sicke, and to attend so well vpon them, that they should not haue leifure to doe mischief in some other part.

The *Carthaginian* Nauie followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and ouer-tooke him after sixe dayes. He had (at the first) a great flart of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard; and wearied themselves, in seeking their owne misfortune. For he fought with them, and beat them; and, hauing sunk, or taken many, draue the rest to flie which way they could, laden with strange tidings of his voiage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he discouer vnto them his project; letting them vnderstand, that there was no better way to diuert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuse*, but from all the Ile of *Sicily*, than by bringing the warre to their owne dores. For here (said he) they haue many that hate them, and that will readily take armes against them, as soone as they perceiue that there is an Armie on foot, which dares to looke vpon their walls. Their Townes are fortified; their people vntrained, and vnexperienced in dangers; the mercinarie forces, that they leuie in these parts, will rather follow vs than them, if we offer greater wages than they can giue: which we may better promise and make good, by letting them haue some share with vs in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can doe, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many braue wordes encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (refusing one or two, to vse as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remaine, saue only in victory. In this heat of resolution, they winne by force two Cities; which after they had thoroughly sacked, they burnt to the ground; as a marke of terrour to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians*, hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Armie destroyed in *Sicily*. This impression so dismaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had escaped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they feare, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcars* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they suspect their principall Citizens at home of a meaning to betray *Carthage*, vnto the enemy; they raise a great Armie, and know not vnto whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, *Hanno*, and *Bomilcar*; great enemies, and therefore the more vnlily to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generalls of the Armie leuied; which farre exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldom happens, that dissension betwene Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Necessitie draue *Agathocles* to fight; and the courage of his men, resolute to deale with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made easie the victory against the one halfe of them. For *Bomilcar* would not flurre; but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in peeces.

The reputation of this victory, brought ouer a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* Societie to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursuing his victory, winnes many Townes, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good successe. The *Carthaginians* also send into *Sicily*, willing *Amilcar*, their Generall, to succour the state of *Africk*, which was in danger to be lost, whilest he was traouailing in the conquest of *Sicily*. *Amilcar* sends them fife thousand men: all his forces he thought it not needfull to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicily*, than to be drawne home

home by one, that could scarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But these good hopes had a bad issue. He spent some time in winning a few Townes, that adhered vnto the *Syracusanians*; and hauing brought his matters to some good order, he conceived a sudden hope of taking *Syracuse* by surpris. It was a pretie (though tragically) accident, if it were true, as *Tullie* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dreame, which told him that he should suppe the next day within *Syracuse*. His fancy begot this dreame, and he believed it. He made more haile, than good speede, toward the Citie: and coming vpon it on the sudden, had good hope to carrie it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laied an ambush to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried prisoner into the Citie; in which it was likely, that he had no great cheare to his supper: for they struck off his head, and sent it into *Africk* (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

This good successe of things at home, did put such courage into the *Sicilian* Armie, that *Agathocles* was bold to weare a Crowne, and stile himselfe King of *Africk*. He had allured *Ophellus*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promises to deliuer the Countrey into his hands: for that (as he said) it was sufficient vnto himselfe to haue diuerted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicily*, wherein (after this warre ended) he might raigne quietly. *Ophellus* came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traitorous *Sicilian*, taking an aduantage, did murder this his affiant; and afterwards, by good wordes, and great promises, drew all the *Cyrenian* Armie to follow him in his warres. Thus his villanie found good successe; and he so prevailed in *Africk*, that he got leifure to make a step into *Sicily*. Many Townes in *Sicily* had embraced a desire of recouering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had so long bene exposed, (as a reward of victorie) either vnto Aliens, or to Tyrants, of their owne Countrey. These had prevailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high spirits, and his good successe in many fights, compelled them to obedience. Out of *Sicily* he returned into *Africk*, where his affaires stood in very bad termes. *Archagathus*, his sonne, had lost a battaile; and (which was worse) had ill meanes to helpe himselfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lack of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great bootie and spoile. It had now bene time for him, to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*; which to obtaine, they would (questionlesse) haue giuen to him, both monie enough to pay his Armie, and all that they then held in *Sicily*. For their Citie had bene distressed, not only by this his warre, but by the treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himselfe Tyrant ouer them. But ambition is blinde. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed vpon the conquest of *Carthage* it selfe: out of which dreame he was awaked, by the losse of a battaile, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old sacrifices of children to *Saturne*: from which they had obtained, euer since they made peace with *Gelos*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners, taken in the battaile, to offer vnto the said Idol, in way of thankfulness for their victorie. The fire, with which these vnhappy men were consumed, caught hold vpon the lodgings nearest vnto the Altar; and spreading it selfe farther through the Campe, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult, as is vsual in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt vnto Paulion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away; each of them belcuing, that the noise in the aduersé Campe, was a signe of the enemies coming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a late retreat: *Agathocles*, by a second error, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, he met with his owne *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to bee enemies, (as indeede the one halfe of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the last battaile) he beganne to assaile them, and was so stoutly resisted, that he lost in this blinde fight, above

about foure thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart; that being fallen from the neare hope of taking the Citie of *Carthage*, vnto some distrust of his owne safetie, he knew no more how to moderate his present weake fears, than lately he had knowne how to gouerne his Ambition. Therefore he tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to scale closely aboard his ships, with his younger sonne (the elder he suspected of Incelt, and of Ambition) and to flie into *Sicil*; thinking it the best course, so thit for himselfe, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his Armie. His elder sonne, *Archagathus*, perceived his drift, arrested him, and put him vnder custodie: but by meanes of a sudden tumult, hee was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leauing both his sonnes behinde him. His flight being noised through the Armie, all was in vprore; and extremitie of rage caused not only the common Souldier, but euen such as had bene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold vpon his two sonnes, and kill them. That this flight of *Archagathus* was extremely base; I neede not vfe wordes to proue: That his fcare was truly, as all feare is said to be, a passion, depriving him of the succours which reason offered, the sequel doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse companie, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained neuerthelesse a reasonable composition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for ninetene talents. Likewise, *Agathodes* himselfe, hauing lost his Armie, did neuerthelesse, by the reputation of this late warre, make peace 20 with *Carthage* vpon euall termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being deliuered from forraine enemies, discouered his bloudie nature in most abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants, and his feare, vrged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoiles of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a bestiall rage depopulated whole Cities. He deuised new engines of torment; wherein striving to exceede the Pull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of brasse, that should serue to korch mens bodies, and withall giue him leaue to behold them in their miserie. So deuillish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a flauo to his brutish affections. In these mischiefs he was so outrageous, that he neither spared 30 Sexe, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in *Africa*. But this was not the way to preserue his estate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chased out of their Countrie, tooke armes against him, and draue him into such feare, that he was faine to seeke the Ioue at *Carthage*, by rusing well, he might haue had in *Sicil*. He freely deliuered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all those Townes of the *Phoenicians* in *Sicil*, belonging vnto them, which were in his possession. They requited him, honourably, with great store of corne, and with foure hundred talents of gold and siluer. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed against the Rebels, and sciled his estate. Hauing no further businesse left in *Sicil*, he made a voyage into *Italie*. There he 40 subdued the *Bruttians*, rather by terrour of his name, than by any force, for they yielded at his first coming. This done, he went to the life of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great summe, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoile the Temples of their Gods. Heron (me thinks) he did well enough. For how could he belieue those to be Gods, that had continually giuen deaf eares to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleuen ships loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his flut, were cast away by foule weather at Sea; one Gallie excepted, in which he himselfe escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grieuous sicknes fell vpon him, that rotted his whole bodie, spreading it selfe through all his veines and sinewes. Whilst he lay in this case, all desiring his end, saue only *Theogenis* (a wife that he had taken out of *Aegypt*) and her small children: his Nephew, the sonne of *Archagathus* before mentioned, and a younger sonne of his owne, beganne to contend about the 50 Kingdome.

Kingdome. Neither did they seeke to end the controuersie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laied wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well, that he flue his Vncle, and got his Grandfathers Kingdome without asking any leaue. These tidings wounded the heart of *Agathodes* with feare and sorrow. He saw himselfe without helpe, like to become a prey to his vngracious Nephew, from whom hee knew that no tauer was to be expected, either by himselfe, or by those, whom only hee now held deare, which were, *Theogenis*, and her children. Therefore hee aduised her and them to flie before they were surprisid: for that otherwise they could by no meanes auoid, either death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gaue them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he euen compelled them (weeping to leaue him desolate in so wretched a case) to imbarke themselves hastily, and make speede into *Aegypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himselfe into the fire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his life as basely, as obscurely, and in as much want, as he first beganne it.

After the death of *Agathodes* it was, that the *Mamerines* his Souldiers traitreously occupied *Messana*, and infested a great part of the land. Then also did the *Carthaginians* beginne to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicil*. What the Nephew of *Agathodes* did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that hee quickly perished. 20 For the *Sicilians* were driuen to send for *Pyrrius* to helpe them, who had married with a daughter of *Agathodes*. But *Pyrrius* was soone wearie of the Countrie (as hath bene shewed before) and therefore left it; prophcing that it would become a goodly champaigne field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superiortie. In which businesse, how these two great Cities did speede, the order of our storie will declare.

## §. V.

30 A recontination of the Roman warre in Sicil. How Hieron, King of Syracuse, forsooke the Carthaginians; and made his peace with Rome.



Hen *Appius Claudius*, following the aduantage of his victorie gotten at *Messana*, brought the warre vnto the Gates of *Syracuse*, and besieged that great Citie; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seeke peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himselfe by what meanes he could, when they were not in case to giue him assistance; and foreseeing withall, that when once hee 40 had purchased his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to sit still, without feare of molestation, whilst *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the maiestie. In this good moode, the new Roman Consuls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Otacilius*, found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made vfe of their present aduantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consuls had brought a great Armie into *Sicil*; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring our *Hiero* to their side. If the *Syracusan* held them bulied (which I finde not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the summe of monie imposed vpon him, and by their performing none other peece of seruice) all the 50 whole time of their abode in the land; then was his departure from the friendship of *Carthage*, no lesse to his honour, than it was to his commoditie. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his owne Kingdome to runne into manifold perill of subuersion, for their sakes, that should haue receiued all the profit of the victorie: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straining them.

themselves to give him reliefe. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proofe of the strength of *Syracus*, in the daies of *Agathodes*; and therefore knew, that it was able to beare out a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slack, in sending helpe: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken one the other, whereby their owne worke might be the easier against them both. Yet indeede, the case of the besieged Citie was not the same, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had bene, when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason, to trie the vttermost hazard of warre against the *Carthaginians*, who sought no other thing than to bring it into slauerie: not to against the *Romans*, who thought it sufficient, if they could with draw it from the parrie of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathodes*, or by *Liero*. The former of these cared not what the citizens endured, so long as he might pre-erue his owne tyrannie: the latter, as a iust and good Prince, had no greater desire than to winne the loue of his people, by seeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitie within the publique, laboured to vphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to passe, that he enjoyed a long and happie raigne; lining deare to his owne Subjects, beloued of the *Romans*, and not greatly molested by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the consideration, That they had left him to himselfe, ere he left their societie, made vnwilling to seek his ruine; or their more earnest businesse with the *Romans*, made vnable to compass it. 10

## §. VI.

How the *Romans* besiege and winne *Agigentum*. Their beginning to maintain a fleet. Their first losse, and first victorie by Sea. Of Sea-fights in general.



\* *Agigentum* was a goodly Citie, built by the Gods, vnder conduct of *Aristes* and *Pythias*.

**E**IRON, hauing sided himselfe with the *Romans*, aided them with victualls, and other necessities: so that they, presuming vpon his assistance, recall some part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* finde it high time to bestirre them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the troups they had in *Spain*, to come to their aide, who being arrived, they made the Citie of *Agigentum*, the seat of the warre, against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition. 20  
The *Roman* Consuls, hauing made peace with *Iheron*, returned into *Italia*; and, in their places, *Lucius Pessumius*, and *Quintus Mamilius*, arrived. They goe on towards \* *Agigentum*: and finding 40 no enemy in the field, they beseege it, though it were flusht with fiftie thousand Souldiers. Alter a while, the time of ha. uell being come, a part of the *Roman* armie range the Countie to gather corne, and those at the siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* fallie furiously, and indanger the *Roman* Armie, but are in the end repelled into the towne with great losse: but by the smart fel on both 50 sides, the Assailants redoubled their guards, & the besieged kept within their couert. Yet the *Romans*, the better to assure themselves, cut a deepe trench, betweene

tweene the walls of the Citie and their Campe: and another on the out-side thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force any quarter suddenly, by a sallie, nor chole of the Countie without, breake vpon them vnwares: which double defence kept the assieged also from the receiving any reliefe of victualls, and munitions, whilst the *Syracusan* supplies the assailants with what they want. The besieged send for succour to *Carthage*, after they had bene in this fort pent vpon five moneths. The *Carthaginians* imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, vnder the command of *Hanno*, who arrives with it at *Heraclea*, to the West of *Agigentum*. *Hanno* puts himselfe into the field, and surpriseth *Erbesius*, a Citie wherein the *Romans* had bestowed all their prouision. By meanes hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within *Agigentum*; and the *Roman* campe no lesse tightly assieged by *Hanno*, than the Citie was by the *Romans*: in somuch, as if *Iheron* had not supplied them, they had bene forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distresse was not enough to make them rise, *Hanno* determined to giue them battaile. To which end departing from *Heraclea*, he makes approach vnto the *Roman* campe. The *Romans* resolute to sustaine him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directes the *Numidian* horse-men to charge their Vanguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to returne, as broken, till they came to the body of the Armie, that lay shadowed behind some rising ground. 20 The *Numidians* performe it accordingly; and while the *Romans* pursued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* giues vpon them, and hauing slaughtered many, beats the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay strongly incamped, waiting vntill some oportunitie should inuite them. But *Annibal*, that was belieged in *Agigentum*, as well by signes as messengers, made *Hanno* know, how ill the extremitie which he endured, was able to brooke such dilatorie courtes. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, prouoked the Consuls to fight: but, his Elephants being disordered by his owne Vanguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, lost the day, and, with such as escaped, he recovered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* 30 perceiving this, and remaying hopelesse of succour, resolute to make his owne way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this daies victorie, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; he rusht out of the Towne with the greatest part of his armie, and past by the *Roman* campe without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vaine: sure they were, that he could not carrie the Citie with him, which with little-doe the *Romans* entred, and pitifully spoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this victorie, purpose henceforth rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolute in the beginning of this Warre, only to succour the *Mamertines*, and to keepe the *Carthaginians* from their owne coasts: 40 but now they determine to make themselves Lords of all *Sicily*; and from thence, being fauoured with the winde of good successe, to saile ouer into *Africa*.

It is the dileafe of Kings, of States, and of priuate men, to couer the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which we neither haue nor neede, taking from vs the true vse and fruition of what we haue already. This curk vpon mortall men, was neuer taken from them since the beginning of the World to this day.

To prosecute this Warre, *Lucius Valerius*, and *Titus Otacilius*, two new Consuls, ascended into *Sicily*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Masters of the field, many inland Townes gaue themselves vnto them. On the contrarie, the *Carthaginians* 50 keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritime places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to secure their owne coasts, often invaded by the *African* fleets, as also to equall themselves in euery kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune fauoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in shipwrights-craft, a storme of winde thrust

one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of five banks, to the shore.

Now had the *Romans* a patterne, and by it they beganne to set vp an hundred *Quinquemes*, which were Gallies, rowed by five on euery bank, and twentie of three on a bank: and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed vpon the Sea-fands many leates, in order of the banks in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to bear the land with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, 10 *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Consuls (for they changed euery year) was made Admirall: who being more in loue with this new kinde of warfare, than well aduised, past ouer to *Messina* with seuentene Gallies, leauing the rest to follow him. There he staid not, but would needs row alongst the coast to *Lipara*, hoping to do some peece of seruice. *Hannibal*, a *Carthaginian*, was at the same time Gouverneur in *Panormus*; who being aduertised of this new Sea-mans arrival, sent forth one *Boades*, a Senator of *Carthage*, with twentie Gallies, to entertaine him. *Boades*, falling vpon the Consul vnwares, tooke both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* receiued this good newes, together with the *Romans* Gallies and their Consul; he grew no lesse foolish hardie than *Cornelius* had bene. For he, 20 fancying to himselfe to surpris the rest of the *Roman* fleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points provided; sought them out with a fleet of fiftie saile: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leauing the greater number of his owne behinde him, made an hard escape with the rest: for of one hundred and twentie Gallies, the *Romans* vnder *Cornelius* had lost but seuentene, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fiftie.

The *Romans*, being aduertised of *Cornelius* his overthrow, make haste to redeeme him, but giue the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Dulius*. *Dulius*, considering that the *Roman* vessels were heauie and slow, the *African* Gallies hauing the speede of them, deuised a certaine engine in the prow of his Gallies, where 30 by they might fasten or grapple themselves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done; the waighier ships had gotten the aduantage, and the *Africans* lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse seruet them, nor their Marriners craft; the Vessells, wherin both Nations fought, being open: so that all was to be carried by the aduantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heauier Gallies were likely to crush and crack the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they, by reason of their breadth, more steadie; and those that best kept their feet, could also best vse their hands. The example may be giuen betweene one of the long boates of his Majesties great ships, and a *London-barge*.

Certainely, he that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must be skilfull in making choice of Vessells to fight in: he must beleue, that there is more belonging to a good man of warre, vpon the waters, than great daring; and must know, that there is a great deal of difference, betweene fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The Gunnes of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clasp ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of warre: for by such an ignorant brauerie was *Peter Stroscius* 40 lost at the *Azores*, when he fought against the *Marquesse of Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admirall of *England*, been lost in the year 1588, if he had not bene better aduised, than a great many malignant fooles were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Armie aboard them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he intangled himselfe with those great and powerfull Vessells, he had greatly endangered this Kingdome of *England*. For twentie men vpon the de-

fences,

fences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twentie of ours, to defend themselves withall. But our Admirall knew his aduantage, and held it: which had he not done, he had not bene worthie to haue held his head. Here to speake in generall of Sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for priuate hands, than for the Public) I say, That a fleet of twentie ships, all good sailers, and good ships, haue the aduantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships, and of slower sayling. For if the fleet of an hundred saile keepe themselves neare together, in a grosse Squadron; the twentie ships, charging them vpon any angle, shall force them to giue ground, and to fall 10 back vpon their next fellows: of which so many as intangle, are made vnersueable, or lost. Force them they may easily, because the twentie ships, which giue themselves scope, after they haue giuen one broad side of Artillerie, by clapping into the winde, and slaying, they may giue them the other: and so the twentie ships batter them in peeces with a perpetuall vollicie; whereas those, that fight in a troupe, haue no roome to turne, and can alwaies vse but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred saile giue themselves any distance, then shall the lesser fleet preuaile, either against those that are a-reare and hindmost, or against those, that by aduantage of ouer-sailing their fellows keepe the winde: and if vpon a Lee-shore, the ships next the winde be constrained to fall back into their owne Squadron, then it is all to nothing, that the whole fleet must suffer shipwrack, or render it selfe. 20 That such aduantage may be taken vpon a fleet of vnequall speede, it hath bene well enough conceiued in old time; as by that Oracion of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracusanians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may easily be obserued.

Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord *HENRIE*, Prince of Wales; a subiect, to my knowledge, neuer handled by any man, ancient or moderne: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his losse; by the losse of that braue Prince, of which, like an Eclipse of the Sunne, wee shall finde the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equall wordes and sorrowes; I will 30 therefore leaue him in the hands of God that hath him. *Cura leues loquuntur, ingentes silent.*

But it is now time to returne to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by losing their aduantage of swift boats, and boording the *Romans*, haue lost fiftie saile of their Gallies: as on the other side, their enemies, by commanding the Seas, haue gotten libertie to saile about the West part of *Sicily*; where they raised the siege laid vnto *Segesta*, by the *Carthaginians*, and wonne the Towne of *Mazella*, with some other places.

## ¶ VII.

*Diuers enterfeits of warre, betweene the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable successe. The Romans prepare to invade Africa: and obtaine a great victorie at Sea.*



50 He victorie of *Dulius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first *Naual* triumph, that was euer scene in that Citie; so gaue it vnto the *Romans* a great encouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea; whereby they hoped, not only to get *Sicily*, but all the other Iles betweene *Italy* and *Africa*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither soone after they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might helpe to recompence the late misfortune: and being aduertised, that some quarrell

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was

was growne betwene the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incampe a part, hee sent forth *Hanno* to set vpon them; who taking them vnawares, buried foure thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-warre in *Sicily*, *Hannibal*, who had lately bene beaten by Sea, but escaped vnto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former error, obtained the trust of a new fleet, whereat hee arrived at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which Iland, the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans*, crossing the Seas from *Sicily*, arrived in the Port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They set vpon him vnawares, and tooke the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himselfe hardly escaping their danger. But it little auailed him to haue escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with this his second vnfortunate voyage, that they hanged him vp for his diligence: for (as it hath bene said of old) *Non est in bello peccare; in uarare it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Confulls, till \* *Panormus* was besieged: where, when the *Romans* had fought in vaine to draw the *Carthaginians* into the field; being vnable to force that great Citie, because of the strong Garrison therein bestowed: they departed thence, and tooke certaine inland Townes, as *Mytilirum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippina*, and others, betwene *Panormus* and *Messina*. The yeare following, *C. Attilius* the Confull, who commanded the *Roman* fleet, discovered a Companie of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, ranging the coast: and, not staying for his whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the faile hee made, and lost all, but the Gallie which transported him: where in himselfe escaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Attilius* his fleet was gotten vp: who renewing the fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the victorie remaining doubtfull, both chal-

\*\* The *Quinquemes* are Gallies, where in euery Oare hath five men to draw it; the *Quadreres* had foure to an Oare; and the *Triremes* three.

The *Romans* resolute to transport the warre into *Affrick*; the *Carthaginians*, to arrest them on the coast of *Sicily*. The numbers, with which of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that euer fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his estimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and fortie thousand men; and in those of *Carthage*, an hundred and fiftie thousand: reckoning one hundred and twentie Souldiers, and three hundred Rowers, to euery Gallie, one with the other. The *Roman* fleet was diuided into foure parts, of which the first made the forme of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first squadrons making the Flanks, and the third the point thereof (wherein were the two Con-

fills as Admiralls) looking toward the enemy; and the middle of each, being equipt. Their Vessells of carriage were towed by the third squadron. After an came the fourth, in forme of a *Crescent*; very well manned; but exceeding thinne: for as the hornes of it inclosed all the third squadron, together with the corners of the first and second. The order of the *Carthaginian* fleet I cannot conceiue by the relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture, that the front of their fleet was thinne, and stretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en hay*; a long front of horle, and thinne: which for meane the *Pitot* premised ouer the Lance, they haue changed. Behind this front stretched front, their Battalions were more solide. For *Amilcar*, Admiral for the *Carthaginians*, had thus ordered them, of purpose, (his Gallies hauing the fore side of the *Romans* that, when the first fleet of the *Romans* halted to breake through the first Gallies, they should all turne taile, and the *Romans* pursuing them (as after a victorie) disloace themselves, and, for euery selfe of taking the *Romans* awares, haue then other three squadrons barre b. hinder them. For to must it needs fall out, seeing that the third squadron towed their horse-boats, and victuallers; and the fourth had the Rearward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it succeeded. For when the *Romans* had charged and broken, the thinn front of the *Carthaginian* fleet, which an away, they forthwith gaue after them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behinde them for the second squadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawne neere vnto the side of the *Carthaginian* fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the first) received great losse, till their second squadron came vp, which forced *Amilcar* to take him to his Oares. *Hanno* also, who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* fleet, invaded the *Roman* Rearward, and preuailed against them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Attilius* fell back to their succour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heeles; as not able to sustaine both squadrons. The Rear being releued, the Confulls came to the aide of their third Battalion, which towed their victuallers, which was also in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: but the Confulls, joyning their squadron to it, put the *Carthaginians* to that part as to running. This victorie fell to the *Romans*, partly by the hardihood of their Souldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being first beaten, could neuer after joyne himselfe to any of his other squadrons: that remained a yet in fire like libes of unwilling to long as they fought upon euery terme; and but squadron to squadron. But *Amilcar*, forsaking the fight, ruen by let a fifth fourth part of the *Roman* fleet vnto, and ready to giue succour to any of the other parts that were oppressed. So as in conclusion, the *Romans* got the honour of the day: for they lost but foure and twentie of theirs; whereas the *Africans* lost thirtie that were funke, and heereore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar* who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had also diuided his fleet into foure squadrons, (besides those that he ranged in the front, to draw on the enemies and to engage them) and that, while hee himselfe fought with one squadron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies fleet had been at the same time entertained, he had preuailed: But the second squadron, being first come to the rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* was oppressed: and *Amilcar*, being oppressed and scattered, the Confulls had good leisure to relieve both their third and fourth squadron, and got the victorie.

Chloe the first among other his Precepts to *Plutarch* the second his sonne, where he aduised him concerning Warre against the *Turkes*, tells him that in all battles betwene them and the *Christians* he should neuer sitte to charge the *Turks* in the beginning of the fight, and to engage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the *Turks*, who are alwaies refroued in the Reare of the battaile, and in whom the *Turks* repose their greatest confidence; come vp in a groff body, when all the troups, on both sides, are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carrie the

victorie before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and reservation, did the *Romans* also preuaile against other Nations. For they kept their *Triary* in fore (who were the choice of their Armie) for the vp-shot and last blow. A great and a victorious advantage it hath euer bene found, to keepe some one or two good troups to looke on, when all else are disbanded and engaged.

### §. VIII.

*The Romans preuaile in Affric. Atilius the Consul propoundeth intolerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is utterly beaten, and made prisoner.*

**N**OW the *Romans*, according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-vitualled their fleet, set saile for *Africa*, and arrived at the *Promontorie* of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carthage*, and some fortie leagues from *Heraclium* in *Sicily*, where *Amilcar* himselfe as yet laid. From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East-side of the *Promontorie*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Towne, about fiftie *English* mile from it. There they did imbarke, and prepared to besiege *Clypea*; which, to ease them of labour, was yeelded vnto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on *Africa* side; without which all inualions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arrived at their owne *Carthage*; fearing that the *Roman* fleet and armie had directed themselves thither: but being aduertised, that they had taken *Clypea*, they made provisions of all sorts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions, and in the meane while waste all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, that one of the Consuls should remaine with the Armie, and that the other should returne, with the fleet, into *Italie*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Consul is sent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twentie thousand *African* captives, with all the *Roman* fleet and armie; except fortie ships, fiftie teene thousand foot, and fise hundred horse, that were left with *Atilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily wanne some Townes and Places, that were vnwalled, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came vnto *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that neare vnto the River of *Bagrada*, he encountered with a Serpent of one hundred and twentie foot long, which he slue, not without losse of many Souldiers, being driuen to vse against it such engines of warre, as serued properly for the assailing of Townes. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Armie, whereof the Captaines were *Tunno* and *Wallas*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought ouer out of *Sicily* fise thousand foot, and fise hundred horse, to succour his Countrey. These (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him out of *Africa*, by warie protraction of time, than to vndergoe the hazard of a maine fight. They were careful to hold themselves free, from necessitie of coming to blowes: yet had they a great desire, to saue the Towne of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their generall purpose, and yet to disturbe him in the siege of *Adis*, they incampe neare vnto him, and strongly (as they thinke) on the top of an hill: but thereby they loose the seruices, both of their Elephants, and of their horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs *Regulus* discouers, and makes vse of it. He allais them in their strength, which they defend a while; but in fine the *Romans* preuaile, and force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceede to \* *Tunis*, a Citie within sixteene miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

\* This Citie was taken from the *Tunics* by *Charles* the first in the year 1536, and was one of the three Keyes, which he gaue in charge, to *Philip* the second his sonne to keepe safe: to wit, this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africa*; *Flus*, the Key of the *Maghreb*; and *Cadix*, the Key of *Spain*. *Romans* preuaile, and force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceede to \* *Tunis*, a Citie within sixteene miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

them againe: the third, our *English* were hold, in the time of the renowned *Queene Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hands; where we flaid not to pick any lock, but brake open the dees, and having effed all, threw it into the fire.

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By the losse of this battaile at *Adis*, and more especially by the losse of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismayed. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult vpon their misfortunes; inuade, and spoile their Territorie, and force those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* findes his owne aduantage, and assures himselfe that the Citie could not long hold out: yet he feared least it might defend it selfe, vntill his time of Office, that was neare expired, should be quite runne out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reape the honor of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it selfe, perswades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded vnto them so vnworthy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with feare, became now so courageous and disdainfull, that they resolued, either to defend their libertie, or to die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troupe of *Greekes*, whom they had formerly sent to entertaine. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had passed, and of the ouerthrow which the *Carthaginians* receiued neare vnto *Adis*, gaue it out publicly, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ranne, till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is sent for; giues the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made Generall of the *African* forces, he puts himselfe into the field. The Armie which he led, consisted of no more than twelue thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Libertie, Liues, Goods, Wiues, and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were misse-numbered; the one consisting of an hundred and fortie thousand, and the other of an hundred and fiftie thousand: were it not commonly found, that they which vse the seruice of mercinarie Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their owne dores.

*Xantippus*, taking the field with this Armie, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his troups vpon faire and leuell ground, sitteth both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them battaile. The *Romans* wondred, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were that it should be soone abated. Their chiefe care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *solonne hope*; that these might, either with darts and other casting weapons, driue back the beasts vpon the enemies, or at least breake their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely vpon the Legions. To the same end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had bene accustomed to doe. By which meanes, as they were the lesse subject vnto the impression of the Elephants; so were they the more exposed vnto the violence of horse, wherein the enemy did farre exceede them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them at a reasonable distance: his horse-men, and some light-armed foot, of the *Carthaginian* Auxiliaries, were in the wings. The first onset was giuen by the Elephants, against which the *Velites* were so vnable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* battaile was helpfull. For when the beasts had spent their force, in piercing through a few of the first ranks; the Squadrons neuertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, hauing at the first encounter, by reason of their aduantage in number, driuen those of *Atilius* out of the field, beganne to charge the *Roman* battalions in flanke, and put them in great distresse; who being forced to turne face every way, could neither passe forward, nor yet retire; but had much to doe to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the meane while, such of the *Romans*, as had escaped the furie of the Elephants, and left them at their backs, fell vpon the *Carthaginian* Arriere, that met them in very good

good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered Companie, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to haue dealt with the enemy vpon equal termes. Here was therefore a great slaughter with little fight; the *Romans* hastily recoiling to the body of their Armie, which being surrounded with the enemy, and spent with traualle, fell all to rout, vpon the decar of these troupes, that open the way to a generall ouerthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtayned a full victorie, destroying the whole *Roman* Armie, save two thousand, and taking six hundred prisoners, together with *Attilius* the Consull. Of their owne they loit no more than eight hundred mercenaries, which were slaine, when the fight began, by two thousand of the *Romans*, that wheeling about, to auoide the Elephant, bare downe all before them, and made way euen to the *Carthaginian* trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Armie behinde them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slaine. Here by fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no lesse their vassalls, than were the *Carthaginians*: how insolent soeuer they had bene in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperitie, which shee neuer gaue nor sold to any mortall man. With what joy these newes were well-come, when they came to *Carthage*, we may easily coniecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to passe in the World, there are many examples to proue, no lesse than this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that sentence of *EVARISTUS*, *Atena sapientis, plurimum vincit manus; Many mens hands equal not one wise minde*.

After this great service done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus* returned into *Greece*; whether first that he was more enuid than honoured, or for what other cause, it is vnknew.

The death of *Attilius Regulus* the Consull, was very memorable. He was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ransom of prisoners on both sides: giving his faith to returne, if the bulineffe were not effected. When hee came to *Rome*, and plainly saw that his Countrey should looke by the bargain: so far was he from vrging the Senate vnto compassion of his owne miserie, that he earnestly perswaded to haue the prisoners in *Affrick* left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*: where for his paines taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancie and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* seeme to haue judged him an obstinate and malicious enemy; that neither in his prosperitie would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamitie would haue the naturall care, to perscure himselfe and others, by yielding to such an office of humanitie, as is common in all warres (not ground vpon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small aduantage. What soeuer the *Carthaginians* thought of him; sure it is, that his faithfull obseruance of his word giuen, cannot be too much commended. Put that graue speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of prisoners, appeares, in all reason, to haue proceeded from a vaine glorious frowardnesse rather than from any necessitie of state. For the exchange was made soone after his death; wherein the *Romans* had the worse bargain, by so much as *Regulus* himselfe was worth. As for the authoritie of all Historians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to consider that they liued vnder the *Roman* Empire: *Plinius*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extreme torments, could not be more grieuous to him, than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither doe I thinke that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselves herein, otherwise than by recrimination: saying, That the *Romans* desired to be no better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinarie practise to vs: others in the like sort. Crueltie doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being custumarie. It was the *Roman* custome, to whip almost to death, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whom they took, yea although they were such, as had alwaies made faire warres with them. Wherefore

fore it seeme: not meet, in reason, that they should crie out against the like tyrannical insolence in others, as if it were lawfull only in themselves.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Attilius* his intolerable demands; and of the sudden valour, wherinto the *Carthaginians* were changed by mere desperation; calls to remembrance the like insolence of others in prosperitie, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath bene denied. In such cases I neuer hold it impertinent, to adde vnto one, more testimonies; approning the true rules, from which our passions carrie vs away.

In the year 1378. the *Genovais* wonne so fast vpon the *Venetians*, as they not only draue their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their owne fleet within two miles of *Venice* it selfe. This bred such an amazement in the Citizens of *Venice*, that they offered vnto the *Genovais* (their state referred) whatsoever they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blowne vp with many former victories, would hearken to no composition; saue the yielding of their Citie and State to his discretion. Hereupon, the *Venetians*, being filled with disdain, thrust out to Sea with all their remaining power, and assailed *Doria* with such desperate furie, that they brake his fleet; kill *Doria* himselfe; take nineteene of his Gallies, foure score boats of *Psaras*, and foure thousand prisoners; recover *Chios*, *Sza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victorie, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genovais*, basely to begge peace, to their extreme dishonour and disaduantage, being beaten; which being victorious, they might haue commanded, to their greatest honour and aduantage. The like hapned to the Earle of *Flanders*, in the year 1380. when hauing taken a notable, and withall an ouer-cruell reuenge vpon the *Ganteis*, he refused mercie to the rest; who in all humilitie, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their Citie, goods, and estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had vniuocally refused, and was resolved to extinguishe them utterly; they flue out of their Citie with five thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earle, brake his Armie, enter *Bruges* (pele-mell) with his vanquished followers; and enforce him to hide himselfe vnder a heape of straw in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficultie he escaped, and saved himselfe. Such are the fruits of insolencie.

### §. IX.

How the affaires of *Carthage* prospered after the victorie against *ATILIVS*: How the *Romans* hauing lost their fleet by tempest, resolve to forsake the Seas: The great aduantages of a good fleet in warre, betwene Nations diuided by the Sea.

BY the reputation of this late victorie, all places that had bene lost in *Affrick*, returned to the obedience of *Carthage*. Only *Cyprus* stands out; before which the *Carthaginians* sit downe, and assaile it, but in vaine: For the *Romans*, hearing of the losse of *Attilius* with their forces in *Affrick*, and withall, that *Cyprus* was besieged, make readie a grosse Armie, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and fiftie Gallies, commanded by *M. F. militus*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Consulls. At the *Promontorie* of *Mercure* two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, set out of purpose, vpon the bruit of their coming, encounter them: but greatly to their cost. For the *Romans* tooke by force an hundred and fouretee of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Cyprus*; where they laid no longer, than to take in their owne men that had bene besieged: and this done, they made amaine toward *Sicily*, in hope to recouer all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this battie voyage they despise the aduice of the Pilots,

Pilots, who pray them to finde harbour in time, for that the season threatned some violent formes; which euer hapned betweene the riling of *Orion*, and of the \* *Juglar*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* Fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coast of *Stiel* had no good Ports, wherein to fave themselves vpon such an accident: yet this victorious Nation was perswaded, that the winde and seas feared them no lesse, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer the Elements themselves. So refusing to lay within some Port, as they were aduised, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this victorie against the *Carthaginian* fleet; to take a few worthlesse Townes vpon the coast. The mercilesse winde in the meane while ouertake them, and neare vnto *Camerina*, ouerturne and thrust headlong on the rocks; so that fourecore of three hundred and fortie ships: as their former great victorie was denouered by the Seas, before the same thereof recovered *Rome*.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike Vessells, hoping once againe to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land-forces since the ouerthrow of *Asinius*. They send *Asdrubal* into *Stiel* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and fortie Elephants, imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Armie and fleet he arrives at *Lilybaum*; where hee begins to vex the *Partians* of *Rome*. But aduersitie doth not discourage the *Romans*: They build in three months (a matter of great note) one hundred and twentie ships; with which, and the remainder of their late shipwrack, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palermis*, the chiefe Citie of the *Africans* in *Stiel*, and surround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garrison therein, returne to *Rome*.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to bee doing in *Africk*: to which purpose they imploied *C. Scenuius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Consulls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoile they made vpon the coasts of *Africa*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their returne, they were first set vpon the sands, and like to haue perished, neare vnto the lesser *Syrie*, where they were faine to heave all ouer-board, that so they might get off: then, hauing with much a doe doubled the Cape of *Lilybaum*, in their passage from *Panormus* towards *Italie*, they lost an hundred and fittie of their ships by foule weather. A greater discouragement neuer Nation had; the God of the warres fauoured them no more, than the God of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enrich them with vpon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them vpon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, foure hundred and fixe ships and gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby receiued, perswaded them to giue ouer their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-armie into *Stiel*, vnder *L. Caecilius*, and *C. Furius*, their Consulls. These they transported in some three-score ordinarie passage-boats, by the straights of *Messana*, that are not above a mile and an halfe broad from land to land. In like sort, the ouerthrow which *Asinius* receiued in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them lesse cholerick against the *Carthaginians*, than before; so that for two yeares after they kept the high and woodie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champion Countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Stiel*, without a Naue, much lesse to maintain the warre in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to send forces from *Messana* to *Egesta*, to *Lilybaum*, and to other places in the extreme West parts of *Stiel*, making sometimes a march of about an hundred and fortie *English* mile by land, which

which could not be performed with an Armie, and the prouisions that follow it, in lesse than fourteene daies; the *Carthaginians* would passe it with their Gallies, in eight and fortie houres.

An old example we haue, of that great aduantage of transporting Armies by water, betweene *Canutus*, and *Edmond Ironside*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Naue and Armie, and could not preuaile against *London*, suddenly imbarqued; and sailing to the West, landed in *Dorset-shire*, so drawing *Edmond* and his Armie thither. There finding ill entertainment, he againe slipt his men, and entred the *Seuerne*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the succour of *Worcester-shire*, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he failed back againe to *London*: by meanes whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least helpe, which the *Netherlands* haue had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their libertie, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Armie from place to place, vnwaried, and entire, with all the Munition and Artillerie belonging vnto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies haue beene able to doe it. Of this an instance or two. The Count *Maurice of Nassau*, now liuing, one of the greatest Captaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages haue brought forth, in the year 1590. carried his Armie by Sea, with fortie Canons, to *Breda*: making countenance either to besiege *Bosledune*, or *Gertruiden-Berg*; which the enemy (in preuention) slied with Souldiers, and victuals. But as soone as the winde serued, he suddenly set saile, and arriving in the mouth of the *Meuse*, turned vnto the *Rhine*, and thence to *Tydel*, and fate downe before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march ouer land round about *Holland*, about fourecore mile, and ouer many great Riuers, with their Canon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. A-gaine, when the *Spanish* Armie had ouer-come this wearisome march, and were now farr from home, the Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to saile vnto the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night; and sailing downe the streame, he was set downe before *Hulst* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Towne he also tooke, before the *Spanish* armie could returne. Lastly, the *Spanish* armie was no sooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, hauing fortified *Hulst*, set saile againe, and presented himselfe before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a Citie of notable importance, and maltred it.

And to say the truth; it is impossible for any maritime Countie, not hauing the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it selfe against a powerfull enemy, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spain* than *England* should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second, had fully resolved to hinder Sir *Iohn Norris* in the year 1589. from presenting *Dow Antonio*, King of *Portugale*, before the gates of *Lysborne*; and that he would haue kept off the *English*, by power of his land-forces; as being too weak at Sea, through the great ouerthrow of his mightie *Armada*, by the fleet of Queene *Elizabeth*, in the year foregoing. Surely, it had not bene hard for him, to prepare an Armie, that should be able to resist our eleuen thousand. But where should this his Armie haue bene bestowed? If about *Lysborne*; then would it haue bene easie vnto the *English*, to take, ransack, and burne the Towne of *Groine*; and to waste the Countie round about it. For the great and threatening preparations, of the Earle of *Altemira*, the Marquess of *Serabia*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the halfe leaue of eight thousand, vnder the Earle of *Andrada*, serue to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir *Iohn Norris*, and his Associates: considering, that the *English* charged these, at *Puente de Burgo*, and passing the great Bridge, behind which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them; tooke their campe; tooke their Generalls standard with the Kings Armes, and pursued them ouer all the Countie, which they fired. If a roiall Armie, and not (as this was) a Companie of priuate aduenturers, had thus begonne

begunne the warre in *Galicie*; I thinke it would haue made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugale*, and make haite to the defence of their *S. Iago*, whose Temple was not farre from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution; as knowing, that Sir *Iohn Norris* his maine intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Armie, into his Kingdome, whither coming strong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed: could they haue hindered his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land at *Peniche*, and march ouer the Countrie to *Lyborno*, fixe daies journee? Did not he (when all *Don Antonio* his promises failed) passe along by the Riuer of *Lyborno*, to *Cascale*, and there, hauing wonne the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart?

But these, though no more than an handfull, yet were they *English-men*. Let vs consider of the matter it selfe; what an other Nation might doe, euen against *England*, in landing an Armie, by aduantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, Whether an invading Armie may be resisted at their landing vpon the coast of *England*, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his obseruations vpon *Cæsars* Commentaries, that maintains the affirmatiue. This he holds only vpon supposition; in absence of our shipping: and comparatiuely; as, that it is a more safe and easie course, to defend all the coast of *England*, than to suffer an enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely, I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keepe our enemy from treading vpon our ground: wherein, if we faile, then must we seek to make him wish, that he had staid at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our iudgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belong not vnto this discourse. But making the question generally, and positiue, Whether *England*, without helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemy from landing; I hold that it is vnable so to doe: and therefore I thinke it most dangerous to make the adventure. For the encouragement of a first victorie to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence.

It is true, that the Marshall *Mentius*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to haue kept the frontier of *Guienne*, so they of the Protestant religion; after the battaile of *Moncouster*, entred that Countie, and gathered great strength and reliefe thence; for if the King (saith he) would haue giuen me but reasonable means, *je eusse bien garde a Monsieur l'Admiral, de faire boire ses Cheuaux en la Garonne*; I would haue kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the Riuer of *Garonne*. Monsieur de *Langey*, on the contrarie side, prefers the not fighting vpon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which coulde the Constable of France held, against the Emperour *Charles*, when he invaded *Prouence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diuerse consideration to be had, betwene such a Countie as *France* is, strengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of inualions vpon firme land, that these great Captaines spake: whose entrances cannot be vnertaine. But our question is, of an Armie to be transported ouer Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Countie, and the place left to the choice of the Invader. Hercunto I say, That such an Armie cannot be resisted on the coast of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of *France*, or any other Countie: except euery Creeke, Port, or sandie Bay, had a powerfull Armie in each of them to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; That *Kent* is able to furnish twelve thousand foot; and that those twelve thousand be laid in the three best landing places within that Countie, to wit, three thousand at *Margat*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and fixe thousand at *Foulkston*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troupes (vnlesse some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this prouision, if the enemy, setting saile from the Isle of *Wight*, in the first

first watch of the night, and towing their long boats at these sternes, shall arrive by dawne of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Armie on thore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margat* (twenty and foure long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they at *Foulkston* be able to doe it, who are nearer by more than halfe the way? Seeing that the enemy, at his first arrivall, will either make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred shot of great Artillerie, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to runne; or else giue them so much to doe, that they shall be glad to send for helpe to *Foulkston*, and perhaps to *Margat*: wherby those places will be left bare. Now let vs suppose, that all the twelve thousand *Kentish* Souldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the enemy can be readie to disimbarque his Armie, so that he shall finde it vnfaile, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we beleue, that he will play the best of his owne game; and (hauing libertie to goe which way he list) vnder couert of the night, set saile towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Dunnet*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more ealie than to doe it. Yea the like may be said of *Weymouth*, *Portbeck*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South coast. For there is no man ignorant, that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily out-runne the Souldiers that coast them. *Les Armees ne valent point en course*; *Armes neither flee, nor runne poist*, saith a Marshall of France. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ships may be seene at *Sunne-set*, and after it, at the *Lizard*; yet by the next morning they may recouer *Portland*, whereas an Armie of foot shall not be able to march it in fixe daies. Again, when those troupes, lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to runne from place to place, in vaine, after a fleet of ships; they will at length sit downe in the mid-way, and leaue all at adventure. But say it were otherwise; That the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Armie of ours readie to receiue him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Capaines, shall be drawne together (as they were at *Tiherie* in the year 1588) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the Citie of *London*: they that remaine to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Armie like vnto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* should haue landed in *England*.

The Ile of *Tercera* hath taught vs by experience, what to thinke in such a case. There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthened by art: it being euery where hard of access; hauing no good harbour wherinto to shelter a Naue of friends; and vpon euery coue or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylus*, and *Monsieur de Chatter*, that held it to the vse of *Don Antonio*, with fixe or fixe thousand men, thought to haue kept the *Marquesse of Santa Cruz*, from setting foot on ground therein; the *Marquesse* hauing shewed himselfe in the Roade of *Auera*, did set saile, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, farre distant from thence, where hee wanted a Fort, and landed, ere *Monsieur de Chatter*, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Stroffie*, flaine the year before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred French prisoners murdered in cold blood, had instructed *de Chatter* and his followers, what they might expect at that *Marquesse* his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying reliefe to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *English* would be persuaded to make such diligent haste, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and back againe, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; wherof the French-men had not measured the one halfe, when they found themselves preuented by the more nimble ships of *Spain*.

This may suffice to proue, that a strong Armie, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in *England*.

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France, or elsewhere, unless it be hindered, encountered, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equall, or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our *English*, at *Fayal*, in the yeare 1597, is alleged against this: which example moues me no way to thinke, that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I landed those *English* in *Fayal*, my selfe, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I finde an action of mineited, with omission of my name; I may, by a ciuill interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprise was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due vnto it. There were indeede some which were in that voyage, who aduised me not to vndertake it: and I hearkned vnto them, somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilst they desired me, to refuse the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficultie: I gaue them to vnderstand, the same which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could haue landed my men with more ease than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would haue rowed to another place; yea euen there where I landed, if I would haue taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that businesse, than of safetie. For I thought it to be long vnto the honor of our Prince & Nation, that a few Islanders should not thinke to any aduantage great enough, against a fleet set forth by *Q. Elizabeth*: and further, I was vnwilling, that some *Low-Country* Captaines, and others, not of mine owne squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceipt (though it would haue been short, when I had landed in some other place) that for want of their helpe I was driven to turne taile. Therefore I tooke with me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine owne squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir *William Brooke*, Sir *William Harney*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *Iohn Skot*, Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henrie Thiane*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Captaine *Laurence Kemis*, Captaine *William Morgan*, and others, such as well vnderstood themselves and the enemy: by whose helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterprise I vnderooke. As for the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the Cliffe, and other troubles, that were not new to vs, we ouercame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or sixe Companies of the enemies, that fought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whercon their Musketers lay on the rest for vs, and wonne the place of them without any great losse. This I could haue done with lesse danger, so that it should not haue serued for example of a rule, that failed euen in this example: but the reasons before alleaged, (together with other reasons well knowne to some of the Gentlemen aboue named, though more private, than to be here laid downe) made me rather follow the way of brauerie, and take the shorter course; hauing it still in mine owne power to fall off, when I should thinke it meet. It is easily said, that the Enemy was more than a Coward; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie such a small peccet of seruice, by seeking to proue him better: whom had I thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwise haue dealt with. But for so much as concerns the Proposition in hand; he that becheld this, may well remember, that the same enemy troubled vs more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore; that he fought how to stop vs in place of his aduantage; that many of our men were slaine or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to bee past, when wee had wonne good footing, would needs follow ou vs to the Towne, were driven by him, to forsake the pace of a man of warre, and betake themselves to an halting trot.

For end of this digression, I hope that this question shall neuer come to triall; his Majesties many moueable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *English* will no lesse disdain, than any Nation vnder heauen can doe, to be beaten vpon

vpon their owne ground, or elsewhere, by a forraigne enemy; yet to entertaine those that shall assaile vs, with their owne beefe in their bellies, and before they eate of our *Kentish* Capons, I take to be the wisest way. To doe which, his Majestic, after God, will imploy his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment vpon the shore.

# X.

How the Romans attempt againe to get the mastery of the Seas. The victory of *Cæcilius* the Roman Consul at *Panormus*. The siege of *Lilybeum*. How a *Rhodian* Gallie entred *Lilybeum* at pleasure, in despite of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficultie to stop the passage of good ships. The Romans, by reason of grievous losses received, vnder *CLAVDIUS* and *VNIUS* their Consuls, abandon the Sea againe.

Men, without a strong Naue, the Romans found it altogether impossible, either to keepe what they had already gotten in *Sicily*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa*, or elsewhere, they refused once againe, notwithstanding their late misadventures, to strengthen their fleet and ships of warre. So causing fittie new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gaue them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Consuls, *C. Afranius*, and *L. Manlius*. On the other side, *Afranius* perceiving that the Romans, partly by reason of the shipwrack which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the ouerthrow which they received by *Xanthippus* in *Africa*, were lesse daring than they had beene in the beginning of the warre; and withall, that one of the Consuls was returned into *Italy*, with the one halfe of the Armie; and that *Cæcilius*, with only the other halfe, remained at *Panormus*: he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybeum* towards it, hoping to prouoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Consull was better aduised. For when *Afranius* had made his approches somewhat neare the Towne, *Cæcilius* caused a deepe trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the Citie: betweene which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattaille a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gaue order that they should aduance themselves, and passe ouer the new trench, till such time as the *African* Elephants were thrust vpon them. From those beats he commanded them to retire, by slow degrees, till they had drawne on the Elephants to the brinke of the new trench, which they could by no means passe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were so gawled and beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, and by those that lay in the trench it selfe, that being enraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiously vpon their owne foot-men, and vtterly disordered them. *Cæcilius*, espying this aduantage, sallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troups, that stood embattailed, he vtterly brake them, and put them to their heels, making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this victory being brought to *Rome*, the whole state, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred saile, which they sent into *Sicily*, to giue end to that warre, that had now lasted foureteen years. With this fleet and armie the Romans resolute to attempt *Lilybeum*, the only place of importance: which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*; and all (indeed) saue *Drepanum*, that was neare lying. They set downe before it, and possessed themselves of all the places of aduantage neare vnto it, especially of such as command the haue, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground fix towres of defence; & by forceable engines weaken so many other parts of the Citie, as the defendants began to despair.

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Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the Place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken, he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giueth to the *Romans* all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other petty Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is reuealed by an *Achaean*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saved *Agriusentum*. *Himilco* vseth the helpe of *Alexon*, to allure the hired Souldiers; and imploieith *Himilco* to appease the troups of the *Gauls*, which did wauer, and had sent their agents to the enemy. All promise constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being vn-  
 able to performe what they had vnderaken, are faine to liue in the *Roman* campe as fugitiues, that had wrought no good whereby to deserue their bread. In the  
 meane while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to their re-  
 lief, hauing *Hannibal*, the sonne of *Amilcar*, for their Conductor: who, in despite of all resistance, entred the Port and Citie, to the incredible joy of the besieged. The  
 old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by *Himilco* with  
 hope of great reward) resolute to set vpon the *Romans* in their Trenches, and  
 either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire,  
 their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the vt-  
 termost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the *Romans*, being more in number, 20  
 and hauing the advantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extreme  
 difficultie defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to vnderstand the state of things at *Lilybæum*,  
 but know not how to send into the Towne. A certaine *Rhodian* vnderakes the  
 seruice; and hauing recieued his dispatch, sailes with one Gallie to *Ægusa*, a little  
 Island neere *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port;  
 and hauing a passing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Channell, and re-  
 covered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the *Romans* had to guard the Port,  
 could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the couert of the darke night, nor dreading to 30  
 be boarded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his returne, he set saile, and shipping  
 his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quick of sterage, and himselfe expert in all  
 parts of the channell) recovered the Hauens mouth, and the Sea, in despite of all  
 the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himselfe out of danger of being incom-  
 passed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Hauen, challenging  
 any one, if any one durst come forth, to vnderake him. This enterprise, and the  
 well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondered at in those dayes:  
 and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill  
 a-farre-off, the aduerture which this *Rhodian* made, was not greatly hazardous.  
 For in this Age, a valiant and judicious man of warre will not feare to passe by the 40  
 best appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the helpe of a good Tide, and a leading gale of  
 winde: no, though fortie peeces of great Artillerie open their mouths against him,  
 and threaten to tear him in peeces.

In the beginning of our late *Queenes* time, when *Denmarke* and *Sweden* were at  
 Warre; our East-land fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, was forbidden by the King of *Den-*  
*marke* to trade with the subjects of his enemies, and he threatened to sink their ships  
 if they came through the freights of *Ellenour*. Notwithstanding this, our Mer-  
 chants (hauing a ship of her *Majesties*, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the  
 aduerture; and, sustaining some Volleys of shot, kept on their course. The King  
 made all the prouision he could, to stop them, or sink them, at their returne. But 50  
 the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burroughs*, being the way, did not  
 only passe out with little losse, but did beat downe, with artillerie, a great part of  
 the Fort of *Ellenour*; which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps  
 it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any  
 wound

wound recieued. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of *Parma*, besieging  
*Antwerp*, and finding no possibilitie to master it, otherwise than by famine, laid his  
 Cannon on the banke of the Riuer, so well to purpose, and so euen with the face of  
 the water, that he thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the *Hol-*  
*landers* and *Zelanders*, not blowne vpon by any winde of glorie, but coming to finde  
 a good market for their Butter and Cheefe, euen the poore men, attending their  
 profit when all things were extreme deare in *Antwerp*, passed in boats of ten or  
 twelue Tonnes, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despite of it, when a strong  
 Westerly winde, and a Tide of flood fauoured them; as also with a contrarie  
 10 winde, and an ebbing water, they turned back againe: so as he was forced, in the  
 end, to build his *Stockado* onerthwart the Riuer, to his meruailous trouble and  
 charge.

The Fort St. *Philip* terrified not vs in the yeare 1566, when we entred the Port  
 of *Caliz*; neither did the Fort at *Puntal*, when we were entred, beat vs from our an-  
 choring by it; though it plaied vpon vs with foure Demi-cannons within point  
 blanke, from fixe in the morning till twelue at noone. The siege of *Offend*, and of  
 many other places, may be giuen for proofe, how hard a matter it is to stop the pas-  
 sage of a good ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that  
 where a Fort is so set, as that of *Angrain Terceira*, that theris no passage alond be-  
 side it, or that the ships are driuen to turne vpon a bow line towards it, wanting all  
 20 helpe of winde and tide; there, and in such places, is it of great vfe, and fearefull:  
 otherwise not.

But to returne to our aduenturous *Rhodian*: He arriues in safetie at *Carthage*,  
 and makes them know the estate of *Lilybæum*. Others also, after this, take vpon  
 them to doe the like, and performe it with the same success. The *Romans* therefore  
 labour to choke the channell; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships  
 with great stones, and linke them therein. The force of the Tides cleares it againe  
 in part: but they grounded so many of those great-bellied boats in the best of the  
 entrance, as at last it made a manifeit riling and heape, like a ragged land, in the pas-  
 30 sage. Hereby it came to passe, that a *Carthaginian* Gallie, taking her course by night,  
 and not suspecting any such impediment, ranne her selfe a-ground thereon, and was  
 taken. Now comes the braue *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as he had done before:  
 but this *Carthaginian* Gallie, a little before taken, gaue him chase, and gathered vpon  
 him; he findes what shee is, both by her forme, and by her swiftnesse: and being  
 not able to runne from her, resolved to fight with her: But shee is too well man-  
 ned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

*Lilybæum*, after this, is greatly distressed; the Souldiers being worne with la-  
 bour and watching. But in this despaire there rose so violent a tempest, as some of  
 the *Romans* wooden Towers, by which they ouer-top the walls of *Lilybæum*, were  
 40 ouer-turned. A *Greek* Souldier vnderakes to fire those that were fallen, and per-  
 formes it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blowne vnto by the bel-  
 lowes of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistlesse, and in the end burned  
 all to ashes, and melted the brazen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, de-  
 spaire and wearinesse hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: so that they  
 resolute, by a long siege, to sterue the Defendants.

Vpon relation of what had past, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from  
*Rome*, vnder *M. Claudius*, the Consull. He arriues at *Messina*, and marcheth ouer  
 land to *Lilybæum*: where hauing re-inforced the Armie, and supplied the Gallies  
 with new Rowers, he propounds the surpris of *Drepanum*, a Citie on the other  
 50 side of the Bay of *Lilybæum*. This seruice the Captaines and Souldiers willingly  
 embrace. So the Consull imbarques his troups, and arriues on the sudden in the  
 mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Gouernour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent  
 man of warre, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at *Lilybæum*, was at  
 first amazed at their sudden approach; but hauing recoured his spirits, he per-  
 H h h h h 3  
 swades

swades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad, than to be inclosed. Herewithall hee promifeth great rewards to fuch, as by their valour fhall deferue them; offering to leadeth himfelfe, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Having fufficiently encouraged his men, he thrufts into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Confull, de- ceived of his expectation, calls back the foremolt Gallies, that he might now mar- fhall them for defence. Hereupon fome row backward, fome forward, in great confufion. *Adherbal* findes and follows his advantage, and forceth the Confull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himfelfe, having the land on his back: ho- ping thereby to keepe himfelfe from being incompaſſed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-roume, fo ſtreightened, as he could not turne himfelfe any way 10 from his enemies, nor range himfelfe in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of reſiſtance, keeping the ſhore on his left hand, he thruſt out of the Bay with thirtie Gallies, beſides his owne, and ſo fled away: all the reſt of his fleet, to the number of ninetie and foure ſhips, were taken or funke by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this ſervice is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indi- cation and flight, as much diſgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great loſſe, arme threeſcore Gallies, with which they ſend away *L. Iunius*, their Confull, to take charge of their buſineſſe in *Sicily*. *Iunius* arrives at *Mefſana*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* fleet, thoſe excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybaeum*. One hundred and twentie Gallies he had; and beſides theſe, he had gotten together almoſt eight hundred ſhips of burthen, which were laden with all neceſſary provisions for the Armie. With this great fleet he arrives at *Syracufe*, where he ſtaies a while; partly to take in corne; partly, to wait for ſome, that were too ſlow of ſaile, to keepe com- panie with him along from *Mefſana*. In the meane time, he diſpatcheth away to- wards *Lilybaeum*, his *Queſters* or Treafurers; to whom he commits the one halfe of his victuallers, with ſome Gallies for their conuoy.

*Adherbal* was not careleſſe, after his late victorie: but ſtudied how to uſe it to the beſt advantage. The ſhips and priſoners that he had taken, he ſent to *Carthage*. 30 Of his owne Gallies he deliuered thirtie to *Carthalo*, who had threeſcore and ten more vnder his owne charge; and ſent him to trie, what good might be done againſt the *Roman* fleet, in the Haven of *Lilybaeum*. According to this direction, *Carthalo* ſuddenly enters the mouth of that Haven, where he findes the *Romans*, more atten- tive to the keeping in of the beſieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their owne againſt another fleet. So he chargeth them, boords and takes ſome, and fires the reſt. The *Roman* Campe takes alarme, and haſtens to the rescue. But *Himilco*, Governour of the Towne, is not behind hand; who ſallies out at the ſame time, and putting the *Romans* in great diſtreſſe, gives *Carthalo* good leiſure to goe through with his enterprize.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ranne all along the South coaſt of *Sicily*, deuiling how 40 to worke miſchiefe to the enemy: wherein Fortune preſented him with a faire oc- caſion, which he wiſely managed. He was aduerted by his Scouts, that they had deſcried, neare at hand, a great fleet, conſiſting of all manner of Veſſells. Theſe were the victuallers, which the Confull *Iunius*, more haſtily than providently, had ſent before him towards *Lilybaeum*. *Carthalo* was glad to heare of their coming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reaſon of their late victories. Accom- pting therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks approaching, to be rather a prey, than a fleet, likely to make ſtrong oppoſition, he haſtens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no minde to fight: but were glad to ſeek ſhelter in an open Road, full of rocks, vnder cower of a poore Towne, 50 belonging to their partie, that could helpe to ſaue them only from the preſent dan- ger, by lending them engines and other aide, wherewith to beat off the *Carthagi- nians* that aſſailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, hauing taken a few of them, lay wait- ing for the reſt, that could not long ride vnder thoſe rocks, but would be forced, by

by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to ſaue their men, how they could, by taking land, with the loſſe of all their ſhipping. Whilſt he was buſied in this care; the Confull *Iunius* drew neare, and was diſcovered. Againſt him *Carthalo* makes out, and findes him altogether vnprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had happened. The Confull had neither meanes to flee, nor ability to fight. Therefore he likewiſe ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger ſo great, as that of the enemy. The *Carthaginian*, ſeeing this, betakes himſelfe to a Station betweene the two *Roman* fleets; where he watcheth, to ſee which of them would firſt ſtirre, with a reſolution to aſſault that, which 15 ſhould firſt dare to put it ſelfe into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coaſt of *Sicily*, betweene the *Promontorie* of *Pachinus* and *Lilybaeum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde ſtormed at South. The *Carthagini- ans*, who knew the times of tempeſt, and their ſigns, finding belike ſome ſwelling billow (for ſo we doe in the Weſt of *England*, before a Southerly ſtorme) haſted to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to couer themſelves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight, than how to Nauigate, and neuer found any foule weather in the entrailes of their beaſts, their Soothſayers being all land-prophets, were ſuddenly ouertaken with a boiſterous South winde, and all their Gallies forced againſt the rocks, and vterly wrackt.

20 This calamitic diſcouraged the *Romans*, that they reſolued againe to forſake the Seas, and truſt only to the ſervice of their Legions vpon firme ground. But ſuch a reſolution cannot long hold. Either they muſt be ſtrong at Sea, or elſe they muſt not make warre in an Iland, againſt thoſe that haue a mightie fleet. Yet are they to be excuſed, in regard of the many great calamities which they had ſuffered, through their want of ſkill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient ver- tue of the *Spaniards*. We ſeldome or neuer finde, that any Nation hath endured ſo many miſadventures and miſeries, as the *Spaniards* haue done, in their *Indian Diſco- ueries*. Yet perſiſting in their enterprizes, with an invincible conſtance, they haue annexed to their Kingdome ſo many goodly Prouinces, as burie the remembrance 30 of all dangers paſt. Tempeſts and ſhipwracks, famine, ouerthrowes, mutinies, heat and cold, peſtilence, and all manner of diſeaſes, both old and new, together with extreme povertie, and want of all things needfull, haue bene the enemies, wherewith euerie one of their moſt noble Diſcoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many yeares haue paſſed over ſome of their heads, in the ſearch of not ſo many leagues: yea more then one or two, haue ſpent their labour, their wealth, and their liues, in ſearch of a golden Kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their firſt ſetting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and ſiſt vnder-takers, haue not bene diſheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with thoſe Treafuries, and Paradies, which they en- 40 joy; and well they deſerue to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

## §. XI.

The Citie of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recovered by AMILCAR, who stoutly holds warre with them five yeares. The Romans having emptied their common tresurie, build a new fleet, at the charges of private men. The great victorie at Sea of LVCTATIVS the Consul, whereby the Carthaginians are forced to crave peace. The conditions of the peace betwene Rome and Carthage.

**T**He Romans were carefull, to supply with all industrie, by land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the siege of *Lilybeum*, and seeke to make sure to themselves all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring reliefe. The Consul *Iunius*, to cure the wound of dishonour, which hee had received, bethought him what enterprize to vndertake. In the end he resolved to attempt the Mountayne and Citie of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the fairest and richest of all the land; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. *Eryx* was commodiously seated betwene *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restrain the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the Countrey. Wherefore *Iunius* fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, (both which places were very defensible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the tenth yeare of this warre, the *Carthaginians* sent forth *Amilcar*, surnamed *Breac*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a fleet and armie, who sailing to the coasts of *Italy*, did thoroughly repay the spoiles which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For he first of all waited and destroyed the Territories of the *Locrines*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred he into *Sicily*; and finding there no walled Citie in the *Carthaginians* power, that served fitly to insult the *Romans*; he occupied a peece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; so that as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as those that kept about *Eryx*, putting himselfe betwene both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had seized vpon, was not only very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gaue him oportunitie, to scoure all the coast of *Italy* with his fleet, waiting all along as farre as to *Cuma*. In the Ile of *Sicily* he held the *Romans* to hard worke: lying neare vnto *Panormus*, wherein three yeares abode he did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemy could neuer be drawne to hazard the maine chance. Having wearied himselfe and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, he vndertooke a strange peece of worke at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Garrisons, placed there by *Iunius*, on the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine, were very strongly lodged. Nevertheless *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which he conveyed his men into the Citie of *Eryx*, that was about the middle of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the Mountaine, were freightly held (as it were) besieged. And no lesse was *Amilcar* himselfe restrained, by both of these Garrisons, and such as came to relieue them. There he found them pastime about two yeares more; hoping still to wearie out those that lay ouer his head, as they on the contrary did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent vnto the prosecuting of this businesse at *Eryx*. Wherein it seemest true (as *Hannibal* in *Lib. 3. l. 10. ad.* in *Line*, spake vnto *Scipio*) that the affaires of *Carthage* neuer stood in better termes, since the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans*

man: had vterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly vpon confidence of their land-forces, which they held resistlesse; *Amilcar*, with a small Armie, had so well acquitted himselfe, to the honour of his Countrey, that by the triall of five yeares warre, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was judged equall, if not superiour, to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had beene deuised and done, for the dislodging of this obdurate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once againe to build a fleet; whereby, if the maiestie of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficultie was found. The common tresurie was exhausted: and the cost was not little, that was requisite vnto such an enterprize. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden vpon private purses. Diuers of the principall Citizens vndertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one *Quinquereme*; which example wrought so well, that they, whose abilitie would not serue to doe the like, joynd with some others, and laying their monie together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another: with condition to be repaid, when the warre was finished. By this voluntarie contribution, they made and furnished two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their patterne, that excellent swift rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the *Rhodesians*, in the Port of *Lilybeum*, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Lucilius Catulus*; who past with the same into *Sicily*, the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*: endeavouring by all means to haue forced the Citie. But being aduertised that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand, and being mindfull of the late losses which his Predecessours had received; he was careful to put himselfe in order, against their arrival.

*Hanno* was Admirall of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the arte of seeming reuerend. How his reputation was first bred, I doe not finde; but it was vp-held by a factious contradiction, of things vndertaken by men more worthy than himselfe. This qualitie procured vnto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is averse from new enterprizes, and therewithall an opinion of great foresight, confirmed by every losse received. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the most grievous oppressors of their subiect Prouinces; whereby he procured vnto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall such hatred, as turned it all to their great losse. He had ere this bene imploied against the *Numidians*, and wild *Africans*, that were more like to Rovers, than to Souldiers, in making Warre. Of those fugitive Nations, he learned to neglect more many enemies, to his owne great dishonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which lost not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counsaile, when, hauing shewed himselfe an unworthy Captaine, he betooke himselfe to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* Histories, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preferre the League betwene *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well hee deserved of his owne Countrey, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall hee was to the *Romans*, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miserable necessitie of accepting, vpon hard conditions, that peace which he thenceforth commended.

*Hanno* had very well furnished his Nauie, with all needfull prouisions for the Souldiers at *Eryx*: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but he had neither bene careful in traying his Mariners, to the practise of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with stout fellows. Hee thought, that the same of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the vnexpert *Romans* give way: forgetting, that rather the resistlesse force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the Seas. Yet in one thing hee had either concurred

conceiued a-right, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to saile to *Eryx*, and there to discharge his ships of their lading: and hauing thus lightened himselfe, he meant to take aboard some part of the Land-armie, together with *Amilear* himselfe, by whose helpe he doubted not, but that he should be able to make the enimie repent of his new aduenture to Sea. This was a good counsell, if it could haue bene performed. But *Catulus* vsed all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this designe: not because he was informed of the enimies purpose, but for that he knew it to be the best for them, and for that feared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with *Amilear*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was desired; yet he rather chose to fight with the enimie, that had the winde of him, than to suffer this conuoy to pulle along to *Eryx*, vpon vnlikely hope of better opportunitie in the future. All that *Hanno* should haue done, *Catulus* had performed. Hee had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; hee had lightened his Gallies of all vnnecessarie burthen; and hee had taken aboard the choice men of the *Roman* Land-souldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the first encounter, were vterly broken and defeated; hauing loste of their Gallies flemmed and sunke, and seuentie taken, wherein were few lesse than ten thousand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of winde, escaping to the Ile of *Hieroneſu*.

The state of *Carthage*, vterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolue. Meanes to repaire their fleet in any time there were none left; their best men of warre by Sea were confumed; and *Amilear*, vpon whose valour and iudgement the honour and safetie of the Common-weale rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in *Sicill*, where he could not be relieved. In this extremitie, they make a dispatch vnto *Amilear* himselfe, and authorize him to take what course should seeme best vnto his excellent wisdom; leaving all conclusions to his election and sole counsaile.

*Amilear*, whom no aduersitie, accompanied with the least hope or possibilitie of recouerie, had euer vanquished, looking ouer euery promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) resolute to make triall, whether his necessitie might be compounded vpon any reasonable termes. He therefore sent to *Lucilius* the Consull an Ouer-ture of peace: who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present pouertie of the *Roman* State, waited beyond expectation in the former warre, that he willingly hearkened vnto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with prouision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the *Carthaginians* should clearely abandon the Ile of *Sicill*. Secondly, that they should neuer undertake vpon *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at libertie, and send back into *Italie*, all the *Romans*, whom they hold prisoners, without ranfome. Lastly, that they should pay vnto the *Romans* two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirtene hundred and twentie thousand crownes: the same to be deliuered within twentie yeares next following.

These Articles were sent to *Rome*, where they were not thoroughly approued: but ten Commissioners were sent into *Sicill*, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former summe; and required a shorter time of payment. Further also, they tooke order, that the *Carthaginians* should not only depart out of *Sicill* it selfe, but should also with-draw their Companies out of all the other Ilands betweene it and *Italie*, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such

Such was the end of the first *Punick Warre*, that had lasted about twentie foure yeares without intermission; in which time the *Romans* had lost, by fight or shipwrack, about seuen hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the *Carthaginians*, about fives hundred: the greatnesse of which losses, doth serue to proue the greatnesse both of these two Cities, and of the Warre it selfe; wherein I hold good the iudgement of *Polybius*, That the *Romans*, in general, did shew themselves the braver Nation; and *Amilear*, the most worthie Captaine.

## CHAP. II.

## Of diuers actions passing betweene the first and second Punick Warres.

## §. I.

Of the cruell warre begunne betweene the *Carthaginians* and their owne Mercenaries.



THE *Romans*, hauing partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicill*, and all the little Ilands thereunto adjacent, gaue them rather meanes and leisure to helpe themselves in a following warre, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is a true rule, *Quod leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; That lawes are giuen by the Conquerors, and receiued of the conquered. But the *Romans* had either forgotten the answer that was made vnto them, by one of the *Priuernates*; or else had forgotten to follow it, in this waightie business.

For when one of *Priuernum*, after a rebellion, to the Senate the cause of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator, *What peace the Romans might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present aduantage ouer them*; he answered in these wordes, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidem & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam*; If the peace be good and faithfull that you giue vs, it will be perpetuall; if it be ill, then of little continuance. To this answer, the Senate, at that time, gaue such approbation, that it was said, *Viri & liberi vocem audiam; an credi posse, vllum populum, aut hominem deniq; in ea condicione, cuius cum paniteat, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum*; That it was the speech of a manly, and a free man; for who could beleue, that any people, or indeede any one man, would continue longer in an ouer-burdened estate, than mere necessity did enforce? Now if the *Romans* themselves could make this iudgement, of those Nations, who had little else, besides their manly resolution, to defend their libertie; surely, they grossly flattered themselves, in presuming, that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferior vnto themselves, would sit downe any longer by the losse and dishonour receiued than vntill they could recover their legs, and the strength, which had a while failed them, to take reuenge. But Occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not only priuate men, but Kings and publique States, haue more preailed, than by any proper prowesse or vertue; with-

with-held the tempest from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it most fearefully vpon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.

For after that the first *Punicke Warre* was ended; *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence most conveniently the Armie might bee transported into *Africa*: the care of which businesse he committed vnto *Gelsco*, to whom, as to a man of approved sufficiencie, he deliuered ouer his charge. *Gelsco* had an especial consideration of the great summes, wherein *Carthage* was indebted vnto these *Mercenaries*; and, withall, of the great disabilitye to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them ouer (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time; that so the first might haue their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Companies arrived. Herein hee dealt prouidently. For it had not bene hard to persuade any small number, lodged within so great a Citie as *Carthage*, vnto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptinesse of the common Treasurie did require: so that the first might haue bene friendly discharged, and a good president left vnto the second and third, whilst their disunction had made them vnable to recouer their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, some that would be contented to gratifie the Publique state, by remitting a great part of their owne due: and for by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and satisfaction. So they detayned the first and second companies, telling them, that they would make an euen reckoning with all together. Thus euery day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the Citie, not accustomed vnto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place where they might be lesse trouble some. This must be done by some colourable wordes of perswasion: for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too farre. Wherefore it is deuised, that they should all attend the coming of their fellows, at *Sicca*: receiuing euery one a peece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while. This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers beginne to dislodge; leaving behinde them their wiues, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* haue no fancie to their returning into the Towne; and therefore compell them to trusse vp their fardells, that they might haue none occasion left, to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellows arrival, and their owne pay. Businesse they had none to doe, and therefore might easily be drawne to mutinie: the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talke was, how rich they should be, when all their monie came in; how much would fall to euery single souldier; and for how long time the Citie was behinde hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne *Arithmeticians*; and he was thought a man of worth, that could finde most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, euen beyond their due. No part of their long seruice was forgotten; but the comfortable wordes and promises of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to minde, as so many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some vnordinarie largesse.

Thus the time passeth away; vntill the whole Armie being arrived, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So thinke they all; and assemble themselves to heare what good newes this messenger had brought: with a full resolution to helpe his memorie in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made vnto them; all which were to be considered in their Donatiue. *Hanno* begins a verie formall Oration; wherein he bewailes the pauerie of *Carthage*; tells them, how great a summe of mony is to be paid vnto the *Romans*; reckons vp the excessive

charges, whereat the common-wealth had bene in the late warre; and finally desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare vnto the citie, to remit the rest. Few of them vnderstood his discourse: for the *Carthaginian* Armie was composed of sundry Nations, as *Greekes*, *Africans*, *Gules*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others, all of different languages. Yet they stared vpon him, and were (as I thinke) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such, as conceived the whole tenour of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort hee brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad men: so that nothing would serue to appease them. *Hanno* would faine haue allwaged their furie, but he knew not how: for hee lesse vnderstood their dissonant lowde noises, than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of many countries, that haue no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred vp to mutinie, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. I he best that *Hanno* can doe, is to vse the helpe of Interpreters, and messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some, for want of skill; others, of set purpose; and such as deliuer his errands in the worst sense, are best beleued. Finally, they thinke themselves much abused, by the *Carthaginians*, and reioice to demand their owne, in peremptorie termes, at a nearer distance. In this moode they leaue *Sicca*, and march as farre as *Tunis*, that is within a litle of *Carthage*, and there they incampe.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to finde their owne error: It is a good rule,

*Curandum inprimis, ne magna iniuria fiat  
Fortibus & maioris:*

Haue speciall care, that valiant pauerie  
Be not oppress'd with too great iniurie.

But this proude citie, hauing neglected the rule, hath also bene careless in providing to secure her selfe against the inconuenience that might followe. She had suffered the whole multitude, whereunto there was like to giue cause of discontent, to ioine it selfe into one bodie, when the seuerall troupes might easily haue bene dispersed: shee hath turned out of her gates the wiues, children, and goods of these poore men, which had beene retained in shewe of kindnesse, these might haue vled them, as Hollages, for her owne safetie; and by employing a miserable pennie-father, in her negotiation with men of warre, shee hath weakened the reputation of her brauest Captaines, that might best haue serued to free her from the threatening danger. Yet likely enough it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire to be vled as an instrument in defrauding his owne souldiours of their wages: especially considering, that as he best could beare witness of their merits, so was hee not ignorant, that to meane to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had bene willing therunto. Here to may be added a probable coniecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldnesse to impose the blame of his owne wretched counsaile, vpon the liberal promises made by the Captaines *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to haue the managing of their own plot, and to deale the cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continue to doe as foolishly, as they had at first begunne. They furnish a market at *Tunis*, for the souldiours; whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send euer and anon some of their Senators into the Campe, who promise to satisfie all demands, as farre forth as it should be possible. And thus, by shifting from one extreme to another, they make the souldiours vnderstand, into what feare the city was driuen; which cannot but adde much insolencie to the passions already stirred vp.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the

liiiij

Armie,

Armie. which thereupon growes wife, and finding the season fit, labours to make a great Barnett. Monie mult be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many haue lost their horses, in publique seruice of the late. The late shall pay for them. They had liued some yeares, by making hard shift, without receiving their allowance of victuals from *Carthage*. If they had liued, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in prouision; or their Captaine directed them where to fetch it? But this would not serue. They said that they had bene sometimes driuen to buy; and that (since they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their prouision, during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that wheat had borne, whilest the warre lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiniers; who might easily haue bene satisfied with faire lesse charges, and farre more honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make none end of crauing. For whilest the *Carthaginians* are perplexed, about this corne-monie; the Souldiers haue deuised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater summe of monie, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could bee found of these controuersies, which daily did multiply, it was thought conuenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Skil*, should be chosen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie consented, and made choice of *Geseo*: partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himselfe at all times a friendly man to them; and careful of their good, especially when they were to be transported into *Africk*: partly out of dislike which they had conceived of *Anibear*, for that hee had not visited them in all this buile time. So *Geseo* comes among them; and, to please them the better, comes not without monie: which might giue better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. Hee calles vnto him first of all, the Captaines, and then, the seuerall Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had passed; aduising them temperately concerning the present; and exhorting them to continue their loue vnto the State, which had long entertained them, and would alwaies be mindfull of their good seruices. After this he beganne to put hand to his purse: offering to giue them their whole paie in hand; and then after to consider of other reckonings, at a more conuenient time. This had bene well accepted, and might haue serued to bring all to a quiet passe; if two seditious ring-leaders of the multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the Campe one *Spendius*, a turdie fellowe, and audacious, but a flauie; that in the late warre had fled from a *Roman* whome hee serued, and therefore stood in feare, lest hee should be deliuered backe to his Master; at whose hands hee could expect no lesse, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by raising such troubles, as might serue to withdraw men from care of priuate matters, and make his owne restitution impossible, were his Master neuer so importunate. With *Spendius* there associated himselfe one *Matbo*, an hate-headed man, that had bene so forward in stirring vp the tumult, as hee could not chooe but feare, lest his owne death should bee made an example, to deterre others from the like seditious behauiour. This *Matbo* deals with his countymen, the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in farre worse condition, than either the *Gauls*, the *Greekes*, the *Spaniards*, or any forreigne mercenaries. For (saith he) *these our companions haue no more to doe, than to receive their wages, and so get them gone: but wee, that are to stay behinde in Africk, shall bee called to another manner of account, when wee are left alone; so that wee shall haue cause to wissh, that wee had returned home beggars, rather than laden with the monie, which little thought he shall breake our backs. Yee are not ignorant, how tyrannically these our haughty Masters of CARTHAGE doe reigne ouer vs. They thinke it reasonable, that our liues and goods should bee at their disposition, which they haue at other times bene accustomed to take away from vs, even without apparent cause, as it were to*

declare

declare their Soueraintie: what will they now doe, seeing that we haue demeaned our selues as free men, and bene bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our owne, as others haue done? Ye all doe knowe, that it were a very shame for vs, if hauing bene as forward in euery danger of warre, as any other men, we should now stand quaking like flauies, and not dare to open our mouthes, when others take libertie to require their due. This notwithstanding yee may assure your selues, that we are like to be taught better manners, as some as our fellows are gone: in regard of whom they are contented to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let vs therefore be wife, and consider, that they hate and feare vs. Their hatred will shew it selfe, when their feare is once past: unless wee now take our time, and whilst we are the stronger, enfeeble them so greatly, that their hatred shall not be able to doe vs wrong. All their strength consisteth in monie, wherein will they haue liued others against vs, and vs against others. At the present they haue neither monie nor friends. The best Armie that euer serued them, whereof wee are no small part, lies at their gates, ready to helpe vs if we men. A better opportunitie cannot be expected: for were our swords once drawne, all *AFRICK* would rise on our side. As for the *CARTHAGINIANS*, whether can they send for helpe? The case is selfe euill: but we must quickly resolute. Either we must prevent the diligence of *Geseo*, by incensing these *GAULES* and *SPANIARDES*, and procuring them to draw blood; or else it behoueth vs to please our good masters, by ioyning with them against our fellows, yea by offering to serue vnto them all our wages, if so (per aduicere) they may bee wonne to forgive vs, or not over-cruely to punish our faults already committed. He is worthy a wretched flauie, that neither hath care to winne his Masters loue, nor courage to attempt his owne libertie.

By such persuasions *Matbo* winnes the *African* souldiers to his owne purpose. They are not now lo greddie of monie, as of quarell; which hee that seeks will not misse to finde. When *Geseo* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for horses and victuals, to some other more conuenient time; they brake into great outrage, and say that they will haue all, euen all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie flocke together about *Matbo* and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting, to adde more fuel to the fire already blazing. *Matbo* and *Spendius* are the onlie men to whom the souldiours will hearken: if any other stand vp to make a speech, a shewre of stones, flying about his eares, puts him to silence, that hee shall neuer afterwards speake word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath bene saide already by these good spoken men; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard; faue onely throne, throne.

Now the Rebellion begins to take forme. *Matbo* and *Spendius* are chosen Captaines; who, followed by a desperate crew of *Ruffians*, will suffer no man to make his owne peace, but pursue their owne ends, vnder faire pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Geseo* is not wanting to the good of his countrie, but aduentures himselfe vpon their furie. One while hee deals with the Captaines, and other principall men; taking them by the hand, and giuing gentle wordes: another while hee works with the seuerall Nations; putting them all in hope of their owne hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so follen, as the *Africans*: indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him preemtorily, to giue them their owne, and not to feed them with wordes. The truth is, that they are not so couctous as they seeme: but will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more then *Geseo* knowes: hee sees not that *Matbo* hath any more than bare wordes, to bestow vpon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, hee telles them, That they may doe well, if they stand in want of monie, to seeke it of their Captaine, *Matbo*. This is enough. Shall hee both defend them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands vpon the treasure that he had brought yea vpon him also, and all that are with him:

as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellows beginne to grow calme, by his faire language: wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can finde; that so the Armie may be freed from danger of good admonition, which they call Treason. After this follows open warre. *Matho* sollicites all *Affrick*; and his Embassadors are euerie where well entertained. Neither is it needfull to vs<sup>e</sup> perswasion: the verie fame of this rebellion sufficeth to drawe the whole cuntry into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* bee plagued for those oppressions, with which they haue plagued others. It is true that aduersitie hath neuer bene vtold of her errors: and as the is euer assured to heare her owne, so commonly with her owne shee vndergoes those of other men. The *Africans*, finding the *Carthaginians* hang vnder the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were mercilesse; that they tooke from them the one halfe of their corne, that they doubled their tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted vpon their vassals the greatest punishments for the least offences. These cruelties the *Carthaginians* themselves haue forgotten: but the people, that haue suffered so much, retaine all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not onely such as can beare armes, are ready to doe seruice in this great Commotion; but the verie women bring forth their jewels, and other ornaments, offering all to sale for maintenance of so iust a quarrell. By this great forwardnesse, and liberall contribution, *Matho* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aide of three score and tenne thousand *Africans*: and are moreouer furnished with monie, not onely to satisfie the present appetite of their men, but sufficient to continue the warre begunne, though it should bee of long endurance.

## §. II.

*Diuerse obseruations vpon this warre with the mercenaries.*

## †. I.

*Of Tyrannie, and how tyrants are diuinen to vs<sup>e</sup> helpe of mercenaries.*

**H**ere let vs rest awhile, as in a conuenient breathing place: whence wee may take prospect of the subiect, ouer which wee trauaile. Behold a tyrannicall Citie, persecuted by her owne mercenaries with a deadly warre. It is a common thing, as being almost necessarie, that a tyrannic should bee vpheld by mercinarie forces: it is common that mercenaries should be false: and it is common, that all warre, made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and crueltie. Yet wee seldom heare, that the ruine of a Tyrannie is procured or sought, by those that were hired to maintaine the power of it: and seldom or neuer doe we reade of any warre, that hath bene prosecuted with such inexorable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which wee properly call Tyrannie, is *A violent forme of government, not respecting the good of the subiect, but onely the pleasure of the Commander.* I purposely forbore to say, that it is the vnjust rule of one ouer many: for verie truly doth *Cleom* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*, that their dominion ouer their subiects, was none other than a mere tyrannie; though it were so, that they themselves were

*Thucyd. l. 6.*

a great

were a great Citie, and a Popular estate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needfull, that I should call this forme of commanding, *violent*: since it may well and easily bee conceiued, that no man willingly performs obedience, to one regardless of his life and welfare; vnlesse himselfe bee either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of loue. The practice of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremite: for some Lords are more gentle, than others, to their very slaves; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne aduantage. Neuertheless, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it selfe, vnto notice of the difference which might bee found betweene the worth of seuerall men; it is commonly seene, that the taste of sweetnesse, drawne out of oppression, hath so good a relish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should hee seeke out bounds, to prescribe vnto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that hee hath gotten, by extorting from some few: by sparing none, hee should haue riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deale from euery one: but euery one could haue spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, and now hee hath enough: but (as *Cæcilius* is neuer fatished) he thinks that all this is too little for a flock, though it were inuade a good yearly income. Therefore hee deuileth new tricks of robbery, and is not better pleased with the gaine, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this; and he knowes it well: but hee thinks by crueltie to change hatred into feare. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all, whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none vnjustly, he may be said to deale craftily; but if Innocencie be not safe, how can all this make any Conspirator to stand in feare, since the Traitor is no worse rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore hee can thinke vpon none other securitie, than to disarm all his Subjects; to fortifie himselfe within some strong place; and for defence of his Person and state, to hire as many lustie Souldiers as shall bee thought sufficient. These must not bee of his owne Cuntry: for if not euery one, yet some one or other, might chance to haue a liking of the publique miserie. This considered, he allures vnto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most vn timerly that can bee found; such as haue neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be carefull to support him, by whose only fauour they are maintayned. Now lest any of these, either by detestation of his wickednesse, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward, than he doth giue, should bee drawne to turne his sword against the Tyrant himselfe: they shall all be permitted to doe as hee doth; to robbe, to ransome, to murder, and to satisfie their owne appetites, in most outrageous manner; being thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more hee sees them grow haterfull to all men else. Considering in what Age, and in what Language I write; I must be faine to say, that these are not dreames: though some *English* man perhaps, that were vnacquainted with Historie, lighting vpon this lease, might suppose this discourse to be little better. This is to show, both how tyrannie growes to stand in neede of mercinarie Souldiers, and how those Mercenaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmly assured vnto the Tyrant.

## †. I. I.

*That the tyrannie of a Citie over her Subjects is worse, than the tyrannie of one man : and that a tyrannicall Citie must likewise vse mercinarie Souldiers.*

NOW concerning the tyrannie, wherewith a Citie or State oppresseth her Subjects, it may appeare some waies to be more moderate, than that of one man : but in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is jealous of her Dominion ; but not (as is one man) fearful of her life : the lesse neede hath shee therefore, to secure her selfe by crueltie. A Citie is not luxurious in consuming her treasures ; and therefore needes the lesse, to pluck from her Subjects. If warre, or any other great occasion, driue her to necessitie, of taking from her Subjects more than ordinarie summes of monie : the same necessitie makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeede, no wrongs are so grievous and hateful, as those that are insolent. Remember (saith *Caligula* the Emperour, to his Grand-mother *Antonia*) that I may doe what I list, and to whom I list : these wordes were accounted horrible, though he did her no harme. And *Juvenal* reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruell *Roman* Dame vpon her slaves ; that whilst shee was whipping them, shee painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and vsed all signes of 20 neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grievances, wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all sense of indignitie : likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of libertie make them wearie of her Empire. In these respects it is not needfull, that shee should keepe a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintaine them in all villanie, as a *Dionysius* or *Agathocles* must doe : her owne Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serue to proue, That a Citie is scarce able to deserue the name of a Tyrannesse, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appeare, That the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant lodeth his people, are not so heauie, as the burdens imposed by a cruell Citie. Not without some apparence of truth, it may bee said, that Lust, and many other priuate passions, are no way incident to a Citie or Corporation. But to makethis good, wee shall haue neede to vse the helpe of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* lasciuious, when *Cato* was faine to rise and leaue the Theater, to the end, that the reuerend regard of his grauitie, might not hinder the people, from calling for a shew of naked Courtians. that were to be brought vpon the open stage ? By common practise, and generall approved custome, we are to censure the quality of a whole State ; not by the priuate vertue or vice, of any one man ; not by metaphysicall abstraction, of the winner, fall from the singular, 40 or of the Corporation, from those of whom it is compounded. I say therefore (as I haue said elsewhere) That it were better to liue vnder one pernicious Tyrant, than vnder many thousands. The reasons, prouing this, are too many to set downe : but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soeuer, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied ; hee is not able to search all corners ; his humour may be found, and soothed ; age, or good aduice, yea, or some vnexpected accident, may reforme him : all which failing, yet is there hope, that his Successeur may proue better. Many Tyrants haue bene changed into wortheie Kings : and many haue ill vsed their ill-gotten Dominion, which becomming hereditarie to their posteritie, hath growne into the most excellent forme of Government, euen 50 a lawfull Monarchie. But they that liue vnder a tyrannicall Citie, haue no such hope : their Mistresse is immortall, and will not slacken the reins, vnill they bee pulled out of her hands ; and her owne mouth receiue the bridle of a more mightie Chariotier. This is wofull : yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindfull of

of the future. New flies, and hungrie ones, fall vpon the same sore, out of which, others had already sucked their fill. A new Gouvernour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends, who meane not to returne home empty to their hiues, without a good lading of waxe and honie. These flies into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with euery mans wealth, or whatsoeuer else, in all the Prouince, is worthe to be desired. They know all a mans enemics, and all his feares : becomming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these matterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endlesse labour (yet it must be vnder-gone) and such as euery one hath not meane to goe about : but were this effected, what availeth it ? The loue of one Gouvernour is purchased with gifts : the Succellour of this man, he is more louing than could be wished, in respect of a faire Wife or Daughter : then comes the third, perhaps of the contrarie faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore goers, who seekes the ruine of all that haue bene inward with them. So the miseries of this tyrannie are not simple ; but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of ciuill warre. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or *Of Recouerie*, against extorting Magistrates : yet wee finde, that it serued not wholly to reitrate their Prouinciall Gouvernours ; who presuming on the fauour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Prouinces, to worke all these enormities rehearsed ; though somewhat the more sparingly, for 20 feare of judgement. If the subjects of *Rome* groned vnder such oppressions ; what mult we thinke of those, that were vassalls vnto *Carthage* ? The *Romans* imposed no burthen some tributes ; they loued not to heare, that their Empire was grievous ; they condemned many noble Citizens, for hauing bene ill Gouvernours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrarie : the rapines newly deuised by one Magistrate, serued as presidents to instruct another ; euery man resolu'd to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne ; and he was held a notable statesman, whose robberies had bene such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practise, are not extant : the gouernment of *Verrus the Roman*, 30 in *Sicill*, that is lately set out by *Tulius*, may serue to informe vs, what was the demerour of these *Tunick Rulers*, who stood in feare of no such condemnation, as *Verrus* vnder-went. By prosecuting this discourse, I might inferre a more generall Proposition ; That a Citie cannot gouerne her subject Prouinces so mildly, as a King : but it is enough to haue shewed, That the tyrannie of a Citie is farre more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Sutable to the crueltie of such Lords, is the hatred of their subjects : and againe, suitable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousy of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in warres abroad, the *Carthaginians* durst vse the seruice of African souldiers ; in *Africk* it selfe, they had rather bee beholding to others, that were farther 40 kitch. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Tunick* warre, thrust his mercenaries out of their owne Countries ; *Vt Afrin Hispania, Hispani in Africâ, melior praeli ab domo futurus uesteris, miles, velut mutuis pignoris obligati stipendia recerent*. *Lin. Dec. 3. li.* That the Africans might serue in *Spain*, the Spaniards in *Africk*, being each of them like to proue the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutual pledges. It is disputable, I confesse, whether these African, and Spanish hirelings, could properly be termed Mercenaries : for they were subject vnto *Carthage*, and carried into the field, not only by rewarde, but by dutie. Yet seeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any loue to the State, but meer desire of gaine, that made them fight ; I will not nicely stand vpon propriety of a word, but 50 hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than Mercenaries.

## †. III.

## †. III.

*The dangers growing from the use of mercinarie Souldiers, and forraigne Auxiliaries.*

THE extremedanger, growing from the imployment of such Souldiers, is well observed by *Machiavel*: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serue, than to those against whom they serue. They are seditious, vnfaithfull, disobedient, deuourers, and destroyers of all places and countries, where into they are drawne; as being held by no other bond, than their owne commo-  
10 dity. Yea, that which is most fearefull among such hirelings, is, that they haue often, and in time of greatest extremitie, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who haue entertained them, but revolted vnto the contrarie part; to the vtter ruine of those Princes and States, that haue trusted them. These Mercinaries (saith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italie*, when *Charles* the eighth of *France* did passe the *Alpes*, were the cause that the said *French King* wonne the Realme of *Naples*, with his Buckler without a sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by *Queene Iane* of *Naples*, abandoned her seruice on the sudden; and forced her to put her selfe into the hands of the King of *Aragon*. Like vnto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the first  
20 of that race Duke of *Millan*: who, being entertained by the *Milanese*, forced them to become his slaues; euen with the same Armie which themselves had leuied for their owne defence. But *Lodowick Sforza*, the sonne of this *Francis*, by the iust judgement of God, was made a memorable example vnto posteritie, in loosing his whole estate by the treacherie of such faithlesse Mercinaries, as his owne father had beene. For, hauing waded an Armie of *Switzers*, and committed his Duchie, together with his person, into their hands; he was by them deliuered vp vnto his enemy the *French King*, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of *Loches* to his dying day.

The like inconuenience is found, in vsing the help of forraigne Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperor of *Constantinople* had hired ten thousand *Turkes*, against his Neighbour Princes; he could neuer, either by perswasion or force, set them againe ouer Sea vpon *Asia* side: which gaue beginning to the *Christian* scruitude, that loone after followed. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Cassander*, sought aide of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdome, slue the same *Alexander* who had invited him, and made himselfe King of *Macedon*. *Syracus* the *Turke* was called into *Egypt* by *Sanar* the *Soldan*, against his Opposite: but this *Turke* did settle himselfe so surely in *Egypt*, that *Saladine* his Successour became Lord thereof; and of all the hely Land, loone after. What neede we looke about for examples of this kinde? Every Kingdome, in effect, can furnish vs. The *Brittaines* drew the *Saxons* into this our Countrey; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *English* into *Ireland*: but the one and the other loone became Lords of those two Kingdomes.

Against all this may be all eaged, the good successe of the vnited Prouinces of the *Netherlands*, vsing none other than such kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. In deede these *Low Countries* haue many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthie, industrious, and valliant in their kinde. They are stout Sea men, and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad, at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they haue feldome beene able to stand against the *Spaniard*. Necessitie therefore compelled them to seeke helpe abroad: and the like  
50 necessitie made them forbear to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with monie raised by their Trade, they maintayned the warre: and therefore could ill spare, vnto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more vse in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as  
might

might be, whilst they had none other than mercinarie Souldiers. Many fruitlesse attempts, made by the Prince of *Orange*, can witness it: and that braue Commander, Count *Lodowick of Nassau*, felt it to his grieft, in his retreat from *Groeninghen*; when in the very instant, that required their seruice in fight, his mercinaries cried out aloud for monie, and so ranne away. This was not the only time, when the hired souldiers of the States, haue either sought to hide their cowardize vnder a shew of greedinesse; or at least, by meere countousnesse, haue ruined in one houre the labour of many monthes. I will not stand to proue this by many examples: for they themselves will not denie it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monseur*  
10 the Duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French King*; saue that it is folle to conceale what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraigne Auxiliaries, needeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords ouer those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this *Monseur*, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrie, made it his first worke, to thrust by violence a galling yoke vpon the peoples neck? Well, he liued to repeat it, with grieft enough. Euen whilst he was counterfeiting vnto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginarie sorrow for the poore Burghers of *Antuerpe*, as verily beleecuing the Towne to be surprisid and wonne; the death of the Count  
20 *St. Agnan*, who fell ouer the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, discharged against his owne troups, informed him better what had hapned; shewing that they were his owne *French*, who stood in neede of pittie. Then was his fained passion changed, into a very bitter anguish of minde; wherein, faunting his brest, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *He las, mon Dieu, que vens tu faire de moy; Als, my God, what wilt thou doe with me?* So the affaires of the *Netherlands* will not serue to proue, that there is litle danger in vsing mercinarie souldiers, or the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding they were obedient vnto necessitie, and sought helpe of the *English*, *Scots*, and *French*: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in *France* a King, partaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen  
30 of *England* refused to accept the Soueraignty of their Countrie, which they offered, yet being prouoked by the *Spaniard* their enemy, pursued him with continuall warre; when the heire of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too iust and wise (though not ingaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miseries, or to helpe those that had attempted the conquest of his owne inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very safely repose confidence, in the forces of these their Neighbour-Countries. The souldiers that came vnto them from hence, were (to omit many other commendations) not only regardfull of the pay that they should receiue; but well affected vnto the cause that they tooke in hand: or if any were cold in his deuotion, to the side whereon he fought; yet was he kept in order,  
40 by remembrance of his owne home, where the *English* would haue rewarded him with death, if his faith had beene corrupted by the *Spaniard*. They were therefore trusted with the custodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessitie of the poorer sort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with lendings, and other helps, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintaine against the power of a fourth, in iurious (or at least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Country, of the same Religion, and to which they all are louingly affected: then may such a Countrey be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other business in hope of like successe. But these circumstances meet so feldome, as it may  
50 well hold true in generall. That mercinaries, and forraigne auxilinarie forces, are no lesse dangerous, than the enemy, against whom they are entertained.

## †. IIII.

*That the moderate government of the Romans gaue them assurance to vse the seruice of their owne subjects in their warres. That in mans nature there is an affection breacing tyrannic, which hindreth the vse and benefit of the like moderation.*

**H**ere may it be demanded, whether also the *Romans* were not compelled to vse seruice of other souldiours in their many great warres, but performed all by their owne citizens? for if we see their manner to arme their owne subjects; how happened it, that they feared no rebellion? if strangers; how then could they auoide the inconueniences about rehearsed? The answer is; That their Armies were compounded vnuallie of their owne citizens, and of the *Latines*, in equall number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of the *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their subjects, as were either interested in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times, (though seldome they did imple to many,) tenne Roman Legions; a good strength, if all other helpe had bene wanting: which serue to keepe in good order their subjects, that were alwaies fewer in the Armie than themselves. As for the *Latines*, if consanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation; yet many priuiledges and immunities, which they enjoyed, made them assured vnto the State of *Rome*: vnder which they liued almost at libertie, as being bound to little else, than to serue it in warre. It is true, that a yoke, how easie soeuer, scemes troublesome to the necke that hath bene accustomed to freedome. Therefore many people of *Italie* haue taken occasion of seuerall aduantages, to deliuer themselves from the *Roman* subiection. But still they haue bene reclaimed by warre; the Authors of rebellion haue sharply punished; and the people, by degrees, haue obtained such libertie, as made them esteeme none otherwise of *Rome*, than as the common cite of all *Italie*. Yea, in proceesse of time it was granted vnto many cities, and those farre off remooued, euen to *Tarusin* in *Cilicia*, where *Saint Paul* was borne. That all the Burgeses should bee free of *Rome* it false. This fauour was conferred absolūtly vpon some; vpon some, with restraint of giuing voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release vnto their new subjects halfe of their tribute which they had bene wont to pay vnto their former Lords, which was a readie way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present conditions; when the reuiue of harder times past, should rather teach them to feare a clasp, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking innouation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a speciall note of the *Romans* good government, That when some, for their well-deseruing, haue had the offer to be made citizens of *Rome*; they haue refused it, and held themselves better contented with their owne present estate. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that *Tetullian*, a cite of the *Britons* in *Italie*, chose rather to endure all extremitie of warre, than, vpon any condition, to forsake the *Romans*; euen when the *Romans* themselves had confessed, that they were vnable to helpe these their subjects, and therefore willed them to looke to their owne good, as hauing bene faithfull to the utmost. Such loue purchased these milde Gouvernours, without impairing their Maiestie thereby. The summe of all is: They had, of their owne, a strong Armie; they doubled it, by adioyning thereunto the *Latines*; and they further increased it, as neede required, with other helpe of their owne subjects; all or the most of their followers, accounting the proferitie of *Rome* to be the common good.

The moderate vse of soueraigne power being so effectually, in assuring the people vnto their Lords, and consequently, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion: it may seeme strange, that the practise of tyrannic, whole discards are contrarie, hath bene so common in all ages. The like, I knowe, may bee saide, of all Vice, and

and irregularitie whatsoeuer. For it is lesse difficult (whosoever thinke otherwise) and more saie, to keepe the way of Iustice and Honesty, than to turne aside from it; yet commonly our passions lead vs into by-patthes. But where Lust, Anger, Feare, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same vnrule appetite either bringeth with it an excuse, or at least wile taketh away all cause of wonder. In tyrannic it is not so: for as much as we can hardly deserie the passion, that is of force to insinuate it selfe into the whole tenour of a Government. It must be confessed, that lawlesse desires haue bred many Tyrants: yet so, that these desires haue seldome bene hereditarie, or long-lasting; but haue ended commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes before his death; by which meanes the Government hath bene reduced to a better forme. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* holds, *That Tyrannies are of short continuance*. But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exercise Tyrannic? why did the *Athenians*? why haue many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their generall good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safetie of the Weale publique? If they were led herunto by any affection; what was that affection, wherein so many thousand citizens, diuided and subdiuided within themselves by factions, did all concur, notwithstanding the much diuersitie of temper, and the vehemencie of private hatred among them? Doubtles, we must be saie to say, That Tyrannic is, by

it selfe, a Vice distinct from others. A Man, we knowe, is *Animal politicum*, apt, euen by Nature, to command, or to obey; eury one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankind, are common likewise vnto bruite beastes; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth vnto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are giuen by nature, not only to Man and Beast, but vnto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Lust, and other Affections are likewise naturall, in conuenient measure, both vnto mankind, and to all creatures that haue sense, for the shunning or repelling of harme, and seeking after that which is requisite: euen so is this desire of ruling or obeying, engrated by

Nature in the race of Man and in Man only as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a ciuile forme of iustice. All these in-bred qualities are good and vsfull. Neuertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttonie and Drunkenness, which, in reproach, are called beastlike, by an vnproper terme: since they grow from appetites, found in lesse worthe creatures than beastes, and are yet not common in beastes, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as descend no lower than vnto bruite beastes, are held lesse vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more grieuouly, by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse, than of that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice more hurtfull vnto Mankind, than that which issueth from the most noble roote, euen the depraued Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefs, of which hath bene an old question in dispute, whether bee the worse; That all thin; or That nothing, should be lawfull. Of these, a dull spirit, and ouer-laden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrarie distemper, whose vehemencie the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Vnder the extremitie of either, no countrie is able to subsist: yet the defectiue dulnesse that permitte anything will also permit the execution of Law, to which, meere necessity doth enforce the ordinarie Magistrate; whereas Tyrannic is more active, and pleaseth it selfe in the excess, with a false colour of iustice. Examples of this vicioussitie, and vnaptnes to rule, are not very frequent, though such natures are eury where found: for this quality troubles not it selfe in seeking Empire; or if by some error of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himselfe in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) some friend or else a wife, is it not wanting to supply the defect, which also cruelitie doth helpe

to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing vnknown, is without a name. Tyrannie is more bold, and feareth not to be knownen, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *propter & falsis scelus*, a fortunate mischance, as long as it can last. There is no reward or honour (saith PETER CHARRON) assigned to those, that knowe how to incase, or to preserve humane nature: all honours, greatnesse, riches, dignities, empires, triumphs, trophies, are appointed for those, that knowe how to afflict, trouble, or destroy it. CAESAR, and ALEXANDER, haue vn-mad and slaine, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behinde them. Such is the error of Mans iudgement, in valuing things according to common opinion. But the true name of Tyrannie, when it growes to ripenesse, is none other, than *Feritie*: the same that Aristotle saith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, issuing from the Passions incident both to Man, and Beast; no lesse than Perurie, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceede in villanie, the faults of Cluttonie and drunkennesse, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof Sciron, Procrustes, and Pitycampes, that vied their bodily force to the destruction of Mankind, are not better examples, than Phalaris, Lionsius and Agathodes, whose milcheious heades were afflicted by the hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of *Feritie*, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the vse of Rule, nor the difference between Freemen, and slaues.

The rule of the husband ouer the wife, and of parents ouer their children, is natural, and appointed by God himselfe; so that it is alwaies, and simple, allowable and good. The former of these, is, as the dominion of Reason ouer Appetite; the latter is the whole authoritie, which one free man can haue ouer another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father ouer his whole countrie: which hee that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to bee, knows to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Masterlie rule, which God gaue vnto Adam, when he said: *Haue dominion ouer the fish of the Sea, and ouer the fowle of the aire, and ouer euerie living thing that moueth vpon the earth*: which also he confirmed vnto Noah, and his children, laying, *The feare of you, and the dread of you, shal be vpon euerie beast of the earth, and vpon euerie fowle of the aire, vpon all that moueth vpon the earth, and vpon all the fishes of the Sea; into your hands are they deliuered*. Hee who gaue this dominion to Man, gaue also an aptitude to vse it. The execution of this power hath since extended it selfe, ouer a great part of Mankind. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disability to gouerne themselves, proueth them, according vnto Aristotles doctrine, to be naturall slaues.

Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppress men with bondage: vnlesse the lawfulness thereof be sufficientlie intimated, where it is said, That a man shall not be punished for the death of a seruunt, whom he hath slaine by correction, if the seruant liue a day or two, because *he is his monie*, or else by the captiuitie of a *Missionis* girtles, which were made bondslaues, and the Sanctuary had a part of them for the *Loretribute*. Doubtlesse the custome hath bene very ancient: for *Nabab* laid this curse vnto *Canaan*, that he should be a *seruant of seruants*; and *Abraham* had of *Pharoh*, among other gifts, *men-seruants, and maid-seruants*, which were none other: than slaues. Christian Religion is said to haue abrogated this olde kinde of seruilitie: but surleie, they are deceived, that thinke so. Saint Paul desired the libertie of *Onesimus*, whome he had wonne vnto Christ: yet wrote hee for this vnto *Philemon*, by way of request, craving it as a benefite, not vrging it as a due. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same Saint Paul giueth vnto seruants: *Let euery man shew in the same calling wherein hee was called: art thou called, being a seruant? care not for it, but if thou shalt be made free, use it rather*. It is true, that Christian Religion hath procured libertie vnto many; not onely in regard of pictie, but for that the Christian Masters stood in feare, of being discouered by their flanes, vnto the persecuters of religion. *Mahomet* likewise by giuing libertie to his followers, drew many

many vnto his impietie: but whether he forbad it, as vnlawfull, vnto his sectatours, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; saue that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moores*, it seemes he did not. In England we had many bond-seruants, vntill the times of our last ciuile warres: and I thinke that the Lawes concerning *Vilainage* are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaues were made free, which were of great vfe and seruice, there are growne vp a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurfes, and other the like Trades; slaues in Nature, though not in Lawe.

But whether this kind of dominion be lawfull, or not; Aristotle hath well proposed, that it is naturall. And certainly we finde not such a latitude of difference, in any creature, as in the nature of man: wherein (to omit the infinite distance in estate, of the clest & reprobate) the wisest excell the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpass the wisest of beasts. Therefore when Commiseration hath giuen way to Reason; we shall finde, that Nature is the ground euen of Masterly power, and of seruile obedience, which is thereto correspondent. But it may be truly said, that some countries haue sublied long, without the vse of any seruilitie: as also it is true, that some countries haue not the vse of any tame cattails. Indeede the affections which vphold ciuile rule, are (though more noble) not so simple needfull, vnto the sustentation either of our kinde, as are Lust, and the like; or of euerie one, as are hunger and thirst; which notwithstanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile, and seruile dispositions, haue libertie to shew themselves begging in the streets; there may wee more iustly wonder, how the dangerous toile of sea-faring men can finde enough to vndertake them, than how the swarme of idle vagabonds should increase, by accesse of those, that are wearie of their owne more painefull condition. This may suffice to proue, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted euen by Nature, a desire of absolute dominion: whereunto the generall custome of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatteries, that are the basest of slaues.

This being so, we finde no cause to meruaile, how Tyrannie hath bene so ripe in all ages, and practised, not onely in the single rule of some vicious Prince, but euery by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since, other vices haue likewise gotten head, and borne a generall sway; notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that haue vsed well the inferior Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not bee disordered? In the government of wife and children, some are vtterlie carelesse, and corrupt all by their dull commiencie: others, by masterlie rigour, hold their owne blood vnder condition of slauerie. To be a good Governour is a rare commendation; and to preferre the Weale publicke aboue all respects whatsoever, is the Vertue iustly termed *Herculeall*. Of this Vertue, many ages asford not many examples. *Victor* is named by Aristotle, as one of them; and desecruded, if this praise be due to extraordinarie height of fortitude, vfed in defence of a mans owne countrie. But if we consider, that a loue of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference vnto the *fountainne of all goodnesse*: wee shall finde, that no Morall vertue, how great soeuer, can, by it selfe, deserue the commendation of *more than Vertue*, as the *Herculeall* doth. Why therefore we must search the Scriptures, for patterns herof; such, as *Dauid*, *Iosaphat*, and *Iosias* were. Of Christian Kings if there were many such, the world would soone be happie. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due; or by preferring a lesse excellent. But he that can finde a King, religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement so either of aduersitie, or of some regard of state; a procurer of the generall peace and quiet; who not onely vseth his authoritie, but addes the traualle of his eloquence, in admonishing his Iudges to doe iustice; by the vigorous influence of whose Government, ciuilitie is infused, euen into those places, that had bene the dennes of sauge Robbers and Cutthrotes; one that hath quite abolished a slauish *Brethon* Law,

Law, by which an whole Nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue and wisdom doth make the prayle, not onely of Nobilitie and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the wifes, and the goods, of those that are vnder his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging vnto some good Princes, to appeare lesse regardable: he, I say, that can finde such a King, findeth an example, worthie to adde vnto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Vnder such a King, it is likeley by Gods blessing, that a land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in countries before vnknown; that Ciuitie and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen countries; and that the happinesse of his subjects, shall cause the Nations farre off remoued, to wilh him their Soueraigne. I neede not adde herunto, that all the actions of such a King, euen his bodilie exercises, doe partake of vertue: since all things tending to the preleruation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who, fixing his contemplation vpon God, seeketh how to imitate the vnspokeable goodnesse, rather than the inaccessible maiestie, with both of which himselfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which hee procureth. Least any man should thinke mee transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the Bonds of reason; I adde herunto, that such a King is neuertheless a man must die, and may erre: yet wisdom and fame shall fer him free, from *error*, and from *death*, both with and without the helpe of *time*. One thing I may not omit, as a singular benefite (though there be many other besides) redounding vnto this King, as the fruite of his goodnesse. The people that liue vnder a pleasant yoke, are not onely louing to their Soueraigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in mulier of men, than of stout fighters, if neede require: whereas on the contrarie, he that ruleth as ouer flauces, shall be attended, in time of necessitie, by flauish mindes, neither louing his person, nor regarding his or their owne honour. Cowards may be furious, and flauces outrageous, for a time: but among spirits that haue once yeelded vnto slauerie, vniuersallie it is found true, that *Homer* saith, *God bereaue a man of halfe his vertue, that day when hee doeth him into bondage*.

Homo. Odysse. l. 17.

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonable haue spoken, in the generall discourse of Government: but where so liuelie an example, of the calamitie following a tyrannical rule, and the vse of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it selfe, as is this present businesse of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectuall, than being barelie deliuered, as out of a common place.

## §. III.

*How the warre against the Mercenarie was diuersly managed by HANNO and AMILCAR, with variable successe. The bloodie counsailes of the Mercenaries; and their final destruction.*

**B**EING now to returne vnto those Mercenaries, from whence I haue thus farre digressed, I cannot readilie finde, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they seeke their wages alreadie due: so that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all become subjects vnto *Carthage*, then might they iustly haue become termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endeouored to subuert. Wherefore I will borrowe the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* also doth.

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These vpon the aduantage of their present strength, besieged \* *Phica*, and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being seated vpon the westerne Hauens of *Carthage*, where it is diuided by a necke of land; *Hippagreta* standing inwards vpon the great Lake \* *Phica* further out vpon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at *Tunes* abandoned, which lay flicly to hinder the *Carthaginians*, from passing vp into the countrie: for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men, to followe the warre in all parts at once.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this vnexpected perill, any man may conceiue. But the businesse it selfe awakes them halitic. They are hardly prest on all sides; and therefore trauailed their braines to the vttermost, how to shake off these furious dogges from their shoulders, who sometimes by night, sometimes by day, came vnto the very walles of their Citie. In this exigent *Hanno* was made their Generall: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatsoever was needefull, as well to reherce Towne besieged, as to batter and assaile any place defended against him. With these piousions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to *Phica*; so suddelic vnto a rising peece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of the bealts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to doe with *Numidians*, whose custome was, after any losse, to flie two or three whole daies iourne off: presently entred the Towne; to shew himselfe, after this his victory. But these good fellows, against whom he was to warre, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight againe, many times in one day, as neede required. Therefore as soone as they perceived, that he knewe not how to vse a victorie; they assailed their owne Campe, and with great slaughter, drave the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themselves with in *Phica*; and got possession of all the store, that *Hanno* had brought for the reliefe of the Towne. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with succable indifferencie: looting the benefite of many faire opportunities, and suffering the enemies to take possession, of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firme land.

The *Carthaginians*, perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their there anchor, sending to the field their great Captaine, *Amilcar*, whom they furnished with ten thousand foote of supply, and seuentie Elephants. *Amilcar* had worke enough to doe, before he should be able to meet with the enemy vpon equal ground. For besides other places of aduantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had sufered them to winne the onely Bridge, by which the *Riuer Macar*, or *Bagradas*, was passable vnto those, that were to trauaile into the Continent. This *Riuer* had not many foords, nor those easie for a single man to get ouer: but vpon them all was kept such guard, as gaue to *Amilcar* little hope of preuailing in seeking way by force. As for the Bridge it selfe, *Matho* & his followers were there lodged: and had there built a Towne, wherein to lie commodiously, intention onely to the custodie thereof. But *Amilcar* had obserued, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* vied to be sometimes cloyed with sand and grauell, that was driuen in by certaine customarie windes, and could not be driuen out againe, by force of that slow *Riuer*, till the wind falling, or changing, suilered the weight of the waters, to disburden their channell. Hereof he made vse; and taking his opportunitee, passed the *Riuer*; contrarie to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his owne Citizens.

There was no neede to bid *Spendius* looke about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come out *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the news; knowing that they were no longer to deale with the imprudent graunty of *Hanno*, but with an able spirit, euen with their owne Matter in the Art of Warre; whom they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was soone changed into presumption; when more than fiftene thousand of their owne societie, were come from *Phica*; and other ten thousand from the gard of the Bridge. Their

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Armie

Armie was farre greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were, in their owne judgement, the better men, vpon which confidence, they resolu'd to charge him on all sides, and beate him downe, in despite of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attend'd vpon him; watching for some aduantage; and still exhorting one another to play the men, and giue the onser. Especiallie they that followed him in the Rere, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptnesse was such, as tooke from them their former circumspection: *Amilcar* held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himselfe on plaine grounds, that were fitt for the seruice of his Elephants, which hee placed in front of his Armie. Neither made hee shewe of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashnesse of his enemies to increase, till it should breake into some disorder. At length perceiuing, that with more boldnesse than good heed, they followed him so neare, as would bee little for their good, if hee should turne vpon them, he hastened his march, euen to such a pace, as made a shewe little differing from plaine flight. The Mercinaries presently fell vpon his skirts; beleecuing, that for feare of them he was readie to runne away. But whilst they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victorie, were driuing at the heeles of those that had the Rere; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotely, but in very good order, so that amazed with the apprehension of unexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this ouerthrowe, there were six thousand of the Mercinaries slaine, and about two thousand taken; the rest fled some to the Campe at *Nica*; others to the Towne at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that he wanne the place easily: the enemies being thence also fled vnto *Tunes*, as not hauing recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victorie, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many Townes revolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to returne to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matbo* wanting to himselfe, in this dangerous time. He sent about *Numidia* and *Africk*, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or neuer to doe their best, for the recouerie of their freedom; hee perswaded *Spendius*, and *Autaritus* that was Captaine of the *Gaulles*, to wait vpon *Amilcar*, and alwaies to keepe the higher grounds, or at least the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the Elephants; and hee himselfe continued to presse the Towne of *Hippagreta* with an hard siege. It was necessarie for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place, as his businesse required, to take such waies as there were: for all the countrie lay not leuell. Therefore *Spendius*, who still coasted him, had once gotten a notable aduantage of ground: the *Carthaginians* lying in a Plaine, surrounded with hilles, that were occupied by the Mercinaries, with their *Numidian* and *African* succours. In this difficultie, the fame of *Amilcar* his personall worth did greatly benefit his countrie. For *Naransus*, a young gentleman commanding ouer the *Numidians*, was glad of this occasion seruing to get the acquaintance & loue of so braue a man, which he much desired: and therefore came vnto *Amilcar*, signifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all seruice. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend; promised vnto him his owne daughter in marriage; and so wanne from the enemies two thousand horse, that following *Naransus* turned vnto the *Carthaginians* side. With this helpe hee gaue battaile vnto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approue his owne valour, to his new friend. So the victorie was great: for there were slaine ten thousand of *Spendius* his fellows, and foure thousand taken prisoners, but *Spendius* himselfe, with *Autaritus* the *Gaulle*, escaped to doe more mischief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many, as were vnwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should neuer more beare armes against the *Carthaginians*; threatening to take sharpe reuenge vpon all, that should breake this Couenant.

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by *Matbo*, *Spendius*, and *Autaritus*, as

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tending to winne from them, the hearts of their souldiers. Wherefore they resolu'd to take such order, that not a man among them should dare, to trust in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safetie, whilst *Carthage* was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of aduertisement, wherein was contained, that some of their companie, respectiue onely of their priuate benefit, and careless of the generall good, had a purpose to betraie them all vnto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needfull, to looke well vnto *Geseo*, and his companions, whom these traitours had a purpose to enlarge. Vpon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the souldiours, exhorting them to fidelitie; and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanitie of *Amilcar*, toward iome, was none other then a baite, wherewith to entrap them all at once together; as also telling them, what a dangerous enemy *Geseo* would proue, if hee might escape their hands. While hee is yet in the midst of his tale; were letters come, to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Autaritus*, and speaks his minde plainly: saying, that it were the best, yea the onely way, for the common fafete, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if some were desiring to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with those, that had a care of the warre; that it were better to make an end of *Geseo* his life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custodie; that by such a course euerie one should be engaged in the present Action, as hauing none other hope left, than in victorie alone; finally, that such as would speake here against, were worthe to bee reputed Traitors. This *Autaritus* was in great credit with the souldiours, and could speake sundrie languages, in such sort that he was vnderstood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Geseo*, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Neuerthelesse there were some, that for loue of *Geseo*, sought to alter this intended crueltie; but they were forthwith sloned to death, as a Document vnto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they herewithall contented; but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* prisoners which they tooke, should be slued in like sort: and that the subjects or friends of *Carthage*, should loose their hands, and so be sent home: which rule they obserued euer afterwards.

Of this crueltie I need say no more, then that it was most execrable feticie. As for the counsaile of vsing it, it was like vnto the counsaile of *Acheliomel*; All *Israel* shall beare, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shalt the hands of all that are with thee, be strong. Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellowes, if they bee more innocent; and to auoid the punishment of lesse offences, committeeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the reuengefull spirits of those that haue bene wronged, are breeders of this desperation: to which may be added, some deficiency of Lawes, in distinguishing the punishments of malefactors, according to their decree of the feuerall crimes. A coward thinks all prouision too little, for his owne securitie. If *Phocas* as hee conu'd (saide the Emperour *Mavritius*) then is hee murderous. To be sedfast and sure, in taking reuenge; is thought a point of honour, and a defence against new iniuries. But wrongfully: for it is oposite to the rule of *Christianitie*; and such a qualitie discovered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwise would haue repented, and sought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it, which wrought so much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matbo*, and his *African*, to suspect euen their gentleness, as the introduction to extreme rigour. Like vnto the errors of Princes and Gouernours, are the errors of Lawes. Where one and the same punishment, is awarded vnto the lesse offence, and vnto the greater, he that hath aduentured to robbe a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his owne securitie.

Against these inconueniences, Mercie and Seueritie, vsed with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as these his owne souldiours were any way likely to bee reclaimed, by gentle courtes; his humanitie

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was

was ready to inuite them. But when they were transported with beaſtly outrage, beyond all regard of honeſtie and ſhame, he rewarded their villanie with anſwerable vengeance; caſting them vnto wilde beaſts, to be deuoured.

Vntill this time *Hanno*, with the Armie vnder his command, had kept himſelfe apart from *Amilcar*, and done little, as may ſeeme, for that nothing is remembered of him, ſince his late loſſes. Neither was *Amilcar* ſorie to want his helpe; as being able to doe better without him. But when the warre grew to ſuch extremitie, as threatened viter ruine to the one or the other ſide: then was *Hanno* ſent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom hee ioyned his forces. By this accell of ſtrength *Amilcar* was not enabled, to doe more than in former times: rather he could now performe nothing; ſuch was the hatred betwene him and his vnworthie Colleague. The Townes of *Vitea* and *Hippagreta*, that had ſtood alwaies firme on the Carthaginian partie, did now reuolt vnto the enemye, murdering all the ſouldiours that they had in Garrifon, and caſting their bodies forth, without ſuffering them to be buried. The prouiſions brought by ſea, for maintenance of the Armie, were loſt in foule weather: and *Carthage* it ſelfe ſtood in danger of being beſieged, about which *Matho* and *Spencius* conſulted, whiſt one of the Carthaginian Generals did (as it were) binde the others hands.

If hath in all Ages bene vſed, as the ſafeſt courſe, to ſend forth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practice of thoſe two mighty Cities, *Athens* and *Rome*; which other States and Princes haue often imitated; perſwading themſelves, that great Armies are not ſo well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will vſe the greater diligence. They haue alſo ioyned two chiefe Commanders in equall commiſſion, vpon this further conſideration; the better to reſtraine the ambition of any one, that ſhould be truſted with ſo great a ſtrength. For hereof all Common-weales haue bene iealous, hauing bene taught by their examples, that haue made themſelues Tyrants ouer thoſe Cities and States that haue employed them. In this point, the *Venetians* haue bene ſo circumspect, as they haue, for the moſt part, truſted ſtrangers, and not their owne, in all the warres which they haue made. It is true, that the equall authoritie of two commanding in chiefe, ſerueth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning vpon the Prince or State that hath giuen them truſt: but in manning the warre it ſelfe, it is commonly the cauſe of ill ſucceſſe. In warres made neare vnto *Rome* it ſelfe, when two good friends were Conſuls, or ſuch two at leaſt, as concurred in one deſire of *Triumph*; which honor (the greateſt of any that *Rome* could giue) was to be obtained by that one yeeres ſeruiſe; it is no meruaile, though each of the Conſuls did his beſt, and referred all his thoughts vnto none other end than victorie. Yet in all dangerous caſes, when the Conſuls proceeded otherwiſe than was deſired, one *Liſſitor* was appointed, whoſe power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeede the manner, to ſend forth both the Conſuls to one warre; but each went, whither his lot called him, to his owne Prouince; vntleſſe one buſineſſe ſeemed to require them both, and they alſo ſeemed fit to be ioyned in the adminiſtration. Now although it was ſo, that the *Romans* did many times peruaile with their ioyned Generals: yet was this neuer or ſeldome, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modeltie hath often bene ſuch, that the leſſe able Captaine, though of equall authoritie, hath willingly ſubmitted himſelfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they haue many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Armie, receiued great and moſt dangerous ouerthrowes; whereof in the ſecond Punick warre we ſhall finde examples. On the contrary ſide, in their warres moſt remote, that were alwayes managed by one, they ſeldome failed to winne exceeding honour, as hereafter ſhall appeare. Now of thoſe tenne Generals, which ſerued the *Athenians* at the Battaille of *Marathon*, it may truly be ſaid, that had not their temper bene better, than the iudgment

of the people that ſent them forth, and had not they ſubmitted themſelves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affaires had found the ſame ſucceſſe which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicily*: the one being ſo ouer-warie, and the other ſo haſtie, as all came to nought that they vnderooke; whereas *Cimon* alone, as alſo *Ariſtides*, and others, hauing ſole charge of it, did their Countrie and Common-weale moſt remarkable ſeruiſe. For it is hard to finde two great Captaines, of equall diſcretion and valour; but that the one hath more of turie than of iudgement, and ſo the contrarye, by which the beſt occasions are as often ouerſlipt, as at other times many actions are vnſeaſonably vnderaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Condy* was ſlaine after the Battaille of *Iarnus*, (which Prince, together with the Admirall *Chaffillon*, had the conduction of the Proteſtant Armie) the Proteſtants did greatly bewaile the loſſe of the ſaid Prince, in reſpect of his Religion, perſon, and birth; yet comforting themſelves, they thought it rather an aduancement, than an hinderance to their affaires. For ſo much did the valour of the one, outreach the aduſedneſſe of the other, as whatſoeuer the Admirall intended to winne by attending the aduantage, the Prince adu ventured to looſe, by being ouer-confident in his owne courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this preſent buſineſſe: who, though they were ſtill ſicke of their ill grounded loue to *Hanno*, and were willing to diſgrace him; yet ſeeing that all ranne towards ruine, through the diſcord of the Generals, committed the deciſion of their controuerſies, vnto the Armie that ſerued vnder them. The iudgement of the Armie was, that *Hanno* ſhould depart the Campe: which he did; and *Hannibal* was ſent in his ſtead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*; and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of *Carthage* began to proper ſomewhat better. *Matho* and *Spencius* had brought their Armie neare vnto the Citie; and lay before it, as in a ſiege. They might well be bold, to hope and adventure much, hauing in their Campe about ſittie thouſand, beſides thoſe that lay abroad in Garrifons. Neuertheleſſe, the Citie was too ſtrong for them to winne by aſſault: and the entrance of victualles they could not hinder, if any ſhould bee ſent in by friends from abroad.

*Hieron*, King of *Syracule*, though during the warres in *Sicily* he aſſiſted the *Romans*, and ſtill continued in their Alliance, yet now ſent ſuccours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and conſequently his owne; becauſe if no other State gaue the *Romans* ſomewhat to trouble their digeſtion, the Principalltie of *Syracule* would ſoone be deuoured by them. The *Roman* alſo gaue them ſome ſmaller aſſiſtance, and for the preſent reſuſed good offers made vnto them by the Mercenaries. This they did, to ſhew a kinde of noble diſpoſition; which was indeede but counterſeit, as the ſequels manifeſtly proued.

Whileſt *Matho* and his followers were buſily preſſing the Citie, *Amilcar* was as diligent, in waiting at their backes, and cutting off all that came to their ſupply: ſo that finding themſelves more ſtraightly beſieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purpoſed to deſiſt from their vaine attempt, and try ſome other courſe. Hereupon they iſſue into the field: where *Spencius*, and one *Zarcas* an *African* Captaine aſſiſting the rebellion, take vpon them to finde *Amilcar* worke; leauing *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the buſineſſe. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horſe of *Naransus*, made *Spencius* fearefull to deſcend into the Plaines. Wherefore hee betooke himſelfe to his former method of warre; keeping the mountaines, and rough grounds, or occupying the ſtraighteſt paſſages, wherein the deſperate courage of his men might ſhew it ſelfe, with little diſaduantage. But *Amilcar* had more ſkill in this Art, than could bee matched by the labour of *Spencius*. Hee drew the enemy to many ſkirmiſhes; in all which the ſucceſſe was ſuch, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the ſtrength and ſpirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, prouoking them night and day:

day : still intrapping some of them , and sometimes giuing them the overthrow in plaine battaile : vntill at length he got them into a straight, whence ere they should get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their iudgement was enough, to perceiue their owne disadvantage : and therefore they had the lesse stomach to fight; but awaited for helpe from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that necessitie might teach them to dare impossibilities, vsed the benefit of their present feare, and shut them close vp with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miserably for succour, that came not : and hauing spent all their victuales , were so pinched with hunger, that they fed vpon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffered patiently , as knowing that they had not deserved any fauour from *Carthage*; and hoping, that their friends at *Tunis* would not be vnmindfull of them. But when they were driuen to such extremitie, that they were faine to deuoure their owne companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obstinacie was broken; and they threatned their Captaines with what they had deserved, vnlesse they would goe forth to *Amilcar*, and seeke such peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zorax*, and *Antaricus*, fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved, to obey the multitude, and yeeld themselves, if it were so required, vnto the death, rather than to perish by the hands of their owne companions. Hereupon they send to craue parle, which is granted; and these three come forth to talke with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say vnto him, it is hard to coniecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it seems that they tooke the blame vpon themselves, and craued pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* should chooseth, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remaine at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coate. When the peace was thus concluded; *Amilcar* told these Ringleaders, that he chooseth them presently, as part of the ten, and so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest hee forthwith went to fetch, with his whole Armie in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded vpon so gentle articles, thought themselves betrayed: and therefore amazedly ranne to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them; and the same attonishment, that made them breake the Couenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gaue vnto *Amilcar* both colour of iustice, in accomplishing reuenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all slaine: being fortie thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof, exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africk*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Narusus* and *Hannibal*, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found all places ready to yeeld: *Frica*, and *Hippagreta*, onely standing out, vpon feare of deserved vengeance; and *Tunes*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Armie. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunes*, wherein lay the chief strength of the enemies. Coming before this Towne, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them vnder the walles; to terrifie those of his olde companions, that were still in armes. With this rigour the seige began; as if speedie victorie had beene assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunes* which lay towards *Carthage*; *Amilcar* on the opposite side: too farre asunder to helpe one another in sudden accidents; and therefore it behoued each, to be the more circumspect.

*Matho* from the walles beheld his owne destinie, in the miserie of his companions, and knew not how to auoide it otherwise, than by a cast at dice with fortune. So he brake out vpon that part of the *Carthaginian* Armie, that lay secure, as if all danger were past, vnder the command of *Hannibal*: and with so great and unexpected furie he filled, that after an exceeding slaughter, he tooke *Hannibal* prisoners; on whom, and thirte the most noble of the *Carthagian* prisoners, he presently reuenged the death of *Spendius* by the same torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing till

till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great losse, to continue the seige; but was faine to breake it vp, and remoue vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The terrour was no lesse within *Carthage*, vpon the fame of this losse; than had beene the ioy of the late great victorie. All that could beare armes, were sent into the field, vnder *Hanno*; whom, it seems, they thought the most able of their Captaines (suruiuing the late accidents of Warre). If there were any Law among them, forbidding the employment of one sole Generall, neare vnto their Citie (for they are knowne to haue trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this haste exigent, to deuiſe about repealing it. But thirte principall men are chosen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcar*'s campe, and by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the carelesnesse of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed vnto him, by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Neuertheless after many conferences the authoritie of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilst this warre lasted, *Hanno* tooke warning by *Hannibal*'s calamities, to followe good directions, though afterwards hee returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the meane season *Matho* was come abroad; as meaning to vse the reputation of this late successe, whilst it gaue some life vnto his businesse. He had reason to doe as he did: but he wanted skill to deale with *Amilcar*. The skirmishes, and light exercises of warre, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so farre abate the strength, and withall diminish the credit of *Matho*, that he refused to trie the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his desires should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no lesse prone, than *Matho*: as being wearie of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approued it selfe in many trials; and well assured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemy had not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making prouision: inuiting their friends to helpe; and drawing forth into the field, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this Battaille might haue beene foretold, without helpe of witchcraft. *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whercon to presume, save their daring spirits, which had beene well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to runne away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as hauing often beene victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the desire of libertie should worke so much, in men accustomed to seruitude, as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once ingaged in that aduenture. So the *Carthaginians* wanne a great victorie, wherein most of the *Africans* their enemies were slaine; the rest fled into a Towne, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yeilded; and *Matho* himselfe was taken alive. Immediately vpon this victorie, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old masters: *Frica* onely, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of fauour. But they were soone forced, to take what conditions best pleased the victours. *Matho* and his fellows were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be deuised, in recompence of the mischiefs which they had wrought in this warre. The warre had lasted three yeeres, and about foure months, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians* whose subjects did not loue them, should with lesse expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, haue preuented in the beginning.

## §. IIII.

*How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithlesse dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrarie to the peace.*

**W**Hilest *Matbo* and *Spendius* were making this terrible combustion in *Affric*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Boglar* the Gouvernour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their own vyle. Against these one *Hanno* was sent with a small Armie, (such as could be spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, leuied on the sudden. But these companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to ioyne themselves with those that were already reuolted, than to indanger themselves by battaile, for the good of that commonweale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practise with the *Sardinian* Rebels; offering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away all ialousie and distrust, they resolved to hang vp their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practise it hath beene in all Ages, with those that haue undertaken the quarrell of an vnjust warre, to enioyne the performance of some notorious and villanous act, to those that come into them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assit the impious purposes which they haue in hand. It is indeed the best pawning, that desperate men can deliuer to each other, to performe some such Actions, as are equally vnpardonable to all.

By such a kind of crueltie did the vngratefull *Mantineans* murder a Garrison of *Achaïans*, sent vnto them for their defence against the *Lacedæmonians*, by *Aratus*, who, when hee had formerly posselt himselfe of their Citie, by right of warre, did not onely spare the sacke and spoile thereof, but gaue them equall freedom with the rest of the Cities vntied. These *Reuolts* are also common in our Court-warres; where, in the conquests of newe fortunes, and making of newe parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of olde friends, we cannot be receiued and trusted by old enemies. *Ces sont les coups de double escrime. These*, (say the French) be the blowes of the old art of fencing.

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit lesse violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: onely they wanted a *Matbo* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Prouince. The Ilanders were no lesse glad, than the souldiours, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Countrey: but they could not agree about the profit of the victorie. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the souldiours for their paines taken. Contrariwise, the souldiours were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Ile, was deuolued vnto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) haue risen, betwene *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their *African* friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: vnlesse the riches of *Carthage* had serued to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuer but reward, than possession and rule of the Countrey, the matter was not easily taken vp. So they fell to blowes, which how they were dealt I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driuen out, and compelled to saue themselves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had inuited the *Romans* into it, with as good right, as the *Mantineans* had called them into *Sicily*. Yet this offer was refused, vpon reasons that follow.

Some Italian Merchants had relieued *Matbo* and *Spendius* with cornes; of whom

the *Carthaginians* tooke almost fise hundred, and held them in prison. Hercof was made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quickly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to come all prouisions to *Carthage*. And vpon the same reason, did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the Citie of *Viua*, offering it selfe vnto their subiection. This might haue serued, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all posteritie: had not the issue proved, that it was mere regard of greater profit, which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should haue done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended, at that time, vpon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who had bee once ouerthrown by *Spendius* or *Matbo*, in one maine battaile, that mightie Citie must either haue fallen into the barbarous hands of merciles villaines, or haue humbled her selfe vnder protection of the *Romans*, with whom shee had lately shinen for superiortie. That extreame necessitie, whereinto *Matbo* reduced the Citie, by the fortune of one sallie made out of *Tunis*, is enough to proue, that *Carthage* was not farre from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not wisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindnesse, and honorable dealing, as might inuite a rich, and sinking shippe, to runne her selfe aground vpon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Affric*; and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recouerie of *Sardinia*: then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feete againe; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*, and they denounced warre against this enfeebled and impoucrished Citie, vnder a shamelesse pretence, that the preparations made for *Sardinia*, were made indeed against Rome it selfe. The *Carthaginians* knew themselves vnable to resist; and therefore yielded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing vnto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would haue twelue hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I see not what reason they could alleage) of the great feare which they had endured, of an inuasion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plaine, that they impudently sought occasion of warre. But necessitie taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the monie was paid, how hardly I ouer it was raised. From this time forward, let not Rome complain of the *Punic* faith, in breach of Couenants: the her selfe hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* purposeth to make her dearly repent; but what *Amilcar* liues not to performe, shall bee accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned sonne.

## §. V.

*How the affaires of Carthage went betwene the African Rebellion, and the second Punicke Warre.*

**T**He iniurious dealing of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to picke a quarrell; serued to instruct the *Carthaginians* in a necessarie lesson. That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolute to be obedient vnto those that were more mightie. In a Citie long accustomed to rule, the brauer determination easilie tooke place: and the best meanes were thought vpon, for the increase of puissance and Empire. The strength, and the ialousie of the *Romans*, forbade all attempts vpon the Mediterranean seas; but the riches of *Spainne*, that lay vpon the Ocean, were vnknown to Rome: wherefore that Prouince might serue, both to exercise the *Carthaginians* in warre, and to repaire their decayed forces, with all needfull supplies. Of this *Spanish* Expedition, the charge and soueraigne trust was committed vnto *Amilcar*: vpon whom

whom his Countrie did wholly repose it selfe; in hope to recouer strength by his means, that had faued it from ruine.

*Hanno*, with some other enuious men, that were of his faction, tooke little pleasure in the generall loue and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to bee the most wortheie of command in all the Citie: onely they commended peace and quietnesse; aduising men to beware of prouoking the *Romans*, in whose amitie they said, that the felicitie of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the eares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Commonweale; they got none other reputation, than of singularitie: which the ignorant fort suspected to be wisdom.

But the glorie of *Amilcar* was continually vpheld and enlarged, by many notable seruices that he did, to the singular benefit of his Countrie. He passed the Streights of *Iherules*, (now called the Streights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the westerne coast of *Spaines*, in which Countrie, during nine yeares that he liued there, he subiected vnto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Prouinces. But finally, in a battaile that he fought with a Nation in *Portugale*, called the *Pettones*, (defending himselfe a long time with an admirable resolution) hee was inuironed and slaine: carrying with him to the graue the same great honour and fame, by which in many signall victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his sonne in law was made Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. This was a good man of warre; but farre better in practise and cunning, than in deedes of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding to many subiects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to growe jealous againe of this hastic increase. He built a goodly Citie, vpon a commodious Hauē, in the Kingdome of *Granado*, oppolite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gaue it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it nearly retaineth, being called now *Carthagena*. With this successe of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but begin to cause their owne negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much paines to beate them out of the Ile of *Sicill*, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbering themselves in a warre of farre lesse importance, (whereof I shall speake anon) giuen them leysure, without interruption, to recouer vpon their owne Continent, a Dominion by farre exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in reuenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected to be inuaded by the *Gauls*, their ancient enemies, and neare neighbours to the West. But hee needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himselfe to be feared: it is enough if hee request; since his request shall haue the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* utterly destitute of all good colours that might helpe them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then vnacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no *Memorieties*, nor other such Reminds, to call in Roman succours. But in the enterprise of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serue their turne in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spanish* affaires had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose, to extend his victories vnto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had bene suspected) they sent vnto him, requiring that hee should forbear to proceed any further, than to the Riuer of *Iherus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the Citie of *Carthage*; they seeme to haue hoped, that howsoever the generalitie of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter pilles, to auoide all occasion of warre with *Rome*: yet the brauerie of one man might proue more fastidious, and, refusing the iniurie, returne such answer, as would intangle his whole Countrie in the quarrell,

\*The Spaniards haue since built a Citie of the same name in the West Indies which being peopled by them in the yeare 1492, was called by the English in the yeare 1585

quarrell, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leasure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would haue this insolent covenant inserted into the articles of peace; he tooke vpon him to doe it, of his owne power, with such appearance of conformance to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and fought no further.

If it had bene so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto pressed by the *Romans*, forsake of present warre, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*; yet should it not haue stood bound in honour, to obserue the same carefully, vntill 10 an oath had also bene extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, vnder the bare authoritie of *Asdrubal*; this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accused more iustly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of periuire, (as they after day) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treatie with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* wanne some reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the Citie which would needs be mistress ouer them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiving blowes from a flouter Dame; there were soone found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-servants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South side of *Iherus*, entred into confederacie with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither subiect, nor open enemy in warre to the *Carthaginians*) into their societie: and vnlawfull it was vnto the *Carthaginians*, to vse violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Nevertheless, if wee consider the late agreement made with *Asdrubal*; wee shall finde that the *Romans* could haue none other honest colour of requiring it, than an implicit covenant of making the Riuer *Iherus* a bound, ouer which they themselves would not passe, in any Discouerie or Conquest by them intended to be made vpon *Spain*: in which regard, they might haue some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foote, on the one side of *Iherus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that Riuer, held almost all the Countrie. Howsoever it were; this indignitie was not so easily digested, as former iniuries had bene. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, vpon confidence of helpe from a more mightie Citie. Wherefore either in this respect; or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest iniuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to doe themselves right: warre against *Saguntum* was generally thought vpon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such 40 termes were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after hee had commanded in *Spain* eight yeeres: (being slaine by a slau, whose master hee had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, sonne of the Great *Amilcar*, was chosen Generall in his stead.

## p. VI.

The estate of Greece from the death of PYRRHVS, to the raigne of  
PHILIP the sonne of DEMETRIVS  
in Macedon.

**I**N the long terme of the first *Punic* warre, and the vacation following, betweene it and the second; the estate of Greece, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was growne somewhat like vnto that, wherein *Philip of Macedon* had found it; though farre weaker, as in an after-spring. The whole cōtrie had recouered, by degrees, a forme of libertie: the pettie tyrannies (bred of those inferior Captaines, which in the times of generall combustion, had seized each vpon such Townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatnesse, as not onely secured to defend themselves, but to giue protection to others. This conuersion to the better, proceeded from the like dissensions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had beene in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to inroch vpon it. For after many quarrels and great warres, about the Kingdome of *Macedon*, betweene *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gauls*: *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning fixe and thirtie yoerres; yet so, that hee was diuers times thence expelled, not onely by the *Gauls*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath bene already shewed, but by *Alexander* the sonne of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whose father he had hardly wonne it. This happened vnto him by the reuolt of his fouldiours, euen at such time, as hauing ouerthrowne with great slaughter an Armie of the *Gauls*, hee was conuerting his forces against the *Athenians*, whom hee compelled to receiue his Garrisons. But his young sonne *Demetrius* raised an Armie, wherewith he chased *Alexander*, not onely out of *Macedon*, but out of his owne *Epirus*, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the helpe of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kinde) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadell of *Corinth*; which was iustly termed the fetter of *Greece*. This Citadell called *Acracorinthus*, stood vpon a steep rockie hill on the North side of the towne; and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the towne, which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running betweene the *Aegean* and *Ionique* Seas, ioyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Maîne of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle, was able to cut off all passage by land, from one halfe of *Greece* vnto the other; besides the commoditie of the two Seas, vpon both of which, this rich and goodly Citie had commodious hauens. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Polyperchon*; and after his death, *Cratesipolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Prouinces and Townes, that was made betweene *Alexander* Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, vntill it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*, of whom I finde nothing else, than that he was thought to bee poisoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his wife *Nicea* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The device was this. *Antigonus* sent his young *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicea*, and seeke her marriage. The foolish olde widdowe perceiued not how vnfit a match she was for the young Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage; whereto the old King was euen as readie to consent, as was his sonne to desire it, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all sorts of games: in the midst of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poore Ladie, whose iacobin had bene exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not containe himselfe within the grauitie bebecoming his old age. But as hee had stolen it, so was it againe stolen from him: neither liued he to recuenge the losse of it, being already spent with age.

*Demetrius,*

*Demetrius*, the sonne of this *Antigonus*, succeeding vnto his father, reigned ten yeeres. He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Atolians*, and *Acheans*, held him continually busied in warre; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Grecians* to cast off their yoke.

*Philip*, the onely sonne of *Demetrius*, was a young child when his father died; and therefore *Antigonus*, his vnckle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minority of the Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though he respected *Philip* as his owne sonne, to whom he left the Crowne at his death. This *Antigonus* was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his Protectorship; and was also called *Doson*, that is as much as *Will-giue*, because he was slow in his liberaltie. He respected the *Dardanians*, and *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdome, in the beginning of his raigne. Vpon confidence of this good seruice, hee tooke state vpon him, as one that rather were King in his owne right, than onely a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutinie; but were soone appeased by faire words, and a seeming vnwillingnesse of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Achaïans* tooke from him the Citie of *Athens*, soone after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to haue wrought him out of all or most that hee held in *Greece*, if their owne estate had not bene endangered by a nearer enemy. But ciuile dissention, which had ouerthrowne the power of *Greece*, when it flourished most, ouerthrew it eailly now againe, when it had scarcely recovered ierlength after a long sickness; and gaue to this *Antigonus* no lesse authoritie therein, than *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*, got by the like aduantage.

These *Achaïans*, from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: so that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the *Grecques*. By the equalitie of their Lawes, and by their clemencie (notwithstanding that they were a long time held vnder by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not onely draw all others by their loue and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to bee gouerned by one Lawe, and to vse one and the same sort of waights, measure, and monie.

*Aratus*, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that vnited them againe; and gaue them courage, after that they had bene by the *Macedonian* Captaines diuided into many Principalities. In elder times they were gouerned by Kings, as most of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kind of rule they first subiected themselves, after the descent of the *Heraclidae*, when *Tisamenus* the sonne of *Orestes* possesst the Territorie of *Achaia*. In this estate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whome, when his sonnes sought to change the Legall gouernment of their Predecessors into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as seeming most equall. This forme of Commonweale had continuance, with some small changes according to the diuersitie of times, till the reigne of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*: who tempest-like ouerturned all things in that part of the world. For those twelue Cities, called the Cities of alliance, wherof *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten vp a little before the Battaille of *Leuctres*, were; by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, diuided from each other, and trained into a warre, no lesse foolish than cruell, among themselves. But in the one hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or neare it, *Polonius* the sonne of *Lagus*; *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Plolomies Ceraunus*, left the world; two of the ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenses* and the *Dinai*, vnited themselves, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-vnion, which after followed. For hauing bene, some of them Partisans with sundrie *Macedonian* Captaines, and others hauing bene gouerned by pettie Kings; they began to fasten themselves in a strong league of amitie, partly, in the *Olympiad* before spoken of, and partly, at such time as *Pyrrhus* made his first voyage into *Italie*. Now after the vnting of the *Patrenses* and *Dinai*, to whom also the Cities of *Tritaea*, and *Phara*, ioyned themselves,

LIII 2

*Actia*

*Agira* chased out her Garrisons: and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Cerconians* into the same Confederacie. These Cities, for twentie and five yeares, vied the same forme of Governement with the *Achaïans*; who by a Senatorie and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Commonweale; and some after, by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Cerynenis* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who liuing at *Argos* in exile, whilest his Countrey was oppressed by Tyrants, found meanes, through the helpe of other banished men, to enter their owne Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chased the Tyrant, and restored the people to libertie. This was in the time of *Antigonus* *Gonatas* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more buile in watching what to get among the *Greekes*, than wise in looking to his owne. For feare of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* entred into the *Achaian* league: which though at that time it receiued more increase, by their accession, than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction serued well enough against *Antigonus*, whose subletie was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industrie and counsaile of *Aratus* deliuered his Countrey from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league: so further, by his great liberalitie, with rise exceeding great cooll of one hundred and fiftie talents, he pacified the inexplicable controuersies, betweene the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, and the other Citizens: that had possession of the same Lands; as also with the same money he drew many others to assit him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaia*. The monie he obtained of *Ptolemie* *Euergetes* King of *Egypt*; who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure friendship in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the conuersation of *Aratus* himselfe, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workemen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the surprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadell of *Corinth*; which he wan by night, being thereinto guided by some theues that he had hired for the purpose, who liuing in the place, had practised to rob *Antigonus* his treasure, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was he faine to fight for it, ere hee could get it: though indeede *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather ouer-come by their owne feare, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting lest the *Achaïans* were more in number, than in truth they were, and hauing lost the aduantages of the place already, vpon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In these kind of night-seruices, ambushments, surprisies, and practises, *Aratus* was very cunning, aduenturous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, hee was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approued) might looke pale and tremble, when he beganne battaile; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diuersified, by the sundrie natures of men, and in a manner confined, vnto severall sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said; that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a naturall inclination standeth in neede of little practise; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, vnto good successe, and other helpe, yet hardly shall grow absolute in generall. Such was *Aratus* in matter of Warre. In sincere affection to his Countrey he was vnreproueable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will testifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and ioyned vnto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted soone after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the same Corporation. So did the *Træzenians*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew so powerful, that it aduentured to take *Atheni*, from the *Macedonians*; and *Argos*, and *Megalopolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The enterprise vpon *Atheni* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Ile of *Salamis*, to shew his strength,

and sent home the *Athenian* prisoners, without ranfome, to allure the Citie by shew of loue; yet the *Athenians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now growne honest slaves to the *Macedonians*. Vpon *Argos* the aduenture was carried more strongly. The *Achaïans* came sometimes to the gates of the Citie, but the people stirred not: once they entred it, and might haue wonne it, if the Citizens would haue lent any helpe to the recouerie of their owne freedome; sundrie times, and with diuerse euent, they fought with the Tyrants (who rose vpon one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and slue one of them in battaile; but all sufficed not: vntill at length *Aristomachus* the Tyrant was so terrified, perfwaded, and hired, by *Aratus*, that he consented to religne his estate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermonie*, and *Cleonymus* that had oppressed the *Phliasians*. Whilest this businesse with the *Argiues* was on foot, *Lysias* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis* was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, he gaue libertie to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of *Achaia*: whereby he got such credit, that hee was chosen General of their forces (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two yeares together by one man) euery second yeare, for a certaine while. Hee and *Aratus* succeeding one another by turnes. But these late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lysias* and *Aristomachus*, were carried with private passion, from care of the generall good; in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as shall appeare in due time.

The *Achaïans* hauing obtayned so much puissance and reputation, that *Ptolemie* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) General of their forces by Sea and Land; made open Warre vpon *Demetrius* the Sonne of *Antigonus* *Gonatas*, for the libertie of *Atheni*. It is strange and worthe of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrell had lost a battaile, the *Athenians* were Garlands, in signe of ioy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had wonne the victorie. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, *Aut humiliter scriuit, aut superbe dominatur. It is either base in seruice, or insolent in command.* Neuerthelesse when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by monie which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captaine of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased libertie to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Achaïans*, louing them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could doe: but into their Corporation they entred not, scorning it belike, in regard of their owne out-worne glorie.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by iustice and honestie; so did the *Ætolians*, in the vnter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* it selfe, waxe very powerful, by sturdinesse of bodie, and rude courage in fight, without helpe of any other vertue. They had stoutly defended themselves against *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to doe and suffer much; partly by the naturall strength and fastnesse of their Countrey; but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous Captaines to other businesse, as hath bene related. They had molested *Cassander*, in fauour of *Antigonus*; and were themselves as much plagued by him, and by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but stout Nation, that took his part. Afterwards they had to doe with *Demetrius*, the sonne of the first *Antigonus*, and more or lesse, with all the Kings of *Macedon* succeeding him. They likewise held often Warre with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epiriots*, and many Cities in *Peloponnesus*: so that they were hardened with perpetuall traualle, seldom putting off their Armour. But their hardnesse ill deserued the name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honestie or friendship; measuring all things by their owne insolent will, and thinking al people base minded, that were not as fierce and outrageous as themselves.

These *Ætolians* had lately made great spoiles in *Peloponnesus*, and occupied a good part of the countrey. They had invaded the friends of the *Achaïans*; taken and sacked

*Palene*; where although they were foundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gaine made them greedie of a new voiage thither, as to a Countrey wherein some what was to be gotten. But they were forced to looke another way, by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus Gomatas*: who pressed them so hardly, that they were driuen to seeke helpe of the *Acheans*; which they obtained. The warre which the *Acheans* made vpon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly vnto the *Ætoli-ans*, at whose instance it was set on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diuerted from them. Neither was this good turne vnacknowledged; though very basely the *Ætoli-ans*, giuing thanks in wordes, deuised how to requite the benefit 10 with some great mischief. They saw that the *Acheans* were desirous, to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedæmoni-ans* were very ielous. Wherefore these *Ætoli-ans* laboured earnestly, to set the *Lacedæmoni-ans* and *Acheans* together by the eares: hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselves should be called into helpe (it skilled not on what side) and to get not small share, both in bootie and Territorie. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their deuce vnto *Antigonus*, offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that his Kingdom had sustained by the *Acheans*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore deter- 20 mined to suffer many indignities, rather than to giue the *Lacedæmoni-ans* cause to take armes. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late: and not altogether in his owne power to hold. He had bene meddling with the *Aræadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedæmon*: and thereby had provoked the *Lacedæmoni-ans* to looke about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Aræadians* their friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achean*.

The Citie of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times; and subiect to the injuries of any stronger Neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakened it; The *Ætoli-ans* entring *Laconia* with an Armie, had carried away fiftie thousand slaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxurie reigned among them, the poore was oppressed by the rich, and the generositie of spirit, that had sometime 30 beene their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than seuen hundred naturall Citizens; of whom not about one hundred had lands: all the rest were needie people, and desirous of innouation. Hercupon followed intestine sedition, which endangered the Citie most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict obseruation of *Lycurgus* his lawes. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equall diuision of lands. All the younger, and the poorer sort were glad of this: but the rich men op- 40 posed it. These had recourse vnto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings), who tooke their part: being himselfe a dissolute man, as one trained vp in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the Citie, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends and Counsaillors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their owne priuate commoditie. They were halfe to take away all debts, and cancell bonds, for they them- selves were deeply indebted: but the diuision of lands they afterwards hindered, be- cause their owne possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, which these men increased, by their foule oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine *Leo- nidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdome, and the two aduerser Kings driuen to take Sanctuaries: out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was dis- 50 missed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawne into prison, and there by his enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand- mother. The like to this was neuer knowne in *Sparta*: and (which is the more o- dious) this crueltie proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should haue giuen Patronage to the lawes, vising their power, and more power than to them belonged,

against

against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the Citie, as the lawes required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and serued to esta- blish the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope, to adioyne *Lacedæmon* to the *Achean* Common-wealth: though it were great iniustice to take such aduantages, and attempt by force, that which would haue redounded to the generall good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it selfe, if it could haue bene wrought by perswasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and reuenged the death 10 of *Agis*, did also requite the iniust attempts of the *Acheans*, euen in their owne kinde; obtruding vpon them by force, an vnion of all *Peloponnesus*; though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmoni-ans* and their King, should haue bene the prin- cipall; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* hauing thus caused *Agis* to be slaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gaue her in marriage (perforce) to his owne sonne *Cleomenes*. This yong Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and sought to winne her affection, as well as he had her person. He discouered much with her about the purpose of her former husband *Agis*, and by pitying his mis- fortune, began to entertaine a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So comming himselfe to be King, whilst he was very yong, hee gladly embraced all 20 occasions of warre: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an estate of the Citie, had attempted to his owne ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gaue him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megopolitans* pre- tended title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprize *Tæga* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedæ- moni-ans*: wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the labour of a painefull nights tra- uail, and discouered his enmitie to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing forric. By these degrees the warre began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had discouered 30 the *Ætoli-ans* practise, and therefore would haue staied the quarrell from proceeding too farre. But *Lyfias* and *Aristomachus* would needs fight, and he could doe none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so vrgent. *Aristoma- chus* was at that time General of the *Acheans*, (He & *Lyfias* being of great account, since they had abandoned their tyrannic) who sent vnto *Aratus*, lying then in *A- thenæ*, and required his assistance in a iourne to be made into *Laconia*. No dissuasions of *Aratus* would serue: therefore he came in person, and tooke part of a businesse, lit- tle pleasing him in the present, and lesse in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight; but opposed himselfe against *Aristomachus*, who desired to giue 40 battaile. Yet had the *Acheans* twentie thousand foot, and one thousand horse, in their Armie: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than fise thousand in all. This gaue repu- tation to the *Lacedæmonian*, and raised an ill report vpon *Aratus*; which *Lyfias* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Neuertheless the *Acheans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their Generall the year fol- lowing, against *Lyfias* his accuser that sued for the place. Being Generall himselfe, it behoued him to confute, with deedes, the slanderous wordes of *Lyfias*. There- fore he purposed to set vpon the *Eleans*: but was met withall on the way, neare vnto the Mount *Lycau*, by *Cleomenes*; who vanquished him in a great battaile, and draue him to hide himselfe all night for feare, so that he was thought to haue bene slaine. This misadventure *Aratus* recompensed by a trick of his owne more naturall occu- 50 pation: performing with his broken Armie, that whilst there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could vndertake, he secretly wrought with some of the *Mantineans*, who did let him into their Citie. The *Mantineans* had once before ioyined themselves with the *Acheans*; but shortly vpon feare, or some other passion, they gaue themselves to



Countrie from all further trouble; and withall should have restored vnto the vniuersall state of *Greece*, that honorable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had benefited it. But it is commonly found (which is great pittie) that Vertue hauing risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it selfe, (as it were) in the seat of Principallitie, by length of time, and successe of many actions; can ill endure the hastic growth of any others reputation, wherewith it fees it selfe likely to bee ouer-topped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedemonians* there was none; than that they lately had been in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himselfe more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was iustly plagued, when he law his owne honors reuerbered by the insolent *Macedonians*; and in stead of liuing as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was descended of a long race of Kings, the posteritie of *Hercules*, was faine to doe sacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, as vnto a God, and was finally poisoned by *Philip*, whose Nobilitie was but of fiew descents, and whom perhaps he might haue seene his fellows, if he had not made them his Lords. By this incitation to the *Macedonians*, the loue of *Ptolemie* was lost: who forthwith tooke part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not supply him with such liberalitie, as hee had vied to the *Achaens*; being warned, as may seeme, by their example, to be more warie both in trusting and disbursing. *Cleomenes* himselfe, whilst this businesse with *Antigonus* was a foot, passed through *Aradia* with an Armie, and laboured by all meanes to draw the *Achaens* to battaile. At the Citie of *Dyme* in *Achaia* were assembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their estate, without seeking helpe of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where hee had so great a victorie, that the enemye was no longer able to keepe the open field. The calamitie was such, that *Aratus* himselfe durst not take vpon him to be their General, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achaens* were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted vpon this calic condition: That they should not arrogate vnto them selues the command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedemonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in Warre. Hereunto if they would condescend, he promised vnto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his prisoners ransom-free: also that they should enioy their owne Lawes and Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Achaens*: who desired him to come vnto the Citie of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the Warre.

Now seemed the affaires of *Greece* likely to bee settled in better order, than they had euer bene since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warres, yea or since the *Persian* Inuasion: when God, who had other wise disposed of these matters, hindered all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* dranke in a great heat, and thereupon fell extreme sick, and so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Neuertheless he sent home the chiefe of his prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the *Achaens* in their desire of his friendship: who assembled againe at *Argos*, there to establish the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent against it; and fought by great wordes, and terrible threats, to make his Countymen afraid of resolving. When all would not serue turne, he betooke himselfe to his cunning; and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that hee should doe well to leaue his Armie behinde him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiuing Hostages for safetie of his person. *Cleomenes* was already farr on his way, when he met with this aduertisement: and tooke it in ill part, that hee should be thus deluded. For it had bene an easie matter, to haue told him so much at the first, and not haue made him come so farr with an Armie, which afterwards he must dismiss. Yet that which chiefly seemes to haue troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who fought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deale only with them selues and their Messengers; or if he would ad-

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venture himselfe into the Citie, then to deprime him of all Royall shew, that might breed respect of him in the Multitude. This was that indeede which *Aratus* feared, and for which he fought to hinder his coming thither in person: lest the people, hearing the promises of *Cleomenes* ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be wonne with his gentle wordes, and finall the bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote vnto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these iugling tricks: and *Aratus* was not farr behinde with him, in as bitter an Oration. So betwene feare of the one, and reuerence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceede, but abruptly brake vp, leauing all as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* tooke his aduantage of their present weaknesse, and renewed the Warre. Many Cities yielded vnto him willingly; many hee forced; and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wanne *Argos*, which neuer King of *Sparta* before him could doe. In this case *Aratus* sent his owne sonne to *Antigonus*, entreating him to deferre no time, but come presently to relieue the distressed *Achaens*. *Antigonus* gaue as good words as could be wished: saying that he vtterly refused to doe any thing, vnlesse he might first haue *Acrocorinthus* put into his hand. This demand was somewhat like vnto that of the Hunter, who promised to helpe the Horle against his enemye the Stagge: but with condition, that the Horle should suffer himselfe to be fadled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contented, but wanted all honest colour to doe it: seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deferred, so be thus giuen away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So hee withdrew himselfe out of their Citie, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that the Cause should bee readie to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ranne to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he fought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to saue it from *Antigonus*, by surrouding it with Trenches, that none might suffice nor enter without his leaue. Whilst this was in doing, he tooke speciall order, that *Aratus* his house and goods, within the Towne, should be safely kept for the Owner; to whom hee sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Ilyrians*, to *Peloponnesus*: promising that if he would hearken to these perswasions, then would hee giue him double the same pension, which hee had bene wont to receiue of King *Ptolemie*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured soueraigntie of the Countrey; he desired that it might not be committed vnto his owne disposition, but be ioyntly kept by the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaens*. All this entreatie serued to no purpose. For *Aratus*, relieving vtterly the motion, sent his owne sonne as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achaens*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* vnderstood, he seized vpon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Countrey of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Aduersarie was natue.

*Antigonus* in the meane time drew neare to the *Isthmus*, hauing passed with his Armie through *Euboea*, because the *Aetolians* held the streights of *Thermopylae* against him. This they did, either in fauour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatnesse, wherunto the *Macedonians* might attaine by the good successe of this iourne. At his coming thither he found the *Lacedemonians* readie to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazard battaile, but rather to wearie him thence with hunger, against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able so to doe: hee secretly got into the *Corinthian* Hauens; but was violently driuen out againe, with great losse of men; finally hee resolved to turne aside, and seek a passage ouer the gulfes of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexitie newes from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*.

gonus, and no lesse troubled his Enemies. The *Achaens* were gotten into that Citie, and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driuen out of the Citadell, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in neede of present helpe. *Argos* had alwaies bene enemie to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbore to chafe out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreatie of friends; and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperitie. They were glad indeede of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditours, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places, where it would haue bene tyrannically, he did it not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their vniust hopes, beganne to turne good Common-wealths-men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because hee would not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time; inuited the *Achaens*; assailed his Garrison; cut in peeces the Rescue that he sent; and compelled him at length, to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and looke vnto the enemies that were behinde his back. For whom he vnderstood, by continuall messages, that his men which held the Citadell at *Argos*, were almost loit; hee beganne to feare, left his labour in guarding the entrie should grow fruitlesse; the *Achaens* in the meane while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore hee forooke his custodie of the *isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if hee could saue, he meant to trust fortune with the reill. And so farre he prevailed at his comming to *Argos*; that both *Argives* and *Achaens* were glad to haue them selfe leaving him Maister of the streets: when the horie-men of *Antigonus* were discovered a-farre off, halting to relieue the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himselfe (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as is foone as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the bodie of his Armie. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to doe, than to make a safe retreat. This he did; and got him home into *Laconia*: loosing in short space all, or mozt, of that which he had bene long in getting.

*Antigonus* hauing shewed himselfe at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Acadiaz*, where he wanne such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he tooke his way to *Aegium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achaens*: to whom he declared the cause of his comming, and spake braue wordes, that filled them with hope. The *Achaens* were not behinde with him; but made him Captaine Generall ouer them and their Confederates; and further entred into couenant with him; That they should not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Steyon*, his owne Towne (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done vnto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Steyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very vile bargain, if in stead of *Cleomenes* that would haue bene a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore; and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen vpon the *Achaens*. This was hardly taken: yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himselfe ouer-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had throwne downe in *Argos*, were againe erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues, which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all throwne downe by the same King, and one only left vnto himselfe at his earnest entreatie. It might therefore appeare, that this God was also spightfull. Neuerthelesse in taking reuenge vpon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfie his owne passion by the aide of these *Macedonians*. For with extreme torments he did put *Aristomachus* to death, who had bene once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards Generall of the *Achaens*; and from them reuolting vnto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort

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handed hee (though not as yet) the *Mantineans*, for their ingratitude and crueltie shewed to the *Achaens*. For hee slue all the principall Citizens, and sold the reit, men, women, and children, all for bond-slaves: diuiding the spoile; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achaens*. The Towne it selfe was giuen by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*: who peopled it with a Colonie of their owne; and *Aratus* hauing charge of this businesse, caused it to be new-named *Antigonion*. Surely of this crueltie there can bee no better excuse; than euen the flatterie, which *Aratus* was driuen to vse to *Antigonus*: forasmuch as it was a token of fruitlesse, wherein they had vrged and brought him; whom he, as in reuenge thereof, did thus requite. But leauing to speake of this change, which the comming in of the *Macedonian* wrought, in the Ciuill state of the *Achaens*; Let vs returne vnto his warre against the *Lacedemonian*.

The next Sommer *Antigonus* wanne *Tegea*, *Mantineia*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Telphusa*. *Antigonus* hee dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Achaens*: with whom he wintred at *Aegium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this yeare; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where hee lay ready to defend his owne Territorie. The reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantineia*, and to those other Townes that hee wanne, was this: Hee had few Souldiers, and not monie enough to wage more. *Ptolemie* the *Egyptian* promised much, but would performe nothing, vntill he might haue *Cleomenes* his owne Mother, and his children in pledge. These were sent into *Egypt*; yet the aide came not. For *Ptolemie* was slow; as dealing in the businesse of Greece, rather for his mindes sake, than vpon any apprehension of necessitie. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himselfe, as well as his owne abilitie would ferue. He manumitted all the *Heilotes*, which were the *Lacedemonian* slaves: taking monie for their libertie, and arming two thousand of them, after the *Macedonian* fashion. Hauing thus increased his forces, hee came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*; that lay secure, as hauing defended it selfe in more dangerous times, and hauing now *Antigonus* neare at hand in *Aegium*. The Towne he wanne: but after he was entred, all that were fit to beare armes, rose hastily against him; and though they could not driue him out, yet saued the multitude, to whom they gaue a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Towne and goods to them againe, if they would bee of his partie. But they brauely refused his offer: wherfore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great bootie that he found therein. These newes astonished the *Achaens* at *Aegium*: who thereupon brake vp their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering places: but they were lo long in comming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himselfe to *Argos*, there to passe the rest of this vnluckie winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Achaens*. When hee had laine awhile at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates; with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their Countrie would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the field; were very earnest with him to goe forth and fight. But he was wiser, than to be moued with their clamours; and suffered them to see their villages burnt; to bid him resigne his Office of Protector, vnto some that were more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with foolish wordes; rather than hee would be ouer-come in fight, and thereby loose more honour than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakning the reputation of his enemies: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other strength, vnto

Lacedemon.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for warre, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troupes; meaning to requite these braudo's of his enemies, with the conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* on the other side, laboured to keepe the warre from his owne gates; and therefore entred vpon the Countrie of *Argos*, where he made

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such hauock, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended inuasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was faine to endure, in coaling the *Spartan* King; that ranging ouer the Countrey of the *Argines*, *Philiassians*, and *Orehoemenians*, draue a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtus*, and did sacrifice, as it were before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Iuno*, that was shut vp; sending vnto him in scorn, to borrow the keyes. These were light things; yet serued to dishearten the *Achaean* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard, of things abroad, and to put all to hazard; by setting vp his rest, without more delay, vpon *Sparta* it selfe. He had in his Armie eight and twentie thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, collected out of sundrie Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Ilyrians*, *Gauls*, *Epirots*, *Boetians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achaens*, and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts, twentie thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seeke entrance. *Antigonus* coming to *Selasia*, found his enemy so strongly incamped, vpon and between the hills of *Eua* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could aduancany one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, which hee greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Armie, in assailing their well-defenced Campe. But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their hopes and feares) both Kings being resolu'd to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with his *Ilyrians*, to force that part which lay on the Hill *Eua*: but his *Ilyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achaean* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, & light-armed foot, incamped in the freight vallie between those hills, issuing forth, fell vpon their skirts; and not only disordered them, but were like to haue endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himselfe had stood in that part of the battaile, he would haue made great vse of such a faire beginning. But *Eulides*, his brother, a more valiant than skilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this aduantage, nor tooke such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopamen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proued a famous Captaine, serued then on horse, as a private yong man, among the *Achaens*. Hee seeing that all was like to goe to rout, if their *Ilyrians* were driuen to fall back vpon the Armie following them; perswaded the Captaines of the *Achaean* horse, to breake vpon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth, and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had giuen order, that they should keepe their places, vntill they receiued a signe from him, which was not as yet. *Philopamen* perceiving them to be more orderly, than well aduised; entreated some of his owne Countreymen to follow him; gaue a charge vpon the *Spartans*; and forced them not only to leaue the *Ilyrians*, but seeke how to saue themselves. Being so farre aduanced, he found the place which the *Ilyrians* had attempted, like enough to bee wonne, through the vnskillfulness of him that held it. Wherefore hee alighted, and perswaded the men at armes his Companions to doe the like: the folly of *Eulides* being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight vpon euen termes. So he recovered the Hill top; where though he was fore hurt, yet hee made good the place that he had gotten, vntill the whole Armie came vp to him; by which the *Lacedaemonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This ouerthrow, and death of *Eulides*, made *Cleomenes* loose the day: who fighting brauely on the other side, vpon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himselfe; was like to haue beene surrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawne himselfe with an extraordinary speed. In this battaile, ended the glorie of *Lacedaemon*; which, as a light readie to goe out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

*Cleomenes*

*Cleomenes* fled vnto *Sparta*: where hee had no desire to stay, finding only two hundred left, of sixe thousand *Spartans* that hee had led vnto this battaile, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yeld themselves vnto *Antigonus*; and promising to doe all that should at any time in his owne power, for their good, he halted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before prouided, against all that might happen) and imbarqued himselfe for *Aegypt*. He was louingly entreated by *Ptoleme Euergetes*; who vnderooke to restore him to his Kingdomes; and (perhaps) meant no lesse, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour and qualities. In the meane season hee had a pension allowed him, of foure and twentie talents, yearly. But this *Ptoleme* died; and his sonne *Ptoleme Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious yong Prince, wholly gouerned by lewd Women, and base Men, vnmindefull of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to returne into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponnesus* did seeme to inuite him; *Ptoleme*, and his Minions, would neither giue him aide; nor yet dared to dismisle him (as he desired) to trie his owne friends in *Greece*, because hee was too well acquainted with the weaknesse of *Aegypt*: nor well knew how to detain him against his will. At length they deuised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him was; that with thirtie of his Countreymen, hee vnderooke a desperate enterprize: breaking out of the prison, and prouoking the *Alexandrians* to rebell, and seeke their libertie. In which attempt hee slue some enemies of his that he met; and hauing walked vp and downe the streets, without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalfe) He, and his Companions, agreed together to bee Ministers of their owne death. Vpon his dead bodie *Ptoleme* was bold to shew his indignation: and slue his Mother and Children, that had bene sent thither as Hostages, together with the wiues of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending vpon the old Queene. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*; a generous Prince, but Sonne of *Lamides*, who had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to such a bloudie end, as now befall his owne Wife, Sonne, and Grand-children.

After the Victorie at *Selasia*, *Antigonus* without resistance entred *Sparta*: wherinto neuer the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. Hee kindly treated the Citizens, and left them to their owne Lawes and Gouernement: tarrying there no longer, than two or three dayes; after which he hastened out of *Peloponnesus*, and neuer returned. The cause of his speedie departure was, an aduertisement that hee receiued out of *Macedon*; how the *Ilyrians* ouer-ran, and destroyed the Countrey. Had these newes come a little sooner; or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few dayes longer, or at least-wit tarried, a few dayes after the fight, in *Sparta*: the Kingdom of *Lacedaemon* would haue stood, and perhaps haue extended it selfe ouer all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

*Antigonus* fought a great battaile with the *Ilyrians*, and ouer-came them. Yet therein hee caught his bane: not by any wound, but by ouer-brayning his voice; wherewith hee brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, who was troubled before with a consumption of the lungs. His Kingdom descended vnto *Philip*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, surnamed (I know not why) the Great; and *Ptoleme Philopater*, beganne to raigne in *Asia*, and *Aegypt*; Boies all. Of these, *Ptoleme*, though old enough to loue Harlots, when hee first was King, yet continued a Boy, all the seuentene yeares of his raigne. The vnrpe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred such intestine inconuenience to their Kingdomes, as is vsuall in the minority of Princes: but their elder yeares brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; vpon

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which

which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speake of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

## p. VII.

*How the Illyrians infested the coast of Greece; and how they were subdued by the Romans.*

**W**Hilest things thus passed in Greece; and whilest the Carthaginians were busie in their conquest of Spaine: the Romans had found themselves worke among the Sardinians and Corsicans, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished againe, when they rebelled. They made also warre with the Illyrians, wherein they got much honour with little paine. With the Gauls they had much ado, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Lucie* saith, a tumult than a warre. So that by all these light exercises, their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Ilands in the *Mediterranean Sea*; it hath bene the web before: of their dealings with the Illyrians and Gauls, it is not meet to be verily silent.

The Illyrians inhabited the Countrey, now called *Slauonia*: a troublefome Nation, impatient of rest, and continually making warre for gaine, without other regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius* King of *Macedon*, to helpe the *Mydonians*, his friends, that were besieged by the *Ætolians*, for that they refused to be of their societie. Before the Illyrian succours came, the *Mydonians* were so farre spent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the bootie: the old Prætor, or chiefe Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, claying to haue the honor of the victorie, and the diuision of the spoile to be referred vnto him; for that he had in a manner brought the siege to an end, and wonne the Towne: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a prettie strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in later ages, who thought vpon diuiding the prey, before they had wonne the victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and at *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, and the new Prætor, should be ioyntly intitled in the victorie, and haue equall authoritie, in distribution of the gettings. But the Illyrians finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arriued, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell vpon the *Ætolians*, and though good resistance was made, yet got the victorie, partly by force of their owne multitude, partly by helpe of the *Mydonians*, that were no idle in their owne businesse, but stoutly sallied out of the Towne. Many of the *Ætolians* were slaine, more were taken, their Campe and all their baggage was lost: the Illyrians tooke the spoile, and went their way; the *Mydonians* erected a Trophie, inscribing the names, both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The successe of this voyage, highly pleased *Agron* King of the Illyrians: not only in regard of the monie, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; or of the bootie that was gotten; but for that hauing vanquished the stoutest of the *Greekes*, hee found it not vnease, to enrich himselfe by setting vpon the lesse warlike. For joy of this, he feasted, and dranke so immoderately, that he fell into a *pleurisie*, which in few daies ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he left vnto *Tenta*, his wife.

*Tenta* gaue her people free libertie, to robbe all Nations at Sea, making no difference betweene friend and foe; as if there had bene sole Mistresse of the salt Waters. Shee armed a fleet, and sent it into Greece: willing her Captaines, to make warre

warre where they found aduantage, without any further respect. These fell with the western coast of *Peloponnesus*; where they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Messenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and slaid at the Citie of *Phenice*, to take in victualles and other necessaries. There lay in *Phenice* eight hundred Gauls; that hauing bene Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Agriuentum*, then *Erys*, to the Romans; but failing to doe either, they neuertheless reuolued, and were for their misdeedes disarmed, and sent to Sea by the Romans, yet entertained by these *Epirots*, and trusted to lie in Garrison within their Towne. The Gauls were soone growne acquainted with the Illyrians, to whom they betrayed *Phenice*, which deserued none other, in trusting them. All *Epirus* was presently in armes, and hastned to driue out these vnwelcome guests. But whilest the *Epirots* lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another Illyrian Armie, that was marching thitherward by Land, vnder one *Sceurdilus*; whom *Queene Teuta* had sent to helpe his fellowes. Vpon this aduertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonis*, to make good that Towne, and the freights adioyning, by which these new commers must enter into their Countrey; another part of them remains at *Phenice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one, nor the other, sped well in their businesse. For *Sceurdilus* found meanes to ioyne with his fellowes; and they that were besieged within *Phenice*, sallied out of the towne, and gaue such an ouerthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them despaire of sauing their Countrey, without great and speedie helpe from abroad. Wherefore Embassadors were sent to the *Achaens* and *Ætolians*: crauing their helpe, with very pitifull termes of entreatie. They obtained their suit; neither was it long, before an Armie, sent by these two Nations, was readie in *Epirus*, to present battaile vnto *Sceurdilus*. But *Sceurdilus* was called home, by letters from *Teuta* the Queene, that signified a rebellion of some Illyrians against her: so that he had no minde to put his forces to hazzard, but offered composition; which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ransom their Towne, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the Illyrians should quietly depart, with all their bootie and slaues. Hauing made this profitable and honourable bargain; the Illyrians returned into their owne Countrey by Land, finding their bootie away by Sea.

At their comming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For in fulfilling the commandment of their Queene, they had taken many *Italian* Marchants, whilest they lay at *Phenice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made vnto the Roman Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadors were sent to require of *Teuta*, that shee should abstaine from doing such injuries. These Embassadors found her very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in, and for that shee had, in short space, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order, saue only the towne of *Issa*, which her forces held straightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperitie, shee could hardly afford a good looke to the vnmanly Romans; that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, *Pyrate*, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, shee vouchsafed to tell them, That iniurie in publike shee would doe them none: as for priuate matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings, to forbid their Subjects to get commoditie, how they best could, by Sea. But (saide the younger of the two Embassadors) we Romans haue a manner, and a very laudable one, to take reuenge in publike, of those priuate wrongs, that are borne out by publike authoritie: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reforme your Kingly manners, and learne better of vs. These words the Queene tooke so impatiently, that no reuenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, shee caused him to be slaine: as if that had bene the way, to set her heart at rest; which was indeede the meane, to disquiet and afflict it euer after.

The Romans, prouoked by this outrage, prepared two great Armies; the one by

Sea, confiting of two hundred saile, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *M. Posthumus*. They trouble not themselves any more, with requiring satisfaction: for this injurie is of such nature, as must be requited with mortall warre. It is indeede contrarie to all humane Law, to vse violence towards Embassadors; the reason and ground whereof, seemes to bee this; that since without mediation, there would neuer be an end of warre and deltruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a lesse taught by Nature, that Embassadors should passe freely, and in factie, betweene enemies. Neuertheless, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King, or State, lay hold vpon Embassadors sent by their enemies, not vnto themselves, but vnto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrell; then is it as lawfull, to vse violence to those Embassadors (thus imploied, to make the warre more terrible) as it is to kill the men of warre, and subjects, of an enemy. And so might the *Athenians* haue answered it, when they slue the *Lacedemonian* Embassadors, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a warre vpon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadors, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any Law whatsoever. For whereas the true Office of an Embassador residing, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince, to practise against the life of another, much lesse may an Embassador doe it, without incurring justly the same danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place giues him no priuiledge at all. But we will leaue this dispute to the *Civilians*; and goe on with the reuenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their Embassadors *Cornelians*.

The *Illyrian* Queene was secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stirre against her. Shee was indeede in an error; that hath vndone many of all sorts, greater and lesse than shee, both before and since: *Having more regard vnto fame, than vnto the substance of things*. The *Greekes* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Aetolians* and *Epirats* had the name of the most warlike people in *Greece*; these had shee easily vanquished; and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* shee should be litle troubled. Had shee considered, that her whole Armie, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater, than of ten thousand men; and that neuertheless, it prevailed as much, by oddes of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; shee would haue continued to vse her aduantage, against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that shee should not haue needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her selfe. But shee was a woman, and did what shee listeth. Shee sent forth a greater fleet than before, vnder *Demetrius* of *Pharus*; with the like ample commission, to take all that could be gotten. This fleet diuided it selfe; and one part of it fell with *Dyrachium*; the other, with *Coryra*. *Dyrachium* was almost surprized by the *Illyrians*; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In *Coryra* the *Illyrians* landed; they walled the Ile; and besieged the Towne. Hereupon the *Aetolians* and *Achaeanes* were called in to helpe: who came, and were beaten in a fight at *Scas*; loosing, besides others of lesse note, *Marcus Caryneis*, the first Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The Towne of *Coryra*, dismayed with this ouerthrow, opened the gates vnto *Demetrius* *Pharius*; who tooke possession of it, with an *Illyrian* Garrison: sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrachium*. In the meane season, *Tenta* was angry with her Captaine *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so, as hee resolved to trie any other course, rather than to trust her.

The *Romans* were euen readie to put to Sea, though vncertaine which way to take, when aduertisement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Confull, of *Demetrius* his feare, and discontent. Likely it was, that such an occasion might greatly helpe to aduance the businesse in hand. Wherefore the Confull sailed thither; where hee found the Towne of *Coryra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only receiued him willingly, but deliuered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it selfe vnto the *Roman* protection.

After

After this good beginning, the Confull sailed alongst the coast, to *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom hee vied thenceforth as his counsailler and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Posthumus*, the other Confull, with the Land-Armie, numbered at twentie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hasten towards *Dyrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but vpon newes of the *Roman* Armie, they disperse themselves. From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by Sea, take twentie of their ships; and enforce the Queene *Tenta* to forsake the coast, and to couer her selfe in *Ezion*, farre within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* halte them homeward, and leaue the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; an other part staies behinde, and prosecutes the warre, in such sort, that *Tenta* was forced to begge peace: which shee obtained vpon miserable conditions; to wit, That shee should quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth, neuer send any of her ships of warre, towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Land of *Lissa*: except it were some one or two vessels, vnarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* warre, the *Romans* sent Embassadors into diuers parts of *Greece*, signifying their loue to the Countrey, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made warre with good successe vpon *Tenta*, and her people. They hoped belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their owne games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadors were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Illyrian* pastimes. This was an idle courtserie, but well meant by the vaine *Greekes*, and therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* Expedition got nothing in *Greece*, save a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

## §. VIII.

Of the warre betweene the *Romans* and *Gauls*, somewhat before the coming of *HANNIBAL* into *Italy*.



He *Gauls* that dwelt in *Lumbardie*, were the next, against whom the *Romans* tooke Armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes with their owne forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good; when they tooke *Rome*, and burnt it: though the issue of that warre proud not answerable to the beginning, if we may giue credit vnto *Roman* Historians. In following times, their successe was variable, and commonly bad. Many ouerthrowes they receiued; and if they got any victorie, it yielded them no profit, but was soone extorted out of their hands. They were indeede more fierce, than well aduised; lightly stirred vp to warre, and lightly giuing out. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, lesse than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience; and knew how to handle them: yet gaue alwaies carefull heede to their approach, were it only bruted. For the danger of them was sudden, and vncertaine; by reason of their neighbourhood, and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts vpon *Rome*, were called warres, but tumults of *Gallies*; tumults of the *Gauls*; and rightly. For they gaue many alarms to *Italy*, and vied to rise with great Armes; but after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion serued to disperse them. Having receiued an ouerthrow; they would rest ten, or twelue yeares, sometimes twentie or thirtie; till they were stirred vp againe, by younger heads, vnacquainted with the danger. Whilest they rested, the state of *Rome*, that against these made only defensive warre, had leisure to grow, by setting vpon

*Dyrachium*, sometime called *Epidamnus*, and now *Durazzo*, seated vpon the *Adriaticke* Sea, betwene the Ilands of *Dubara* and *Coryra*, b. *Coryra*, an Iland of the *Adriaticke* Sea, not farre from *Durazzo*; called now *Ceph*, and in the possession of the *Venetians*.

*Apollonia*, a Citie neare *Dyrachium*, or *Durazzo*, vpon the Sea-coast. *Vicinus* calls it *Skipolis*.

upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchie, which he intended to raise: that the *Gauls* neuer fell vpon *Italie*, with a mightie power, in the time of any other great and dangerous warre. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilst *Pyrrius* was traualling in the same enterprize; or in either of the two former *Punick* warres: it may be doubted what would haue become of this imperious Citie. But it seemes that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affaires of *Italie*, than strangers had in *Gaul*. At least, they knew not how to vse their times: and were therefore like to smart, whensoever the enemies, whom they had much prouoked, and little hurt, should finde leisure to visit them at their owne home: which was now after the first *Punick* Warre. Once before this, the *Romans* had beene bold, to set vpon the *Gauls* in their owne Countrey: and that was three yeares before the coming of *Pyrrius* into *Italie*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gauls*, invading *Hetruria*, and besieging *Arretium*, had wonne a great battaile, and slaine *L. Caelius* with the most of his Armie. *Manius Curius* the new Consul, sent Embassadors to them, to treat about ranfome of prisoners. But these Embassadors they slue. Thereupon when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it so well, that they expelled these *Senones* out of their Countrey, and sent a Colonie of their owne to inhabit it. This caused the *Boj*, another people of *Gaul*, to feare the like measure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their side. But the *Romans* ouerthrew them in two great battailes; and thereby made them sue for peace, so which lallt vntill this end of the *Illyrian* warre.

e There were diuers nations of the *Boj*: as in *Pannonia*, *Illyria*, *Germanie*, in *Boulogne* in *France*, and in *Aquitaine*; but this *Boj* were of the French race, & dwelt at this time about the mouth of the Riuier of *Po*.

It vexed the *Gauls*, to see a *Roman* Colonie planted in their Countrey; who had beene accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their Neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpines* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to vs they are nearer; like as they called *Cisalpines*, or *by-bithers the Alpes*, those who dwelt betwene them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their partie: reasonably presuming, that as their diiunction had caused their losse, so their union might recompence it, with large amends. But the businesse was so foolishly carried, that the *Cisalpines* and *Transalpines*, fell together by the eares: putting the *Romans* only to a tumult, without further trouble of warre. Soone after, they were vrged by a greater indignitie, to goe more substantially to worke. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, propoed a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colonie already planted in the territorie of the *Senones*, as many more should be caried thither, as would serue to people the whole Countrey betwene *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating vnto the *Gauls*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Gutiana* it selfe, would not ouer-joy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* tooke this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger joynd with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had euer after their good will.

This dreadfull President extremely displeased the *Boj*: who being Neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like displantation. And because all the rest of the *Gauls* had reason to resolue, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Insubrians*, which inhabited the Duchie of *Milan*, joynd with the *Boj*, and vpon a common purfe entertained the *Gessates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Gessates*, hauing receiued a great Imprest come to the field vnder the conduct of their Kings, *Concolitanus* and *Atreclus*: who with the *Boj* and *Insubrians*, compound an Armie of fiftie thousand foot, and twentie thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that euer invaded the *Roman* Territorie; to whom, the *Senogalli*, that had beene beaten out of their possessions, gaue a great increase of strength. On the contrarie side, the *Venetians*, and the *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better beleeuing in their prosperitie and rising fortune. For feare of whole incurfions therefore, the *Gauls* were forced to leaue a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of *Milan*: With the rest of their forces they entred into *Tuscane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger,

f *Cenomanni*, are the people about *Exgona*, on the North-side of the Riuier *Po* in *Italie*. There were also of these *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countie of *Main*.

sent *Emilius* to *Rimini*, to stop their passage; and in the place of *C. Attius* their other Consul, who then was in *Sardinia*, they employ one of their Pretors, for the defence of *Tuscane*.

Being at this time greatly troubled, with the consideration of this powerfull Armie, which the *Gauls* had assembled, they caused a view to be taken, as well of all their owne forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no lesse willing than themselves, to oppose the incurfions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their owne destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserue to be recorded: because they set out the power of the *Romans* in those daies. With the Consuls they sent forth to the warre foure Legions of their owne: euery Legion consisting of fise thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. There were also appointed for Supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the *Salurnes* and *Hetrurians* fiftie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse; which Armie was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Vmbri* and *Sarlinates*, which inhabited the *Apennines*, there were twentie thousand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomanni*, other twentie thousand: which latter Armies were directed, to invade the *Boj*, that forcing them to defend their owne Territories, the generall Armie of the *Gauls* should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these, to bee readie against all vncertaine chances of warre, thirtie thousand foot, and fiftie hundred horse, garriisoned in *Rome*: it selfe, of their owne people; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse.ouer and about these great troupes; in the Roll of the *Laines*, that was sent vnto the Senate, there were numbered foure score thousand foot, and fise thousand horse; in that of the *Samnites*, seuentie thousand foot, and of horse foure thousand; in that of the *Sapreges*, and *Messapges*, fiftie thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse; the *Lucans* sent a list of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Marsi*, *Marrucini*, *Ferentans*, and the *Pessini*, of twentie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse. The *Romans* had also two Legions in *Stail*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thousand foure hundred foot, and foure hundred horse. So as of the *Romans* and *Campans* jointly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were registred two hundred and fiftie thousand foot; and of horse, three and twentie thousand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fiftie thousand foot, and about fixe thousand horse. Calling vp the whole forces of all the Provinces in *Italie*, both of the *Romans* and their Conederates, it amounted to seuen hundred thousand foot, and seuentie thousand horse. But the number is somewhat misse-calt by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to enrich himselfe by the dead prices: for where he reckons nine hundred horse too many, he falls short nine thousand two hundred of the foot.

g *Imperand* *Messapges* seeme to be one Nation who are also called *Salernites*, *Pouccidri*, *Apulians*, and *Calabrians*. The Countie is now *Apulia*, containing the Northernmost part of the land of *Calabria*. h A people of the Kingdome of *Sapota*. i *Ptolomee* calls them a people of *Italie*. k A people of *Commania*, called to this day *Ferentians*, and *Leander*.

How great fouer this Muster was, it seemes to haue beene like vnto that, which *Ladonick Sforza* made when *Lewes* the twelfth invaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himselfe, and his subjects, he tooke a Roll of all persons able to beare armes, within the Duchie, though indeed he were neuer able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battailes of *Trebit*, *Trafymene*, and *Canna*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* faine to arme their slaues, euen for want of other Souldiers, after their ouerthrow at *Canna*. Wherefore the maraile is not great, that the *Cartheginians* and others were little terrified, with report of such a multitude. For all heads are not fit for helmets: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in generall, so good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the *Gauls* keepe on their way: and entring into *Tuscane*, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to finde the *Romans*, rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the

Roman

Roman Armie, sent into *Tuscane*, hauing taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had misfed of them, came againe fall after them, to arreft them in their iourne. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: and in the fame cuning discovered the *Roman Armie*, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparant necessitie, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratageme: that shewed no great finesse or wit, but such, as well befecmed those that had none other occupation than warre: and flood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the night, they caule their foot to march away, but not farre: leauing their horse in guard; to whom they giue order, to come off at the first light of day, with such a speede, as might rather argue a running away, than a retreat, as if they had not dared to abide battle. The *Romans*, interpreting this their hallic departure, as the *Gauls* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gauls* returne; charge them; and kill fixe thousand vpon the place; the rest take a peece of ground of aduantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Emilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their succour. Vpon the comming of the Consull, the *Gauls* consult, whether they should giue the *Romans* battaile, or forbear. In which dispute, *Anerceslus*, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to returne into their owne Countreies; where after they had disposed of the great spoiles and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the warre, being without carrieage, pester, or other impediment. This aduice they all embrace; for seeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoiles of their enemies; they thought it wisdome, to hazzard neither it, nor themselves, any further.

This indeede had beene a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had beene in fight. But as well in the warres of these latter ages, as in former times, it hath euer beene found extreme dangerous, to make a retreat in the Head of an enemies Armie. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in alwaies going on from the pursuing enemy, they finde within a few miles, cuber freight, hedge, ditch, or place of disaduantage, which they are enforced to passe in disorder. In such cases the Souldier knowes it, as well as the Captaine, that he which forsakes the field, perceiues, and feares, some aduantage of the Enemies. Feare, which is the betrayer of those succours that Reason offreth, when it hath once possit the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and vnderstanding. They that make the retreat, are alwaies in feare to be abandoned; they that leade the way, feare to be ingirded: and fo the hindmost treads on his heeles that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, runne, and perish, if those that fauour the retreat, be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable overthrow, that the *French* receiued in *2. April*, in the yeare 1503. vpon a retreat made by the *Marques of Sal*, doth testifie no lesse. For although a great troupe of *French* horse, slayn the pursuing enemy a long time, and gaue the foot leisure to not away; yet being retarded by oftentimes, the *Spanish* foot ouer-tooke, and delated them vicerly. During the warres betwene the *Imperials*, and the *French*, *Boiss* and *Mont* were lost at *Brignoles*, who in a brauerie would needes fee the enemy, before they left the field. So was *Stras* overthrowne, by the *Marques of Marignan*, because he could not be perswaded, to dislodge the night before the *Marques* his arriuall. Therefore did the *French* King *Francis* the first, wisely: when without respect of point of honour, he dislodge from before *Landersey*, by night; as many other, the most aduised Captaines, (not finding themselves in ease to giue battaile) haue done. *Je ne trouue point* (saith the Marshall *MONLVC*) *au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retreat; i fin, enooling in the arte of warre so difficult, as to make a safe retreat.* A fure rule it is, that there is lesse dishonour to dislodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And hercof *M. de la Noue* giues this iudgement, of a diues retreat, made in *France*, presently before the battaile of *Moncointour*. For (saith he) staying vpon our reputation, in shew not to dislodge by night; we lost our reputation indeede, by dislodging by day: whereby

whereby we were forced to fight vpon our disaduantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthie Gentleman, *Count Lodowick of Nassau*, brother to the late famous Prince of *Orange*, make the retreat at *Moncointour* with so great resolution, as hee faced the one halfe of the *Protestant Armie*, then broken and disbanded, of which my selfe was an eye-witnesse; and was one of them that had caule to thanke him for it.

Now the *Gauls*, embracing the safe aduice (as they take it) of one of their Kings; turne their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Emilius* follows them, as neare as he can, without ingaging himselfe, attending his aduantage. In the meane while, *C. Atilius* the other Consull, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Pisfz*, so as the *Gauls*, inclosed betwene two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Reare, and Front. To sustaine *Emilius*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Alanois*; in the Front, they range the *Piemontois*, and the rest of the *Gauls* inhabiting vpon the River of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* describeth at large; which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gauls* fell; and so did *Atilius* the Consull: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gauls*, *Concolitanus* and *Anerceslus*, with fortie thousand of their Vallais.

After this fatal overthrow, the *Gauls* lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italie*. For they were invaded the yeare following this overthrow, by the new Consulls, *Eulais*, and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to vse their victorie: they gaue not ten, twentie, or thirtie yeares time, to the *Gauls*, to repaire their forces, as the *Gauls* had done to them. These new Consulls beat the *Bois*; but by reason of the great raines that fell, and the great pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second yeare, *Furius*, and *Flaminius*, invade the *Milanois*; and preuaile very farre, being strongly assisted by the *Cenomanians* and the *Venetians*. Neuerthelesse these Consulls were reuoked out of their Prouince, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to resigne their Office: because the *Augures*, or *Soothsayers*, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sortes of their diuination, the *Romans* were extremely superstitious) had not only foretold little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiuing letters of this reuocation, from the Senate, and being otherwise aduertised of the contents, was not hastic to open them: but first gaue battaile vnto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Countreie; then perused the letters; and returning home obtayned a triumph, fore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that hee sided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobilitie.

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for diuiding the Countreie of the *Senones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, that vnderstanding the Majestie of *Rome* to be in danger, not only in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by way of Delegation, or grand Commission; did not stand highly vpon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and vse their power, ouer himselfe, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surer side: and found Imitators, that rose by the same arte; which in proceesse of time, grew the only or chiefe way to preferment.

*Flaminius* and his Colleague, being deposed; *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consulls, for the rest of that yeare. The *Gauls* about this time desired peace, and were like to haue obtayned it: though the new Consulls were against it, as fearing to want worke. But when thirtie thousand of the *Gessates*, following their King *Britomarus*, were come ouer the *Alpes*, and joyned with the *Insubrians*: all other discoure, than of present warre, was at an end. So the Consulls hastied into their Prouince, where they besieged *Acerca*, a towne not farre from *Novaro* (so farre had the *Romans* pierced already) in the Duchie of *Milan*. To diuert them

them from this siege, *Britomarus* late downe before *Clastidium*, a Towne in the same Traſt, with great part of his forces: leauing the rest, with the *Insabrians*, to attend vpon the Conſulls at *Acerre*, and to looke to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the *Romans* breake vp their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and six hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deale well enough with those at *Clastidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Conſulls coming; and met him vpon the way: so suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leisure to rest themselves after their iourne, but were compelled instantly to fight. Herein *Britomarus* had done well; if he had not forthwith, in a rash brauerie, lost his game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but hee thought so well of his owne personall valour, that he rode out single before his Armie, prouoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no lesse daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slue and disarmed *Britomarus*, in presence of both Armies: whereby his owne men tooke such courage, and his enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight, the *Romans* obtained a great victorie.

This was the third and last time, that euer any *Roman* Generall slue the Generall of the enemies, with his owne hand. To this kind of victorie, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Cassius*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipios*, and diuers other *Roman* Captaines, especially *Caesar*, would be better men of warre than any of these three; though they neuer offered vp to *Iulius*, *Optima spolia*; The Armour of a Generall slaine by themselves, when they were Generalls, nor perhaps affected so to doe.

After this victorie, *Acerre* was yielded to the *Romans*; and *Milan* soone after: with all that belonged to the *Cisalpinos*, or *Gauls*, that dwelt in *Lumbarde*. Thus was that valiant and mightie Nation, that had for so many yeares vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the Citie it selfe, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territories possit by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italie*, so many as would not subject their necks to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountaines, like Out-lawes and Thieues. And thus did the *Romans* spend the three and twentie yeares, following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed vp the Temple of *Ianus*: which they neuer did before, (it standing alwaies open, when they had any warre) saue once, in the raigne of *Numa*; nor in long time after, vntill the raigne of *Augustus*. But this their present happinesse was not to last long:

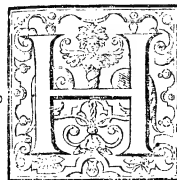
a dangerous warre, and perhaps the greatest that had euer beene,  
was to come vnto their gates; which being well ended,  
they might boldly vndertake, to extend their  
Monaarchie as farre, as their ambition  
could reach.

## CHAP. III.

## Of the second Punick Warre.

## §. I.

10 The warres of HANNIBAL in Spaine. Quarrels betweene the Romans and Carthaginians.  
HANNIBAL besiegeth and taketh Saguntum; whilſt the Romans are buſied  
with the Ilyrians. Warre proclaimed betwene Rome  
and Carthage.



HANNIBAL, the sonne of *Amilear*, was about fixe and  
twente yeares old, when hee was chosen Generall of  
the *Carthaginian* forces in Spaine. Hee was elected by  
the Armie, as soone as *Asdrubal* was dead: and the e-  
lection was ratified by the ſtate at *Carthage*; where-  
with *Hanno* and his Complices were nothing pleased.  
This was now the third of the *Barchine* familie (so cal-  
led of *Amilear*, whole surname was *Barchas*) that had  
command in chiefe, ouer the men of warre. Which  
honour would perhaps haue bene lesse enuied, by  
these domestick enemies; if the Allies and Friends

of the *Barchine* house, had not also borne the whole sway in gouernement, and been  
the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the People. This general good-  
will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of *Amilear*, in ſauing his  
Countrie from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it  
30 with treasures, and great reuenues; so was it retained by the same good artes, a-  
mong his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partisans, being neither  
able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was vnreproueable; nor to performe  
the like seruices vnto the Common-weale: had nothing left, whereby to value  
themselves, excepting the generall reprobation of Warre, and cautious aduice, of  
not prouoking the *Romans*. This they ſuſtained otherwhiles with distraction; ſay-  
ing, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppreſſe the libertie of the Citie. But  
their malicious wordes were vnregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to  
*Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no lesse *Barchine*, than *Hanni-  
bal* himſelfe. For it was long ſince apparent, that the oath of the *Romans*, to the ar-  
40 ticles of peace, afforded no ſecurity to *Carthage*; were they neuer ſo quiet, and offi-  
cious; vnleſſe they would yeeld to become their Subiect. Since therefore the peace  
was like to hold no longer, than vntill the *Romans* could finde ſome good aduantage,  
to renew the Warre: it was rather deſired by the *Carthaginians*, that whilſt their  
owne ſtate was in good caſe, the warre ſhould beginne; than that in ſome vnhappy  
time of ſcarce or penitence, or after ſome great loſſe of Armie or Fleet, they ſhould  
be driuen to yeeld vnto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to giue away  
baſely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miſerably fight, vpon  
 termes of diſadvantage.

This diſpoſition of his Countreymen, *Hannibal* well vnderſtood. Neither was he  
ſo ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time deuiſed of this buſineſſe)  
that in making warre with the *Romans*, it was no ſmall aduantage to get the ſtart of  
them. If once he could bring an Armie into *Italie*, without moleſtation; there was  
good hope, that he ſhould finde friends and aſſiſtants, euen of thoſe people, that  
helped to increaſe the *Roman* armies in forreigne wars. But this could neuer be effe-  
cted,

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Ated, if the matter were openly disputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad fouer they would be, to heare that he had let the warre on foote, would neuerthelesse be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprizes, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which it should happen; then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not onely with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as muſt be diſcourſed of, in procuring allowance to his deſigne. This might ſuffice to diſorder the whole Project. Wherefore he reſolved to lay liege vnto *Saguntum*; which might ſeeme not greatly to concerne the *Romans*; and would highly pleaſe the *Carthaginians*, that had freſh in mind the indignitie, of that *Spaniſh* Townes alliance with the ſiſle friends. So ſhould hee alſaie both the patience of his enemies, and the diſposition of his owne Citizens.

Having thus concluded, he neuertheleſſe went faire and orderly to worke: and beginning with thoſe that lay next in his way, approached vnto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (ſaith *Liue*) to giue ſome colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the warre, againſt *Saguntum*, but had beene drawne thither by courſe of buſineſſe. Yet reaſon teacheth plainly, that without regard of ſuch formalities, it was needfull to finiſh the Conqueit of the reſt, before he did any thing that ſhould prouoke the *Romans*. Firſt therefore he entred vpon the Territorie of the \* *Oleades*; and having beſieged *Alibea* ( *Liue* calleth it *Carterea* ) their chiefe Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Maſter not only thereof, but of all the other townes of their Countie. This Nation which he firſt undertooke, being ſubdued, and the winter at hand; he reſted his Armie in *New Carthage*, or *Carthagen*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the ſpoiles he had gotten in his late conqueit.

In the Spring following, he purſued the warre againſt the \* *Vaccii* : and without any great difficultie, wanne firſt *Salmantica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, \* *Braccida*, by aſſault: though not without a long ſiege, and great difficultie. But in his returne, he was put to the brightſt, both of his courage, and of his Martiall iudgement. For all ſuch of the *Vaccii*, as were able to beare armes, being made deſperate by the ſpoile of their Countie, with thoſe of *Salmanica*, and of the *Oleades*, that had eſcaped in the late ouerthrow, joyning themſelues with the *Taletani*; compounded an Armie of an hundred thouſand able men; and ſtayed *Hannibal* on the banks of the Riuer *Tegus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Liſboune* in *Portugall*. Theſe foure Nations, hauing had experience of *Hannibals* invincible courage, and that he neuer ſaw enimie, vpon whom hee durſt not giue charge; were thoroughly reſolved, that his naturall valour would at this time no leſſe neglect the cold aduice of diſcretion, than at other times it had ſeemed to doe, when the like great occaſion perſwaded him to ſiege it. But hee that makes himſelfe a bodie of Cryſtall, that all men may looke through him, and diſcerne all the parts of his diſpoſition; makes himſelfe (withall) an Aſſe: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or driue him. Wife men, though they haue ſingle hearts in all that is iuſt and vertuous; yet they are like coſſers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they ſee not all that they hold, or the fudden, and at once. It is true, that this ſubtile *Carthaginian*, when he ſerued vnder *Aſdrubal*, was, of all them of marke in the Armie the moſt aduenturous. But that which may beſeeme a Captaine, or inferior Commander, doth nor alwaies become a Chiefe; though it hath ſometimes ſucceeded well with ſuch great ones, as haue beene found more fortunate, than wiſe. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to diſſemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himſelfe from the Riuer ſide, as if fearefull to foord it; thereby to draw ouer that great multitude, from their banks of aduantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in ſuch ſort, as *Hannibal* deſired that they ſhould; thruſt themſelues in furie and diſorder, into the ſwift ſtrame, with a purpoſe to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defences on the contrarie ſide. But when *Hannibal*

\* A people (ſaith *Vir* ſaſt) were the Riuer of *Rio*. But in the old deſcription of *Syrie*, in *Oriſus*, they are found where *Tegus* ſhall be by *Saguntum*, not far from *New Carthage*.  
a. A people of *Cilicia* the old. b. *Alibea*, on *Alibea* ſide in and Citie on the *Tegus* in *Portugall*.

ſaw them in their way, and well-neare ouer; hee turned back his Elephants, to entertayne them at their landing: and thruſt his Horſe-men, both aboue and beneath them, into the Riuer. Theſe, carrying a kinde of *Lance de gy*, ſharpe at both ends, which they held in the middle of the ſtaffe; had ſuch an aduantage ouer the foot, that were in the Riuer, vnder their ſtrokes, clattered together, and vnable to moue or ſhift their bodies, as on firme ground: that they flew all theſe, (in a manner) without reſiſtance, which were already entred into the water; and purſued the reſt, that fled like men amazed, with ſo great a ſlaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard*, on that ſide the Riuer of *Iberus*, (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to liſt vp their hands againſt the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines*, perceiving the danger towards them; cryed before they were hurt. They ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, and benomed themſelues, as likely to ſuffer that, which afterwards they ſuffered indeede; only becauſe of their alliance and friendſhip with this honourable Citie, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This tale moued the Senate: but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was already beſieged. Hereupon ſome crye out, that Warre ſhould be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as alſo that the two Conſuls ſhould be ſent with Armies, the one into *Spaine*, the other into *Aſiack*. But others went more *Roman-like* to worke; and carryed it. So it was only concluded; that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent into *Spaine*, to view the ſtate of their Confederates: which were indeede none other, than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended warre againſt *Rome*, it was likely, that he would giue them, ere it were long, a more plauſible occaſion to take armes againſt him: if hee had not ſuch purpoſe; yet would it be in their power, to determine what they liſted themſelues, vpon the report of theſe Embaſſadours; and this their grauitie, in being not too rash at firſt, would ſerue to countenance their following Decree. Of theſe Embaſſadours *Liue* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*; but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where alſo they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius*, an Hiſtorian of ſincritie leſſe queſtionable, tels, that they found him at *Carthagen*; and had conference with him, though ſuch as left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the reſt of *Hannibals* his whole courſe. And ſurely wee might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* ſhould afterwards admit a more peremptorie Embaſſage (as *Liue* conteſteth) and fall to diſputation about the covenants of peace; if they had rejected that which was ſent vpon none other pretence, than preuention of warre.

Whielt the Embaſſadours paſſed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not only his forces, but ſome *Roman* pretences, againſt *Saguntum*. He found out *Amertines*, or people that ſhould doe as the *Amertines* in *Siell* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his helpe againſt the *Saguntines*. Theſe were the *Turdetani*; a Nation adjoining to *Saguntum*, and hauing many quarrells with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himſelfe had hatche ſome. Finding therefore ſuch an occaſion, whatſoeuer it was, as made him able to ſay, that the *Saguntines* had firſt prouoked him, ere he medled with them; he made no more ado, but ſate downe with his whole power before their Towne. Hee was now more ſecure, than he had formerly been, of his owne Citizens: for that they had not entertayned the *Roman* Embaſſadours, with any trembling reverence, as of late yeares they had beene wont. Neuertheleſſe, he was glad of any handſome colour, to ſhadow his actions: not only becauſe the warre, which he ſo much deſired, was not proclaimed, but that he might not be checked in his courſe, as an open enimie, before hee could ſet foot in *Italie*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrarie deſire. They were glad of the quarrell: as hoping, that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, ſhould thereby in ſhort ſpace become their owne. Yet were they not haſtie to threaten, before they were ready to ſtrike; but meant to temporize, vntill they had an Armie in readineſſe to be ſent into *Spaine*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the ſeate of the Warre.

In the meane while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King ouer a great part of *Ilyria*, rebelled against them: either for that hee found himselfe ouerslightly tyed vp by them, with hard conditions; or rather becaufe hee was of an vnthankfull disposition. The commotion of the *Gauls*, and afterward, the flame of the *Carthaginian* warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to haue defended and aided, in all perills, euen with the hazard of his whole estate, which hee had receiued of their gift. But hee was a Traitor to his owne Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, and spoiled the Isles of *Greece*: against the covenants to which he was bound. Then he aduentured further, and seized vpon some places, that the *Romans* kept in their owne hands. If he had begonne sooner, or rather if he had staied somewhat longer, he might haue sped better. For the businesse with the *Gauls*, was ended; with *Hannibal*, not thoroughly begun: when he declared himselfe, by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquished. The *Roman* Consul, *Amilius*, was sent against him: who in few daies wan the strong Towne of *Drim'um*; and thereby brought such terror vpon the Countie round about, that Embassadors were sent from all places, to yeld themselves, without putting him to further paines. Only the Citie of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to resist: which it might haue done long, if the hot-headed Rebelle had bene too foolish, *Amilius* landed a great part of his Armie, in the Isle of *Pharus*, by night; and bestowed them in covert; presenting himselfe the next morning, with twentie ships before the Towne, and offering to force the Hauens. *Demetrius* with all his power issued out against the Consul; and was soone intercluded from the Towne, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths, to a creeke, where he had shipping readie for him, and embarked himselfe: leauing all his estate vnto them, of whose libertie he first had it.

This businesse, though it were soone dispatched, yet preuented it not the siege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* fate downe, ere *Amilius* was landed in *Ilyria*. In the beginning of the siege, the *Carthaginians* were much discouraged, by reason of the braue sallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their Generall receiued a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many daies vnable to moue. Neuerthelesse he was not vnminidfull of this worke in the meane while; but gaue order to raise certaine moueable Towers, that might equall those which were built on the walls of the Citie; and to prepare to batter the curtaines, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soone wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of diuers Towers, and a great length of wall, whereat an hot assault was giuen: but it was so well sustained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Towne, which vpon the first furie they had won; but they were pursued euen to their owne trenches and camp. Neuerthelesse the *Carthaginian* Armie, wherein were about an hundred and fiftie thousand men, did so wearie the townesmen with continuall trauaile, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindred from taking full possession of the Citie, by some counter-workes of the *Saguntines*, that were all ready to be won. In this extremitie, there was one *Aleon* a *Saguntine*, that conueyed himselfe out of the Towne, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered, were so seuer, and without all compasse of honour, as *Aleon* durst not returne to propound them to his countermen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had; gold, siluer, plate, and other riches within the Citie: yea, the Citie it selfe to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that hee would assigne some other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carrie out with them any other thing, wherewith to sustaine themselves, than the clothes on their backs; or other armes to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they farre better haue submitted themselves vnto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might haue enioyed their liues, and saued the honor of their wiues and daughters)

daughters) than to haue rested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soone after they did: by whom their wiues and daughters were deflowred before their faces; and all put to sword, that were about foureene yeares of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke, when not daring to fight, and sell their blood at the dearest rate, they thrust themselves vp like most wretched creatures, in their owne houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had: so dying vnreueged. The treasures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Armie: the statues, and other bootie, he diuided among his Souldiers; reseruing some things of choice, wherewith to present his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them vnto the Warre.

These tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*; who had good cause to bee angry at their owne slownesse, in forbearing to send helpe vnto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight moneths, looking still for succour, in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking sharpe reuenge. To this end they sent Embassadors againe to *Carthage*: demanding only, whether it were by generall consent and allowance of the *Carthaginians*, that *HANNIBAL* had made warre vpon *Saguntum*; which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to giue them defiance. Hereunto answer was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect. That this their second Embassage, howsoeuer qualified with milde words, was indeede more insolent than the former. For in that, they only required iustice against *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of *Carthage*, was vrged to pleade guiltie, or not guiltie. But (said the *Carthaginian* speaker) whether the Generall of our Armie in *Spain*, in besieging *Saguntum*, haue only followed his owne counsaile; or whether he did it, by direction from vs: it is not the question which the *Romans* ought to aske vs. That which is indeede worthy examination or dispute, is; whether it were lawfull, or vnlawfull, for *HANNIBAL* to doe as hee hath done. For it belongs to vs, to call our owne Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults and errors; to you, to challenge vs, if wee haue done any thing contrarie to our late League and Contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Luc'atius* the Consul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement, betwene you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that haue taught vs, how to answer that particular. For whatsoeuer you found in the Treatie betwene vs and *Luc'atius*, to your owne disadvantage, you call it vpon your Consuls presumption; as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of *Rome*. If then it bee lawfull for the *Romans*, to disauow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and precise warrant; the same libertie may we also assume, and hold our selues no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which *Asdrubal* hath made for vs, without our commandement and consent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meere cauill. For *Luc'atius* the Consul, in his Treatie of peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expressly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had bene therefore much better, to haue dealt plainly; and to haue alleged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Isle of *Sardinia*, and withall of twelue hundred talents: which perjurie the state of *Carthage*, being now growne able, would reuenge with open warre. As for the *Saguntines*; it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacie, and forthwith inserted their names into the Treatie of peace with *Asdrubal*: seeing that the Treatie with *Asdrubal*, and all other businesse betwene *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* injuries; as implying this commination, Doe

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what power wee require, else will wee make warre, without regard of our oath, which we have already broken.

But this the Carthaginians did not allege, forgetting, in heat of contention (as Polybius takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Lince* himselfe doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the Carthaginians, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of reuenge: we may reasonably thinke, that the mention of this iniurie was omitted, not so much vpon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping vp such ancient matter of quarrell, to lewe that the warre, now towards, had long bene thought vpon, and like to be made with extraordinary force; in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the Carthaginian Senate moued the Roman Embassadors, to deliuer vnto them in plaine termes the purposes of those that sent them, and the work of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering vp the skirt of his Gowne, as if somewhat had bene laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I haue here (quoth he) in my Gowne-kirt both Peace and Warre: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Each which of them you your selfe haue a fancie to offer vs. Marrie then (quoth *Fabius*) take the Warre, and shure it among you. Which all the Assembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolved to make warre, it was merely frivolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, haue euer bene maintayned by the partie vnwilling, or vnable to sustaine the warre. The rustie sword, and the emptie purse, doe alwaies pleade performance of covenants. There haue bene few Kings or States in the World, that haue otherwise vnderstood the obligation of a Treatie, than with the condition of their owne advantage: and commonly (seeing peace betweene ambitious Princes, and States, is but a kinde of breathing) the best-advised haue rather begunne with the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonis* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Nemro* the second, of *France*, with the *Imperialls*, when he wrote to *Brisac*, to surpris as many places as he could, ere the warre brake out; *Don Iohn*, with the *Netherlands*; and *Philip* the second, of *Spaine*, with the *English*, when in the great Imbarge he tooke all our Ships and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries recieued from their enemies, had another private and hereditarie desire, that violently carried him against the *Romans*. His father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice, being readie to take his iourne into *Spaine*, had solemnly bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortall hatred, and to worke them all possible mischief, as soone as he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine years old, when his father caused him to lay his hand vpon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no meruaile, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacie, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, haue recieued the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soone as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of *England*.

§. II.

§. II.

*HANNIBAL* takes order for the defence of *Spaine* and *Africk*.  
His iourne into *Italie*.



Arre being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved, not to put vp his sword, which hee had drawne against the *Saguntines*, vntill hee had therewith opened his passage vnto the gates of *Rome*. So began the second *Punicke Warre*; second to none, that euer the Senate and People of *Rome* sustained. *Hannibal* wintred at *Carthage*; where he licensed his *Spanishe* Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves againe the Spring. In the meane while he gave instructions to his brother *Asdrubal*, for the gouernement of *Spaine* in his absence. Hee also tooke order, to send a great many troupes of *Spaniards* into *Africk*, to equall the numbers of *Africans* formerly drawne thence into *Spaine*; to the end, that so the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he transported into *Africk* thirteen thousand, eight hundred, and fiftie four, and twelue hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the *Maleares*. Besides these, he selected foure thousand foot, all young men, and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of *Spaine*; which he appointed to be garrisoned in *Carthage* it selfe, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serue for hostages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the *Spanishe* Citizens, and those that swayned most in their feuerall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. Hee also left with his brother, to guard the coast and Ports, fiftie and seuen Gallies; whereof thirtie seuen were presently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of *Africans*, and other Nations strangers, he left with him about twelue thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twentie Elephants.

Having in this fort taken order for the defence of *Spaine* and *Africk*; he sent Discoverers before him, to view the passages of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and of the *Alpes*. He also sent Embassadors to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gauls*, to obtaine a quiet passage: that he might bring his Armie entire into *Italie*, and not be compelled to diminish his forces, by any warre in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embassadors, and Discoverers, being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he past over the Riuer of *Iberus*, with an Armie consisting of fourescore and ten thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse. All those parts of *Spaine*, into which he had not entred before, hee now subdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemy of his house, who fate ill at *Carthage*): to gouerne *Spaine* on the East side of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Armie of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of *Spaine*, some of his *Spanishe* Souldiers returned home, without asking leave: which that others might not also doe, or attempt, he courteously dismisshd many more, that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the iourne seemed the lesse tedious vnto those that accompanied him; as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his armie, consisting now but of fiftie thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, he past the *Pyrenes* and entred into *Gaul*. He found the *Gauls* that bordered vpon *Spaine*, readie in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrie: but wonne them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed vnto their Leaders, to fauour his Expedition. So without any molestation, hee came to the bankes of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each side of the Riuer, a people called *Vales*. These were vnacquainted with the cause of his coming; and therefore sought to keepe him from passing ouer the water. But he was greatly afflicted by some of those *Gauls*, that inhabited on the West side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Tunnets* and *Lionnois*. For although many of them had transported themselves and their goods, into the Countrie of *Danphline*, thinking to defend the further bankes against him; yet such as remained, being desirous to see their Countrie of so many ill guests,

were

were better pleased to haue their Countymen beaten, which had abandoned them, than to haue their owne store of corne and cattails wasted, by the long stay of so great an Armie, as lay vpon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more easie passage, higher vp the Riuer; and lent him guides. When the vessels for transportation of his Armie were in readinesse; he sent *Hanno*, the sonne of *Bomilcar*, vp the Riuer: himselfe in the meane while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour was: that *Hanno* charging the *Gauls* vnawares vpon their owne side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the Riuer in their faces, the further banke was wonne, though with some difficultie; and the enemies disperfed. Yet was hee greatly troubled in conveying ouer his Elephants; who meruailously feared the water. He was therefore driuen to make rafles of trees, and couer them with earth and turfe; whereof hee fastened one to each banke, that might serue as a bridge, to and from another, of the same fort, but loose, vpon which the beasts were towed ouer.

Hauiing past this first brunt, and ouer-come both the rage of the Riuer, and of those that defended it, hee was visited by the Princes of the *Gauls Cisalpine*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Chilun*, who lately had revolted from the *Romans*. These informed him of the passages of the *Alpes*, that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from these he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding; hee found himselfe extremely incumbered by the *Sacouians*: and lost, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainly assailed by them, before he could recouer the plaine Countries on the other side. And whereas this iourne ouer the Mountaines cost him fiftene dayes traualle, he was euery day, more or lesse, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withall, extremely beaten with grievous weather and snow: it being in the beginning of Winter, when hee beganne, and ouer-came this passage. But the faire and fertile Plainnes, which were now readie to receiue them; with the assistance and conduct of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, who by their proper forces had so often invaded the *Roman* Territorie; gaue them great comfort, and encouragement to goe on: hauing nothing else of difficultie remayning, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to ouer-come, by their proper valour and resolution; namely the *Roman* Armies, and resistance.

### §. III.

*How the Romans in Spaine solicited the Spaniards and Gauls to take their part.  
The rebellion of the Cisalpine Gauls against the Romans.*

**T**He Countries of *Spaine* and *Gaul*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched this farre, had beene solicited before, by the same *Roman* Embassadors, who had denounced the warre at *Carthage*. These as they were instructed by the Senate, tooke *Spaine* in their way homeward from *Carthage*, with a purpose to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least, to dissuade them from contracting any friendship with the *Carthaginians*. The first which they attempted, were the *Volcians*, a people in *Spaine*; from whom, in open assembly, they received by one that spake for the rest, this vncomfortable answer. With what face (saith he) can yee *Romans* perswade vs to vallow your Alliance, or to preterre it before the friendship of the *Carthaginians*; seeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wise, than so? For they, relying on your faith, and promised assistance, haue beene utterly rooted out, and destroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they

they might else haue held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of *Spaine* haue found them. Yee may therefore be gone, with this resolution from vs, That for our parts (and so I thinke, I may answer for the rest of our Countymen) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindnesse at our handes: who are resolved, neuer to make accompt of their protection, nor amitie. From the *Volcians*, the Embassadors tooke their way towards the *Gauls*; vying their best arguments to perswade them, not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to passe into *Italie*, through their Territorie: and withall greatly glorifying themselves, their strength, and large Dominion. But the *Gauls* laugh't them to scorn, and had hardly the patience, to heare them speake. For shall we (saide one of their Princes) by resisting *Hannibal's* passage into *Italie*, entertaine a warre which is not meant to be made against vs? Shall we hold the warre among our selves, and in our owne Territorie, by force, which marcheth with a speedie pace from vs, towards our ancient enemies? Haue the *Romans* defcured so well of vs, and the *Carthaginians* so ill, that wee should set fire on our owne houses, to saue theirs from burning? No, wee know it well, that the *Romans* haue already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territorie and inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our enemies; who haue no way as yet offended vs, nor we them.

With this vnpleasing answer the Embassadors returned home: carrying no good newes, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather some assurance from the people of *Messina*, which were Confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gauls* were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the *Cisalpine Gauls* gaue halfe proofe. For when the newes was brought into *Italie*, that the *Carthaginians* had passed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone sufficed to stirre vp the *Boj*, and *Insubrians*, against the *Romans*. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman* Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore vpon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had giuen to the *Romans*, and fell vpon the new Colonies. The Townes it seemes that they could not winne; for *Hannibal* shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Countie) to flie to *Modena*: where they beleaged them. The siege of *Modena* had continued some small time; when the *Gauls*, hauing little skill in assailing Cities, waxed wearie, and seemed desirous to haue peace, and to come to some good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand vpon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeeme their hostages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the *Romans* sent out Embassadors to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detayned. *Attilius* the 40 Pretor, who lay in these quarters with an Armie, hearing this outrage; marched in all haste to the reliefe of the beleaged. But the *Gauls*, hauing laid a strong ambush in a wood ioyning to the way, fell vpon the Pretor so opportunely as he was utterly ouerthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place; a few excepted, that recovered, by fast running, a little village, but defensible, vpon the Riuer of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Attilius*, another of the Pretors, was hastily sent, to relieue the beleaged, with one Legion, and fift thousand of the *Roman* associates: which forces were taken out of the Consuls Armie, and supplied by a new leuie

As the *Gauls* were too rash and hallic: so were the *Romans* too slow, and indeede too ill-advised, in the beginning of this warre. They were not perswaded, that *Carthage*, which had almost cruelly endured so many indignities, in time of the late peace; would be so braue and courageous on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of *Italie* itselfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls, to make warre in *Spaine*, the other in *Affrick*: resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* tooke his way toward *Affrick*, with an hundred and thre score *Quinquagenses*, or Gal-  
lies,

lies, of due to an Oare; which preparation may seeme to threaten euen the Citie of Carthage, to which it shall not come neare. P. Cornelius Scipio, the other Consul, made all possible haste, by the way of Genoa, into Prouince; and vfed such diligence, hauing the winde also fauourable, as in fixe dayes he recovered *Mafilia*. There hee was aduertised, of Hannibal his hauing passed the Riuer of *Rhodanus*; whom hee thought to haue found busie yet awhile in *Spaine*. Hannibal had also newes of the Consuls arriuall; whereof he was neither glad, nor forrie; as not meaning to haue to doe with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts, to discouer the others number and doings: Hannibal, about fixe hundred *Numidians*; Scipio, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horse. These met and fought, and the *Numidians* were to beate: yet could not the *Romans* greatly bragge, hauing slaine only two hundred, and lost of their owne, one hundred and fortie. But when Scipio drew neare, to haue met with the *Carthaginians*; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as hee then found assuredly true) with an intent to looke vpon the walls of *Rome*. This interrupted his intended voiage into *Spaine*. Neuertheless hee sent a way thither his brother Cn. Cornelius Scipio, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Armie, to trie what might bee done against *Afdrubal*, and the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in that Countrie. He himselfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to *Pisys*, and so passing through *Tuscane* into *Lumbardie*, drew together the broken troups of *Manlius* and *Atilius*, that lately had bene beate by the 20 *Gauls*: with which forces he made head against the enimie, thinking to finde him ouer-laboured, with trauaile of his painefull iourne.

## §. IIII.

SCIPIO the Roman Consul over-come by HANNIBAL at Ticinum. Both of the Roman Consuls beate by HANNIBAL, in a great battaile at Trebia.

**H**ue moneths Hannibal had spent in his tedious iourne from Carthage: na; what great mulster he could make, when hee had passed the *Alpes*, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twentie thousand; others report them to haue bene only twentie thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse. Hannibal himselfe, in his Monument which he raised, in the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter summe. Yet the *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyined with him, are likely to haue mightily increased his Armie, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirtie thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which, all saue those remembered by himselfe in 40 the Inscription of his Altar in *Iuno's* Temple, are like to haue perished, by diseases, enemies, Riuers, and Mountaynes; which mischiefs had deuoured, each, their severall shares.

Hauing newly passed the *Alpes*, and scarce refreshed his wearied Armie in the Countrie of *Piemont*; he sought to winne the friendship of the *Taurini*, wholy next in his way. But the *Taurini* held warre at that time with the *Insubrians*, which were his good friends, and refused (perhappes for the same cause) his amitie. Wherefore he assaulted their Towne; and wannet by force in three dayes. Their spoile serued well to beateen his Armie; and their calamitie, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gauls*, without more adoe, fell vnto his side: many for feare, many 50 for good-will, according to their former inclination. This disposition ranne through the whole Countrie: which joyned, or was all in a readinesse to joyne, with the *Carthaginians*; when the newes of Scipio the Consul his arriuall, made some to be more aduised, than the rest. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in those quarters; what

a These dwelt about *Tuoni*, a goodly City, now subiect vnto the Duke of Savoy: which from them tooke this name of *Aurigena Taurinorum*.

was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the Roman Consul was already gotten through the most defensible passages, ere any speech had bene heard of his approach: many fate it ill, for very feare, who else would haue concluded a League with these new-come friends; and some, for greater feare, offered their seruice against the *Carthaginians*, whom neuertheless they willed well to speede.

This wavering affection of the Prouince, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals baiten to the triall of a battaile. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondered at the others great expedition: Hannibal thinking it strange, that the Consul, whom hee had left behinde him on the other side of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before hee had well warmed himselfe in the *Plaines*; Scipio admiring the strange adventure of passing those Mountaynes, and the great spirit of his Enemie. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed, at Hannibals successe, and sudden arriuall. Wherefore they dispatched a Messenger in all haste vnto *Sepronius*, the other Consul, that was then in *Medea*, giuing him to vnderstand hercof: and letting him further know, that whereas hee had bene drected to make the warre in *Africa*, it was now their pleasure that hee should forsake to prosecute any such attempt, but that hee should returne the Armie vnder his charge, with all possible speede, to faue *Italie* selfe. According to this order, 20 *Sepronius* sent off his Fleet from *Lilybeum*; with direction to land the Arme at *Armenia*, a Port Towne not farre from *Raenna*: quite another way from Carthage, whither he was making haste. In the meane while, Scipio and Hannibal were come so neare, that light they must ere they could part asunder. Hercupon, both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the best arguments they had: vnto which Hannibal added the Rhetorick of a present example, that he shewed vpon certaine prisoners of the *Savoyans*, which hee brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into *Italie*. For these, hauing bene no lesse miserably fettered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to be deliuered from their miseries by any kinde of prefert 30 death, were brought into the middle of the Armie: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companion, till the one of them were slaine; with condition, being the Victor, to recueve his libertie, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did Hannibal cause lotte, to be call, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chieftaines of the *Gauls* were wont to vse in single combats. Euerie one of these vnhappie men withed, that his owne lot might speede; whereby it should at least be his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victorie. That couple whose good hap was to be chofen, fought resolutely: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and hauing 40 none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poore creatures were willing, vpon whatsoever vncertain termes, to ridde themselves out of slavery. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them; wrought also vpon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the spectacle was ordayned. For they deemed happie, not onely him, that by winning the victorie had gotten his libertie, together with an horse and armour: but euen him also, who being slaine in fight had escaped that miserable condition, vnto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiving what impression this dumbe shew had wrought in them; beganne to admonish them of their owne condition. Speaking to this effect. That hee had laid before them an example of their owne estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the same fortune, that these slaves had done; all to liue victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed farre more grievous) to liue in a perpetuall slavery: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himselfe any hope of life by flight; since the Mountaines, the Ri- 50 uers,

was

uers, the great distance from their owne Countries, and the pursuit of mercelless Enemies, mult needes retraceh all such impotent imaginations. He therefore praised them to remember, that they, who had euen now praised the fortune both of the Victior, and of the vanquished, would make it their owne case; seeing there was neuer any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had euer bene broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrarie, he told them, that the *Romans*, who were to fight vpon their owne soile, and in view of their owne Townes; who knew as many waies to saue themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaine such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same necessity, (to which nothing seemes impossible) did no way presse them, or constrain them. In this fort did *Hannibal*, that there was no mean, betwene Victorie and Death, encourage his Companions. For (saith a great Captaine of France) la comolite de la retraite aduance la suite; The commoditie of a retreat, doth greatly aduance a flat running away.

*Scipio*, on the other side, said that he had giuen order for the laying of a bridge ouer the R.uer of *Tisus*; did not neglect to vse the best arguments and reasons hee could, to encourage the Armie helied: putting them in minde of the great conquests and victories of their Aneitors; against how many Nations they had preuailed; and ouer how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Armie commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late waere they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to consider, that at this time it was not only so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troupe of *Brigants* and *Thebes*, than an Armie liketo encounter the *Romans*; but so weather-beaten, and haued, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustaine the first charge that should be giuen vpon them. Nay (said he) yee your selues may make iudgement what daring they haue now remayning, after so many traualles and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the *hoanes*, their horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driuen back to the very Trenches of their Campe, but *Hannibal* himselfe, tearing our approach, ranne head long towards the *Alpes*: thinking it a little dishonour, to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the sharpe swordes of the *Romans*, which had so often cut downe his people, both in *Africa*, and in *Stail*.

It was not long after this, ere the two Generalls met: each being farre aduanced before the profile of his Armie, with his Horse; and the *Romans* hauing also with him some light armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discouered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* sent before him his horsemen of the *Gales*, to beginne the night, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground betwene their troups, to assist them: himselfe with his *Roman* men at armes, following softly in good order. The *Gauls* (whether desirous to trie the mettall of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get fauour of the *Romans*) behaued themselves courageously, and were as courageously opposed. Yet their foot that should haue aided them, thranke at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for feare of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding the *Gauls* maintayned the fight, and did more hurt than they received: as presuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Consul vnmindfull to relieue them: their hardinesse deseruing his aide; and the hallic flight of those that should haue stood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore hee aduanced himselfe so farre, that he received a dangerous wound; and had bene left in the place, if his sonne (afterward furnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others giue the honour of this rescue, to a *Ligurian* slaue. Whilst the *Romans* were builed in helping their Consul; an vnexpected storme came drining at their backs, and made them looke about how to helpe themselves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Nimidian* light horse, to giue vpon the *Romans* in flanke, and to com-

passe them about, whilst he with his men at armes sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Nimidians* performed this very well: cutting in peeces the scattered foot, that ranne away at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those, whose lookes were fastened vpon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impression, the *Romans* were thrust together, and rowed: so that they all betooke them to their speede, and left vnto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* saw his horse thus beaten, and the rest of his Armie thereby greatly discouraged; he thought it a point of wisdom, hauing lost so many of his Fleet vpon the first puffe of winde, to take Port with the rest, before the extremest of the tempest ouer-tooke him. For he saw by the lowering morning, what manner of day it was like to proue. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet vnbroken, hee in a manner stole the retreat; and recovered the bridge ouer *Tisus*, which he had formerly build. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, hee left fixe hundred of his Reare behinde him: who were the last that should haue passed, and staid to breake the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of waere, *Sceriatamen quondam, dubium videatur, totam miles arripit fugam: fuga enim aliquando laus: anda*: which must be vnderstood in this sort, If a General of an Armie, by some vnprosperous beginnings doubts the successe; or findes this Armie fearefull or wauering; it is more profitable to scale a safe retreat, than to abide the vncertaine event of battail.

It was two dayes after, ere *Hannibal* could passe the R.uer; *Scipio* the whilst refreshing his men, and caling himselfe of his wound in *Placentia*. But as soone as *Hannibal* presented his Armie before the Towne, offering battaile to the *Romans*, who durst not accept it, nor issue forth of their campe; the *Gauls*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for feare, gathered out of his feare courage to forsake him. They thought that now the long-desired time was come, in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than *Anerastus*, *Britomarus*, and the *Geslates*, were come to helpe them: if they had the hearts to helpe themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell vpon the *Roman* campe; wounded and slew many; especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate; with whose heads in their hands, they fled ouer to the *Carthaginians*, and presented their seruice. *Hannibal* receiued them exceeding courteously, and dismist them to their owne places: as men likely to bee of more vse to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other seruice at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Consul stole a retreat, as hee had done before; but not with the like ease and securitie. *Hannibal* had a good eye vpon him; and ere he could get farre, sent the *Nimidians* after him: following himselfe with all his Armie. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow, if the *Nimidians*, greedie of spoile, had not staid to ransack their campe; and thereby giuen time to all, saue some few in Reare, that were slaue or taken, to passe the R.uer of *Trebia*, and saue themselves. *Scipio*, being both vnable to traualle by reason of his wound, and withall finding it expedient to attend the coming of his fellow-Consul; incamped himselfe strongly vpon the banks of *Trebia*. Necessitie required that he should so doe; yet this diminished his reputation. For euery day, more and more of the *Gauls* fell to the *Carthaginian* side, among whom came in the *Bois*, that brought with them the *Roman* Comissioners, which they had taken in the late Insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as Pledges, to redeme their owne Hostages: but now they deliuer them vp to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whose helpe they conceiued better hope of recouering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, *Hannibal*, being in great scarcitie of victualles, attempted the taking of *Clautidnum*, a Towne wherein the *Romans* had laid vp all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brundisian*, whom the *Romans* had trusted with keeping it, sold it for a little monie.

The newes of these disasters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather

ther with a desire of halting reuenge, than any great sorrow for their losse received; seeing that, in a manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore halted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Ariminum*, where the Armie, by him sent out of *Sicily*, awaited his coming. He therefore halted thither; and from thence he marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him vpon the banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Consuls deuised about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiving from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibals* arrival; the fortune of the late fight; and by what error or misadventure the *Romans* were therein killed: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the revolt and treason of the *Gauls*.

*Sempronius*, hauing received from *Scipio* the state of the affaires in those parts; sought by all means to trie his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glorie of the victorie, which he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. He also feared the election of the new Consuls: his owne time being well-near expired. But *Scipio* perfwaded the contrary; objecting the vnskillfulness of the new-come Souldiers: and withall gaue him good reason, to assure him, that the *Gauls*, naturally vnconstant, were vpon terms of abandoning the partie of the *Carthaginians*; those of them inhabiting betwene the Riuer of *Trebia*, and *Po*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to finde out the dishonour, which he might otherwise easily haue auoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*, who feared nothing so much as delay and losse of time. For the strength of his Armie, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gauls*; he no lesse feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatiencie of the other: who being farre from their owne home, had many passions mouing them to turne their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time, the *Gauls* inhabiting neare vnto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as hee supposed that they might haue done; although hee daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to let them at libertie, hee had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his wordes, he was bold to be his owne Caruer; and tooke from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they flic to the *Romans* for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to ioyne with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he suspected their fallhood, and was assured of their mutabilitie. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honour of *Rome*, to preserue the Confederates from suffering injurie: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gauls*. Therefore he sent out a thousand horse: which coming vnlooked for vpon *Hannibal* his forragers, and finding them heauie laden, cut many of them in peeces, and chased the rest euen into their owne campe. This indignitie made the *Carthaginians* fallie out against them: who caused them to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was readie to back his owne men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length, all the *Roman* Armie was drawne forth; and a battaille readie to bee fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victorie (for so the Consul would haue it called) made the *Romans* in generall delirious to trie the maine chance in open field: all the perfwasions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was aduertised by the *Gauls*, his spies, that were in the *Roman* Campe. Therefore he bethought himselfe how to helpe forward the victorie, by adding some stratagem to his forces. He found in the hollow of a water-courfe, ouer-grown with high reede, a fit trench

trench to couer an ambush. Thereinto he callt his brother *Mago*, with a thousand choice horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Armie, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves, in their campe, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, he had sent out *Trebia* some companies of *African* light horse: to braue the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was readie to take any opportunity to fight: and therefore not only issued out of his campe, but forded the Riuer of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of food, did so enfeeble and coole their courages, as they wanted force to handle the armie they bore. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the *Latines*: hauing of the one sixtience, of the other, twentie thousand. The masse of these they ranged in a grosse Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse; thrusting their right armed, and Dangers, into the troops in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vanguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot, were in a manner equal to their enemies, in horse, they had by farre the better, both in number and goodnesse. When therefore the *Roman* horse, ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot were charged both in front and flanke, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Elephants*; when finally the whole Armie was vnawares preit in the Rear, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush: then fell the *Romans*, by heapes, vnder the enemies swordes; and being beaten downe, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the Riuer, by the horse-men that pursued them, there escaped no more of fixe and thirtie thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errors *Sempronius* committed, of which euery one deserued to be recompenced with the losse that followed. The first was, that hee fought with *Hannibal* in a Champaine, being by farre inferiour in horse, and withall thereby subject to the *African* Elephants, which in inclosed or vn-even grounds, and woodlands, would haue bene of no vse. His second error was, that he made no discourse of the place vpon which he fought; whereby hee was grossly over-reacht, and inflamed, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drechit his foot-men with empty stomachs, in the Riuer of *Trebia*, euen in a most cold and frostie day, whereby in effect they lost the vse of their limbs. For as one saith well; There is nothing more inconuenient and perillous, than to present an Armie, tyred with traualle, to an enemy fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generositie of minde is but an vnprofitable vapour.

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Armie, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia* stealing away the same night, which was exceeding raynic, from the *Carthaginians*; who either perceived him not, because of the showers; or would not perceiue him, because they were ouer-wearied. *Sempronius* escaped with extreme danger; flying through the Countie that was ouer-runne by the enemies horse. Hee was attended by more, than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer, than could haue made resistance, if the enemy had met with him. Neuertheless hee got away, and came to *Rome*, where hee did his office in choosing new Consuls for the yeare following: and then returned into his Prouince, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

p. V.

*The departure of Hannibal from the Cisalpine Gaules into Etruria.  
Flaminius the Roman Consul slaine; and his Armie destroyed  
by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of  
Thrasymen.*

**T**He Winter growing on apace, was very sharpe, and vsnit for seruice: to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who being not able to keepe 10 the field, lay warme in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet: but vexed them with continuall alarmes; assailing diuers places; taking some; beating the *Gaules* their adherents; and winning the *Ligurians* to his partie, who presented him, in token of their faithfull loue, with two *Roman* Quaestors or Treasurers, two Colonels, and fise Gentlemen the Sonnes of Senatours, which they had intercepted. These, and in generall all such Prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in freight places, loden with yrons, and miserably fed: those of their followers hee not only well entreated, but sent them to their Countries without ranfome; with this protestation, That he therefore vnderooke the Warre in *Italie*, to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these meanes hee hoped, and not in vaine, to draw 20 many of them to his partie and assistance. But the *Gaules* were not capable of such persuasions: They stood in feare, lest hee should make their Countrie the seat of the Warre, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding vpon them, and waisting their Territorie. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gaue him the aduice, were readie soone after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to vse Perwigs of haire, and false beards of diuers colours, to the end that he might not be descried, nor known, 30 and false that should vndertake to make him away. Faine hee would haue passed the *Apennines*, vpon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarrie among the *Gaules*, till hee had scene more Swallows than one. At length, when the yeare was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leaue of these giddie Companions, and bring the warre nearer to the gates of *Rome*. So away he went, hauing his Armie greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gaules*; more seruicable friends abroad, than in their owne Countrie. That the passage of the *Apennine* Mountaines was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet since the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell vpon *Hannibal*, when hee was traouling through and ouer them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all wayes foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that iourne. Neuertheless to auoid the length of way, together with the resistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to haue bene erected vpon the ordinarie passages towards *Rome*: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to trauaile through the Fennes and rotten grounds of 40 *Tuscanie*. In those Marishes and bogges, he lost all his Elephants, saue one, together with the vse of one of his eyes; by the moistnesse of the aire, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deepe mire and water. In briefe, after hee had with much adoe recovered the firme and fertile Plaines; he lodged at *Arretium*: where hee somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the 50 *Roman* Consuls.

C. *Flaminius*, and Cn. *Seruius* had of late bene chosen Consuls for this yeare: *Seruius*, a tractable man, and wholly gouerned by aduice of the Senate; *Flaminius*, an

an hot-headed popular Orator; who hauing once bene robbed (as hee thought) of his Consulship, by a deuice of the Senatours, was afraid to be serued so againe, vnlesse hee quickly finished the warre. This jealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at *Rome*, when he entered into his Office, lest his aduerfaries, by faying some religious impediments, should detain him within the Cities, or finde other businesse for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour, that hee hoped to get in the Warre. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Towne; and meant to take possession of his Office, when the day came, at *Arminum*: The Fathers (so the Senatours were called) highly displeased with this, reuoked him by Embassadors: but he neglected their injunction; and hasting to meet with the *Carthaginians*,ooke his way to *Arretium*, where he shortly found them.

The fierie disposition of this Consull promised vnto *Hannibal* great assurance of victorie. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*: hoping thereby to draw him vnto fight, *C. Seruius* came with the rest of the Armie. All this Countrie betwene *Esula* and *Arretium*, hee put to fire and sword, even vnder the Consuls nose; which was enough to make him furie; that would not haue litten still, though *Hannibal* had bene quiet. It is true, that a great Captayne of *Brant* hath said; *Pays galleux est plus prompt a mesler Countree a dot thereby lost*. But by this waste of the Countrie, *Flaminius* thought his owne honour 20 to be much impaired; and therefore aduanced towards the enemye. Many aduised him (which had inderde bene best) to haue patience awhile, and stay for his Colleague. But of this hee could not abide to heare: saying, that hee came not to defend *Arretium*, whilst the *Carthaginians* went burning downe all Italie before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore heeooke horse, and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Enignes shooke so, fall in the ground, as it could not be plucked vp by the Enigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tullie* makes a iest: saying, that the cowardly knaue did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) hauing hardly pitched it into the carth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disgreeceable hereto. For he commanded, that 30 it should be digged vp, if feare had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking with all; whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this jealousie, both hee, and the Senate, that gaue him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territorie of *Cartena*, as faine as to be Lake of *Thrasymen*, was on a light fire; which whilst the Consul thought to quench with his enemies blood, he pursued *Hannibal* so vnadvisedly, that he fell, with his whole Armie, into an ambush cunningly laid for him, betwene the Mountaines of *Cartena*, and the Lake. There was he charged vnawares, on all sides, (saue only where that great Lake of *Parusia*, permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flic from them) knowing 40 not which way to turne, or make resistance. So was hee linc in the place, accompanied with fiftene thousand dead carckasses of his Countreymen. About fixe thousand of his men, that had the Vanguard,ooke courage, as for the most part happens, out of desperation; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountaines. If these had returned, and given charge vpon the *Carthaginian* backe, it was thought that they might haue greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that visidne of their feare, which, kindled by necessity, had wrought the effects of hardinesse; was well allwaged, when they ceased to despaiie, of sauing their liues by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweate, vpon the hill-top, hearing vnder them a terrible noise, but not discouering how things went, because of the great fogge that held all the morning. When it grew toward poone, the mize was cleared, and they might plainly discerne the lamentable slaughter of their fellowes. But they said not so lament it; for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were desfered; and attaching by 50

the enemies horse. This they should haue thought vpon sooner; since they had no minde to returne vnto the fight. For desired they were, and *Maharbal* sent after them; who ouer-tooke them by night in a village, which hee surrounded with his horse: and so they yielded the next day, rendering their armes, vpon his promise of their liues and liberties. This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirme; saying, that it was made by *Maharbal*, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authoritie to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their owne. For if it were lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to alter couenants, or adde vnto them what they listed; if the *Carthaginians* must be faine to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargain; as also to renounce their interell in *Sardinia*, and beelimited in their *Spanish* Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the *Romans*, whose present aduantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* bee as *Roman*, as themselves; and make them know, that peridioussesse gaineth no more in prosperitie, than it looeth in the change of fortune. Fifteene thousand *Italian* prisoners, or thereabout, hee had in his hands: of which all that were not *Romans*, he set free without ranfome; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyrannie, that he had vnderaken this warre. But the *Romans* he kept in streight prison, and in fetters, making them learne to eate hard meat. This was a good way, to breede in the people of *Italie*, if not a loss of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this warre had not concerned the generall safetie, but only the preferring of her owne neck from the yoke of slauiery, which her ouer-strong enemies would thrust vpon her, in reuenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by successe of many ages, is not lost in one or two battailes. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginians* can get any *Italian* Partisans.

Presently after the battaile of *Thrasymene*, *C. Centronius*, with foure thousand *Roman* horse, drew neare vnto the Campe of *Hannibal*. Hee was sent from *Ariminum*, by *Serulius* the other Consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*: but coming too late, he increased only the misadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this company; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great ouerthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost halfe of them, draue the rest vnto an high peece of ground, whence they came downe, and simply yielded to *Carthage*, the next day. *Serulius* himselfe was in the meane while skirmishing with the *Claules*; against whom hee had wrought no matter of importance, when the *Romans* were brought him, of his Colleagues ouerthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him hasten back to the defence of *Rome*.

In these passages, it is easie to discern the fruits of popular jealousie, which perswaded the *Romans* to the yearlie change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all men are farre better taught by their owne errors, than by the examples of their fore-goes. *Flaminius* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had beene taken but the yeare before, by this subtle *Carthaginian*; yet suffered he himselfe to be caught soon after in the same manner. He had also belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to be preuented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battaile, without helpe of his companion *Scipio*, had beene rewarded with shame and losse: else would hee not, contrarie to all good aduice, haue beene so hasty to fight, before the arriuall of *Serulius*. If *Sempronius* had bene continued in his charge, it is probable that he would haue taken his companion with him the second time, and haue searched all suspected places, proper to haue shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Government of *France* ten yeares, *Cesar* brought that mightie Nation, together with the *Helvetians* and many of the *German*s, vnder the *Roman* yoke; into which parts had there bene euery yeare a new Lieutenant sent, they would

would hardly, if euer, haue bene subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can doe, to informe it selfe, within one yeares compasse, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Riuers, and of all good helpes, whereby to prosecute a warre to the best effect. Our Princes haue commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three yeares; whence, by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them haue returned as wife, as they went out; others haue profited more, and yet when they beganne but to know the first rudiments of Warre, and Government, fitting the Countrey, they haue bene called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great preiudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath euer bene the course of the World, rather to follow old errors, than to examine them: and of Princes and Gouvernours, to vp-hold their stordful ignorance, by the old examples and policie of other ages and people; though neither likeness of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, haue perswaded the imitation.

## §. V I.

How *Q. Fabius* the *Roman* Dictator, sought to consume the force of *Hannibal*, by lingring warre. *Minutius*, the Master of the Horse, honoured and aduanced by the People, for bold and successfull attempting adventures rashly vpon *Hannibal*; and is like to persish with his Armie, but rescued by *Fabius*.



Reatly were the *Romans* amazed, at this their ill successe, and at the danger apparent; which threatened them in more terrible manner, than euer did warre, since *Rome* it selfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and so little accustomed to receiue an ouerthrow; that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all *Italie* was strangely affected with his successe, and held him in admiration, as one that could worke wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrell was not grounded vpon hate: hee only sought honour, and fought (as it were) vpon a brauerie; demeaning himselfe like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* detected the whole *Roman* name; against which he burned with desire of reuenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, and his abilitie. Which to withstand, they fled vnto a remedie that had long bene out of vse, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject vnto controll of the whole Citie. Wherefore this Officer was seldom chozen, but vpon some extremitie, and for no longer time than fixe moneths. He was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consul (if he stood vpon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time, the one Consul being dead, and the other too farre off; the People tooke vpon them, as hauing supreme authoritie, to giue the Dignitie by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the best reputed man of warre in the Citie. *Novum factum, novum consilium expetit*: Contrarie winds, contrarie counsels. *Q. Fabius* chose *M. Minutius Rufus* Master of the horse: which Officer was customarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more vpon him.

The first act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of somewhat amisse in matter of religion: a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion bene also good. But it were true (as *Liniere* reports it) that the bookes of *Sybil* were consulted, and a good direction in this businesse of deuotion; then must we beleue, that those bookes of *Sybil*, preferred in *Rome*, were dictated by an euill spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this warre to *Marz*, should be made anew, and amplified; as hauing not been rightly made before: also that great Plaies should be vowed vnto *Iupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with other such trumperie. This veh-

vehementie of superstition, proceeds alwaies from vehementie of feare. And surely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly distemper'd with passion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their sonnes returne alive from *Thrasymene*, may serve to beare witness; though it bee more properly an example of motherly love. The walls and towers of the Citie, were now repaired and fortified; the bridges vpon *Riuers* were broken downe; and all care taken, for defence of *Rome* it selfe. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*; word was brought, that the *Carthaginian* fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Against these *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Servilius* the Consul to put to Sea; and taking vp all the ships about *Rome*, and *Ostia*, to pursue them: whilst he, with the Legions, attended vpon *Hannibal*. Foure Legions he had leui'd in halte: and from *Arminius* he receiued the Armie, which *Servilius* the Consul had conducted thither.

With these forth-with he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what aduantage the *Numidian* horse had ouer the *Romans*, he alwaies lodged himselfe on high grounds, and of hard access. *Hannibal* in the meane while, pursuing his victorie, had tringed ouer all the Countrie, and vfed all manner of crueltie towards the inhabitants: especially to those of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the sword, all that were able to beare armes. Passing by *Spoleum* and *Ancona*, he incamped vpon the *Adriatick* shores; refreshed his diseased, and ouer-trauail'd Companies; armed his *Africans* alter the manner of the *Romans*; and made his dispatches for *Carthage*, presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoiles that hee had gotten. Having refreshed his Armie; fed his horses; cured his wounded Souldiers; and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horse beeles of the scratches, by walking their paterines in old wine: he followed the coast of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia*, a Northerne Province of the Kingdome of *Naples*; spoiling the *Marrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he ouer-ranne, he had not taken any one Citie: only he had assai'd *Spoleum*, a Colonie of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, presently gaue it ouer.

The malice of a great Armie is broken, and the force of it spent, in a great siege. This the *Protestant* Armie found true at *Poitiers*, a little before the battaile of *Moncousier*; and their victorious enemies, anon after, at *St. Iean d'Angeley*. But *Hannibal* was more wise. He would not engage himselfe in any such enterprize, as should detainey him, and giue the *Romans* leaue to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once hee was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, with out expecting any engine of batterie. To this end he presented *Fabius* with battaile; as soone as he saw him; and provoked him with all manner of bravado's. But *Fabius* would not bite. Hee well knew the differences, betwene Souldiers bred vp, euer since they were Boies, in warre and in blood, trayned and hardened in *Spain*, made proud and aduenturous by many victories there, and of late by some notable successes against the *Romans*; and such, as had no other scene the enemy, than been vanquished by him. Therefore hee attended the *Carthaginian* so neare, as hee kept him from stragling too farre; and preferred the countrie from vtter spoile. He inu'd his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and hee brought them first to looke on the *Lyon* a farre off, that in the end they might sit on his taile.

Now *Mimnius* had a contrarie disposition, and was as ferie as *Flaminius*; taking *Fabius* with cowardise and feare. But all stirred not this well-advised Commander. For wise men are no more moued with such noise, than with winde bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiscretion, and danger, than to pursue misfortune: It wasteth it selfe sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Armie that desires battaile: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading, and the

the victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to crosse the *Apenines*, and to fall vpon the most rich and pleasant Territorie of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded, to aduenture the *Roman* Armie in battaile: but being farre too weak in horse, he alwaies kept the Hills and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this warie Dictator to fight; that the Winter came on; and that the towns stood firme for the *Romans*, whose Legions were in fight, though a farre off; he resolved to reit his Armie, that was laden with spoile, in some plentiful and assured place, till the following Spring. But ere this can be done, he must passe along by the Dictators campe, that hung ouer his head vpon the Hills of *Calula*, and *Casitum*: for other way there was none, by which hee might issue out of that goodly Garden countrie, which hee had already walled, into places more abundant of prouision for his wintering. It was by mere error of his guide, that he first entred within these streights. For he would haue bene directed vnto *Casinum*, whence he might both assay the faire Citie of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promises vnder hand, and hinder the *Romans* from coming nere it to prevent him. But his guide mis-vnderstood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry an other way, from *Casinum* to *Casitum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now beganne the wilddome of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap; and wonne the victorie, without blows. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himselfe; by a slight inuention, yet seru-  
ing the turne as well as a better. In driving the countrie, he had gotten about two thousand Kine; whose hornes he dressed with drie faggots, and setting fire to them in the darke night, caused them to be driuen vp the hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those, that knew it to be the worke of a terrible enemy. What it should meane, *Fabius* could not tell: but thought it a deuice to circumuent him; and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill-tops, were horribly afraid, when some of these ferie Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ranne therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemies were behinde their backs, and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no lesse afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Armie, recovered fure ground, without molestation: where he layed till the next morning; and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmlish. After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his iourne towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner, keeping still on high grounds, between him and the Citie, whilst the *Carthaginian* waled all the Plaines. The *Carthaginian* tooke *Geryon*, an old ruinous Towne in *Apulia*, forsaken by the Inhabitants, which he turned into Barnes and Store houses for winter, and incamped vnder the broken walls. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time passed idely, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about some businesse of Religion, and left the  
40 Armie in charge with *Mimnius*, the Master of the horse.

*Mimnius* was glad of this good occasion to shew his owne sufficiencie. Hee was fully perswaded, that his *Romans*, in plaine field, would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had beene foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtiltie and ambush, which he thought himselfe wise enough to prevent. All the Armie was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred by iudgement of the Souldiers, in worthinesse to command, before the cold and warie *Fabius*. In this iollitie of conceit, hee determined to fight. Yet had hee bene preempitorily forbidden so to doe, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extreme perill of death. But the honour of the victorie, which hee  
50 had vndoubtedly his owne; the loue of the Armie; and the friends that hee had at home bearing Office in *Rome*, were enough to faue him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter neuer so haينously. *Hannibal* on the other side was no lesse glad, that he should play with a more aduenturous gamester. Therefore hee drew neare: and to prouoke the *Romans*, sent forth a third part of his Armie to waltie the  
Countie.

Countrie. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seemed, that he now despised those whom hee had so often vanquished. There was a peece of high ground betweene the two camps; which because it would bee commodious to him that could occupie it, the *Carthaginians* seized vpon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plaine force, wanne it from them the next day; and entrenching himselfe thereupon, became their nearer neighbour.

The maine businesse of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his horses, which hee knew to bee the chiefe of his strength; that he might keepe them in good heart against the next Sommer: if besides this he could giue the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, encourage his owne men, terrifie his enemies, and giue him leaue to forrage the Countrie at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his campe, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in barrells. This aduantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and setting it in order presented battaile to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, euen at his owne Trenches. His horse, and all his light Armature, diuided into many companies, hee sent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed ouer all the fields, and laden with bootie, could make no resistance. This angered *Hannibal*, that was not able to helpe them; but worfe did it anger him, when the *Romans* tooke heart to assaile his Trenches. They perceived that it was mere weaknesse, which held him within his campe, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryon* with foure thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This emboldened *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom neuertheless hee did not such hurt, as hee had received.

For this peece of seruice *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Armie, and more highly by the People at *Rome*, to whom hee lent the newes, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Armie had recovered spirit, so farre forth that it dared to set vpon *Hannibal* in his owne campe; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as farre out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that hee had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: saying that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeede in no other thing hee had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so ioyfull of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of discipline; and fearfull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. Hee said that hee knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Master of the horse to doe so likewise; and make him giue account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe, issuing from bad counsaile, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence; the other, taught men to be warie. Against these Sermons every one cried out; especially *Clelius*, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speake, and doe what he list, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our only Man, chosen to be Generall, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatest necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all *Italie* to bee wasted before his eyes, to the utter shame of our State; ynlasse he also hinder others, from doing better than himselfe can, or dares? It were good to consider what he meanes by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* hee hath not chosen any new Consul all this while; *Seruius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and Hee, haue as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeede forborne to spoile some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into enuie and suspicion) and the Dictator giuing him leaue to spoile all others, without impeachment.

peachment. Surely his drift is euen this: He would haue the warre to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office, and haue the sole Gouernment both of our Citie, and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonaltie of *Rome*, which gaue him this authoritie, should againe take it from him, and conferre it vpon one more wortheie. But lest, in mouing the people hereto, I should seeme to doe him iniurie; thus farre forth I will regard his honour: I will only propound, That the Master of the Horse may be joynd in equall authoritie, with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor lesse necessarie, than was the electing of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, euen the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficiall at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publike, was lesse than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in passing of any Act, that some man of credit and authoritie, besides the Propounder, should stand vp; and formally deliuer his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both vnto a wortheie Personage, and (therewithall) vnto that Dignitie, whose great power had freed the State at severall times, from the greatest dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had bene Prator, was glad of such an opportunity, to winne the fauour of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonne of a Butcher; afterwards became a shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew, by often brablings, to take vpon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being aduanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobilitie fauoured his very baselesse. And now hee thought the time was come, for him to giue an hard push at the Consulship; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or fauouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot inuective, not only against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobilitie; saying, that it grieved them to see the people doe well, and take vpon them what belonged vnto them, in matter of Gouernment; that they sought to humble the Commons by pouertie, and to impoverish them by warre, especially by warre at their owne dores, which would soone consume euery poore mans liuing, and finde him other worke to thinke vpon, than matter of State. Therefore hee bad them to be wise: and since they had found one, (this wortheie Master of the horse) that was better affected vnto them and his Countrie, to reward him according to his good deserts; and giue him authoritie, accordingly as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled, to proceede as hee had begunne. So the Act passed.

Before this busie day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of a new Consul, which was *M. Attilius Regulus*, in the roome of *C. Flaminius*; and hauing finished all requisite businesse, went out of Towne, perceiving well, that he should not be able to withstand the Multitude, in hindering the Decree. The newes of *Minutius* his aduancement, was at the campe as soone as *Fabius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, beganne to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to diuide their authoritie: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them, successiuelly, for some longer time, should command in chiefe. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equall to the Dictator, but that he should neuer be his superiour: He would therefore diuide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the custome. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with halfe of the Armie he could not worke such wonders, as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Neuertheless hee meant to doe his best; and soting his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and an halfe from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though *Lucius* seeme to taxe him for it) that he should so doe. For wheretwo severall Commanders are not subordinate one vnto the other, nor joynd

ned in Commission, but have each entire and absolute charge of his owne followers, there are the forces (though belonging vnto one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one campe shall not hold them both, without great inconvenience. *Polybius* rather findes fault with this diuinction; nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chiefe successiue (as the two Consuls vied) with *Minutius*; by turnes. Hee saith that *Minutius* was very retractive; and so proud of his aduancement, that continually hee opposed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to diuide the forces betweene them, as is said before, or else to haue command ouer all by course. This is likely to be true. For natures impatient of subiection; when once they haue broken loose from the rigour of authority, loue nothing more, than to contest with it: as if herein consisted the prooffe and assurance of their libertie.

It behoued the Master of the horse; to make good the opinion which had thus aduanced him. Therefore he was no lesse carefull, of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of auoiding the necessitie. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired, could not long be wanting. The Countre lying betweene them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many, and spacious caues; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places, *Hannibal* belowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discouered: But left by any misaduenture they should be found out, and buried in their holes: he made oftentimes in the morning, to seize vpon a peece of ground, that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needfull care, to businesse little concerning them. Like vnto this was the occasion, which, not long before, had prouoked *Minutius*, to aduenture vpon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as he got it; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his owne troups with fresh companies) hee followed in person with the Legions. He was soon caught; and so botly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retreat. In this dangerous case, whilst the *Romans* defended themselves, loosing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew neare, in very good order, to relieue them. For this old Capitaine, perceiving a farre off, into what extremitie his new Colleague had rashly throwne himselfe; and his followers; did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Countre, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, fought rather to approue himselfe, by haisting to doe good, than by suffering his enemy to feele the reward of doing ill. Vpon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired: fearing to be well wetted with a shower, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himselfe to *Fabius*; by whose benefit hee confessed his life to haue beene saued. So from this time forwards, the Warre proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would haue it; both whilst his Office lasted, which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when hee deliuered vp his charge vnto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

*Serulius* the Consul had pursued in vaine a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which hee came neuer within kenning. He ranne along all the coast of *Italie*; tooke hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*; passed ouer into *Africk*; and there negligently falling to spoile the Countre, was shamefully beaten aboard his ships, with the losse of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all hate, hee returned home by *Sicily*; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Consul, where they tooke charge of the Armie.

¶ VII.

¶ VII.

*The Roman people, desirous to finish the warre quickly, choose a rash and unworthie Consul. Great forces leued against Hannibal. Hannibal taketh the Romans prouisions in the Cattle of Cannæ. The new Consul set forth against Hannibal.*

**W**H little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome*, heare the great commendations, that were giuen to *Fabius* by the principall Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great overthrow: but hee had neither finished the warre, nor done any thing in apparence thereto tending. Rather it might seeme, that the reputation of this his one worthie act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the worke to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custome; since it was neuer heard before, that any *Roman* Generall, had willingly suffered the time of his command to runne away without any performance: as if it were honorable to doe just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were readie euery man, to discharge the grieue and anger of his owne private losse, vpon the ill administration of the publike.

This affection of the people, was very helpfull to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoued him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot: his owne worth being little or none, and his credit ouer-weake, to make way into that high Dignitie. But the Commonalty were then in such a moode, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to vse the libertie of his place, in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modestie. This bold Orator lucke not to affirme, that *Hannibal* was drawne into *Italie*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; that *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to haue beene overthrown, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two: but had all been joyned together, what they might haue done, it was apparent, by the victorie of *Minutius*, when he commanded ouer all, as Master of the horse; that without a *Plebeian* Consul, the warre would neuer be brought to an end; that such of the *Plebeians*, as had long since been aduanced to honor by the people, were growne as proud as the old Nobilitie, and contemned the meaner sort, euer since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mightie; that therefore it was needfull to chioose a Consul, who should bee altogether a *Plebeian*, a meere new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples loue, nor could with more, than to keep it, by well deserting of them. By such persuasions, the Multitude was wonne, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure, to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honor; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fell out, or at least was alleged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared, from attending vpon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose: and he againe depoued; either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the *Fathers* desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to pruaile in chioice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* tooke name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in vse at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the *Fathers*, or *Senators*, who at the first were an hundred, parted themselves into *Tens*, or *Decuries*; and gouerned successiue, by the space of five daies, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet so, that the *Licitors*, or *Progers*, carrying the *Fasces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only vpon the chiefe of them with these Ensignes of power. This custome was retained, in times of the Consuls; and put in vse, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the

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old year, to substitute new for the year following. The advantage of the *Fathers* herein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would have it, there needed no more, than to let slip five daies, and then was all to begin anew: by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well asswaged. Upon such change of those, that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawfull vnto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publicly declare themselves to seeke those Offices. But no device would serue, against the generall fauour borne vnto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed ouer; and the malice of the *Fathers*, against the vertue (as it was believed) of this meane, but worthe man, seemed so manifest, that when the People had vrged the businesse to dispatch, only *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gaue ouer. For whereas men of ordinarie make had stood for the place before; it was now thought meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this vnexpert, and hot-headed man; one of great sufficiency, and reputation, should be joynd with him, as both Companion and Opposite. So *L. Aemilius Paulus*, he who few yeares since had ouer-come the *Illyrians*, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was vrged by the Nobilitie to stand for the place: which he easily obtained, hauing no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honorable man, to trouble himselfe any more in such great businesse of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good seruice; He, and *M. Lucius* that had been his companion in Office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the People, and called vnto judgement: wherein *Lucius* was condemned, and *Aemilius* hardly escaped. But of this iniustice they shall put the *Romans* well in minde, each of them in his second Consulship, wherein they shall honorably approue their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grieuous losse; the other brauely winning, in the most happie victorie, that euer befell that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus*, omitted no part of their diligence, in preparing for the warre: wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders hee would worke, and that hee would aske no more, than once to haue a sight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day; yet the prouidence and care of *Paulus*, trauielled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainely boasted. He wrote vnto the two old Consuls *Servilius* and *Stillicus*; desiring them to abstaine from hazard of the maine chance; but neuerthelesse, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when hee and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armie which they were now leuying, they might finde the foure old Legions well accustomed to the Enemie, and the Enemie well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refuse the flanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised it is vnertaine. Foure-score thousand foot, at the least, and fixe thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking vpon *Hannibal*.

Here, the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed by their owne Mercenaries; so did he now send helpe to *Rome*; a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantitie of Wheat, Barlie, and other prouisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mightie Cities should destroy the other, whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine; that stood vpright, by hauing them some what cunely balanced. He gaue them also counsaile, to send forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that meane they might diuert the warre from home. His gifts, and good aduice were louingly accepted; and instructions were giuen to *Titus Oclavius* the Prætor, which was to goe into *Sicily*, that hee should accordingly passe ouer into *Africa*, if he found it expedient.

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The great Leuiés, which the *Romans* made at this time, doe much more serue to declare their puillance, than any, though larger, accompt by Poll, of such as were not easily drawne into the field, and fitted for seruice. For besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into *Sicily*, a twentie five thousand, with *L. Papilius Albinus* another of the Prætors, went against the *Gauls*, to reclaim that Province, which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to doe as they did. They sent Embassadors to *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedony*, requiring him to deliuer into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who hauing bene their subject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdome. They also sent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payement was already past. What answer they receiued, it is not knowne: only this is knowne, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent vnto them; and that *Philip* henceforth beganne to haue an eye vpon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* monie; by the shifts that they were driuen soons after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little soeuer) would haue bene welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cauil about forfeiture for non payment of the whole.

Whilst the Citie was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as near vnto *Hannibal*, as possibly they could, without incurring the necessitie of a battaile. Many skirmishes they had with him; wherein their successe, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other seruices, but was indeede the occasion, to draw on the miserie following. *Hannibal*, for the most part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*, where lay all his store for the Winter. The *Romans*, to be neare him, lodged about *Cannæ*; and, that they might not be driuen to turne aside for all necessities, to the losse of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their prouisions in the Caste of *Cannæ*: for the towne was razed the year before. This place *Hannibal* wanne; and thereby not only furnished himselfe, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, vnlesse they would bee troubled with farre carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, hee enabled himselfe to abide in that open Countrey, fit for the seruice of his horse: longer than the *Romans*, hauing so many mouthes to feede, could well endure to tarrie; without offering battaile; which he most desired. Of this mishap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them vnderstand, how this Peccet, taken by *Hannibal*, would serue him to command no small part of the Countrey adjacent; it then seemed needfull, euen vnto the *Fathers* themselves, to aduenture a battaile with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus to take roote in the ground of *Italy*. Neuerthelesse, answer was returned vnto *Servilius*, that hee should haue patience yet awhile: for that the Consuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to doe as neede required.

When all things were readie in the Citie, and the season of the yeare commodious to take the field; the two Consuls, with their armie, set forth against *Hannibal*. This was alwaies done with great solemnitie: especially, when soeuer they went forth to warre against any noble or redoubted Enemie. For Sacrifices, and solemn Vowes, were made vnto *Iupiter*, and the rest of their Gods, for good successe and victorie: which being performed; the Generals, in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall men, not only such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Volontaries, for loue, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home, were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leaue-taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the *Fathers*, and the whole Nobilitie, waited vpon *Aemilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthe of this honor, or likely to doe his countrey remarkable seruice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens: a troupe no lesse in greatnes, than the other was in dignitie. At the parting; *Fabius* the late Dictator, is said to haue exhorted the Consul *Paulus*, with many graue wordes, to shew his magnanimitie, not

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only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outrageous follie of his fellow-Consul. The answer of *Paulus* was, That hee meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation, by offending the Multitude; that hee would doe his best for his Countrey: but if he law his best were likely to be ill taken, Hee would thinke it lesse rashnesse to adventure vpon the Enemies sword, than vpon the malice of his owne Citizens.

¶. VIII.

*Disfension betwene the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that HANNIBAL was vpon point of flying out of Italie, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battaile of Cannæ.*

**T**He new Generals, arriuing at the Camp, dismissed *M. Atilius* one of the last yeares Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weakenes: *Serulius* they retained with them, as their Assisitant. The first thing that *Emilius* thought necessarie, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good wordes; who out of their bad successe hitherto, had gathered more caule of feare, than of courage. He willed them to consider, not only now, their victories in times past against the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but euen their owne great numbers: which were no less than all that *Rome* at the present was able to set forth. Hee told them in what danger their Countrey stood; how the state and safetie thereof, relied vpon their hands; vsing some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectfull part of his Oration was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Armie, had not yet obtained one victorie by plaine force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambush he had stolne the honor, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thrasymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconsiderate rashnesse of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*, of whom the one saw not his enemies, vntill hee was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darkness: whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. Finally, declaring what advantages they had against the Enemy; and how destitute the Enemy was of those helps, by which he had hitherto preuailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and doe their best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of armes, gaue them caule to thinke, that vnder a Capitaine so well experienced, and euery way sufficient, as *Emilius* was knowne to bee, they should easily preuaile against the *Carthaginians*: that came farre short of them in all things else, saue craft; which would not alwaies thriue. But in one thing they mistooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his desire, that they should haue heart to fight; not that they should loose the patience of awaiting a conuenient season. But they, hauing preconceiued a victorie, thought all deliaies to be impediments: and thereby sought to robbe themselves of their best helpe; which was, good conduct. They remembered what talke they had heard at *Rome*: and were themselves affected with the vulgar desire, of ending the vvar quickly; wherein since *Emilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them forbear to vse it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Consul *Terentius*, who was no lesse popular in the Campe, than he had been in the Citie. Expectation is alwaies tedious; and neuer more, than when the Euent is of most importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Armie, to bee freed from the doubtful Passions of Hope and Feare: therefore *Terentius*, who halstened their desire to effect, was likely to winne more thanks, than should his Colleague, though greater in the performance.

Thus while the *Romans* thinke themselves to haue the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconuenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Disfension*

of their chiefe Commanders. *Varrus* would fight: *Emilius* would so too, but said that it was not yet time, why? because the enemy must shortly dislodge, and remove hence, into places lesse fit for his horse. But shall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, hauing eaten vp his last yeares provisions, returne into *Campania* to gather a second harvest? This would (said *Varrus*) fauour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth fauour no lesse of *C. Flaminius*. Their deedes were like their wordes: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably euery day. *Emilius* lodged like miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was somewhat vnquen. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take paines to come; hee doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leaue running till they were out of *Italie*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plaines, his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Neuertheless hee fate downe close by *Hannibal*: who as an vnbidden guest gaue him but a rude well come and intertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horse, and light Armature, fell vpon the *Roman* Vancourers; and put the whole Armie in tumult, whilst it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without losse, for that the *Romans* had, among their *Velites*, some troups weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Emilius*, who could not handsomly withdraw the Armie out of that leuell ground, incamped vpon the Riuer *Aufidus*; sending a third part of his forces ouer the water, to lie vpon the Easterne bankes, where they entrenched themselves. Hee neuer was more vawilling to fight, than at this present: because the ground serued wholly for the aduantage of his enemy; with whom hee meant to deale, when occasion should draw him to more equall termes. Therefore hee stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himselfe; expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Cannæ*, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessities: whereof an Armie foraging the countrey, was not likely to carrie about with it sufficient quantitie, for any long time.

Here it would not bee passed ouer with silence, that *Luie* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*: telling many strange tales, of the miserie into which *Hannibal* had bene driuen; and of base courses that hee deuised to take, if the *Romans* could haue retained their patience a little longer. Hee had (saith *Luie*) but ten daies provision of meat. Hee had not monie to pay his Souldiers. They were an vnruely Rabbie, gathered out of severall Nations, so that Hee knew not how to keepe them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Prouant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the *Spaniards* were readie to forsake him, and runne ouer to the *Roman* side. Yea *Hannibal* himselfe was once vpon the point, to haue stolne away into *Gaul* with all his horse, and left his foot vnto their miserable destinies. At length, for lack of all other counsaile, Hee resolved to get him as farre as hee could from the *Romans*, into the Southermost parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his vnfaithfull Souldiers might finde the more difficultie in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early harvest. But whilst hee was about to put this device in execution, the *Romans* pressed him so hard, that they cuen forced him vnto that, which hee most desired; euen to fight a battaile vpon open champaigne ground: wherein hee was victorious. It was not vncommendable in *Luie*, to speake the best of his owne Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their owne great folly, they had done passing well. Further also hee may be excused; as writing only by report. For thus he saith; *HANNIBAL de fuga in Galliam (dictum) agisse*; *HANNIBAL (u) said* to haue betwixt him selfe of flying into *Gaul*: where he makes it no more than a matter of heare-say; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the processe it selfe, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of *Gaul*, through the Marishes and Bogs of *Ettruria*, could finde victualles enough, and all things needfull vnto his Armie, the Sommer foregoing: what should hinder him to doe the like this yeare; especially seeing hee had plaied the careful husband in making a great harvest; since

he had long bene Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the *Romans* prouisions? Sutable hereunto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but corne and cattaile; his Souldiers might perhaps haue fallen into mutinie for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italy*: and had so well increased his flock, since he came into that Countrey, that hee had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman-like*; and loaden his followers with spoile: hauing left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the Enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not easie to doe the like. In this point therefore, wee are to attend the general agreement of Historians: who giue it as a principall commendation vnto *Hannibal*, That hee alwaies kept his Armie free from sedition, though it were composed of sundrie Nations; no lesse different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he so doe, hauing not only pronounced, That which of his men fouer fought brauely with an Enemy, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but solemnely protelted and sworne, (besides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should deserue and seeke it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gauls*, was a senselesse deuce. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Armie, tooke so little pleasure in the Countrey and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should hee now doe there with his horse? or how could hee bee trusted, either there or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to liue; hauing betrayed all his Armies; and relinquished his miserable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth; who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Livie*. But of this and the like it is enough to say, That all Historians loue to extoll their owne Countreymen; and where a losse cannot be dissembled, nor the honor of the victorie taken from the Enemy, and giuen vnto blinde Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange misgouernment of their owne forces: as if they might easily haue wonne all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemy can hope to finde in them another time.

Now let vs returne back to the two Armies, where they lie incamped on the River *Ausilius*. *Varro* was perswaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good his word vnto the people of *Rome*: and since he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to vse his owne authoritie; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his owne day came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the first breake of day he beganne to passe the River, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and sought, as in former times, to haue disswaded him, from putting the estate of his Countrey to a needlesse hazard. Against whose wordes and substantiall arguments, *Terentius* could allege none other, than point of honour. *Hannibal* had presented them battaile at their Trenches: should they endure this Brauado? He had sent his *Numidians* over the River but euen the day before, who fell vpon the *Romans* that 40 were fetching water to the lesser Campe; and draue them shamefully to runne within their defences, which also they made offer to assaile: must this also be suffered? Hee would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was liuely, and full of such courage, as promised assured victorie. When *Emilius* perceived, that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion; he tooke all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand *Roman* foot he caused to be left behinde, in the greater campe, opposite vnto the *Carthaginian*; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might bee compelled, to leave behinde him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of this pautie he was lesse able to spare from the battaile, than were the 50 *Romans*;) or that these ten thousand, falling vpon the *Carthaginian* Campe, when the fight beganne, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly doe such accidents) terrifie and distract the Enemies in the heat of fight. This done; the two Consulz went ouer the water with their Armie to the lesser Campe, whence

whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile: the ground on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Armie. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause; and, without any delay, passed likewise ouer, somewhat higher vp the Iream, which ranne from the South; leauing in his owne campe so many, as he thought would serue to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He had them looke about them, and view the ground well, vpon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said he) pray for any greater fortune, than to ioyne battaile with the *Romans* vpon such a leuell ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to preuaile? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said he further) ye are first of all to thanke the Gods, that haue brought them hither; and then Vs, that haue trained them along, and draue them into necessity of playing for their liues, where they are sure to loose them. As for these *Romans*, I was faine to encourage you against them, when yee met them first: but now yee may euen encourage your selues, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom yee haue as often beaten as scene. Of one thing only I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects; as to drine them before you out of *Gauls*; and to winne the open Countrey, and fields of *Italy*; both of which yee haue obtained: now are yee to fight for the Townes themselves, and all the riches within them; which this victorie shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many houres passe, yee shall bee Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this; his brother *Mago* came to him, whom hee had sent to view the countenance of the Enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what newes; and what worke they were likely to haue with these *Romans*? Worke enough (answered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee brother, that among them all, I search them neuer so diligently, thou shalt not finde one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that hee fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladdened the souldiers, who thought their 30 Generall would not be so merrie, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* about many thousand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no lesse troubled with thinking vpon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether hee meant only to correct the sad moode of his brother with a jest, and shew himselfe merrie vnto the Souldiers: this his answer was more manly, than was the relation of his discoverer. But if *Hannibal* himselfe had bene sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*; he could not haue returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captaine *Gaius*, before the battaile of *Agincourt*, made vnto our King *Henrie* the first: saying, that of the *Frenchmen*, 40 there were enough to be killed; enough to be taken prisoners; and enough to runne away. Euen such wordes as these, or such pleasant jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serue many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke vpon such passions, as must gouerne more of the businesse: especially, where other needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himselfe; expressing no lesse perfection of his militarie skill, than was greatnesse in his spirit and vnder takings. For to omit the commodiousness of the place, into which hee had long before conceiued the meanes to draw his enemies to battaile; Hee marshalled his Armie in such convenient order; that all hands were brought to fight, where euery one might doe 50 best seruice. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, he sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose troupes, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a *French* name *Enfans perdus*; but when we view our owne termes, the *forlorne hope*. The grosse of his Armie following them he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the spoiles which they had

had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the vse of those weapons, that were of more aduantage, than those wherewith they had formerly serued; made the two wings, very deepe in File. Betwene these hee ranged his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, armed, each after their owne Countreie manner; their shields alike; but the *Gauls* vling long broad swordes, that were forcible in a downe right stroke; the *Spaniards*, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gauls*, naked from their nauell vpwards, as in qualitie, made a gallant shew; the *Spaniards*, wearing white callocks embroidered with purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in qualitie, made a gallant shew; and terrible, because strange. The *Gauls* were strong of body, and furious in giuing charge; but soone wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them haue inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were lesse eager, but more warie; neither ashamed to giue ground, when they were ouer-pressed; nor afraid to retorne, and renew the fight, vpon any small encouragement. As the roughnesse of the one, and patience of the other, serued mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; so the place which they hold in this battaile, added confidence joyntly vnto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whose name was growne terrible in *Spain*, by their Conquests; and in *Gaul*, by this their present warre. Since therefore it could not bee feared, that any great calamitie should fall vpon them, whilst the wings on either side stood fast: these Barbarians had no cause to shrink, or forbear to imploy the vtmost of their hardinesse, as knowing that the Enemy could not presse farre vpon them, without further engaging himselfe than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great aduantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horse; by which he was able, if the worke had happened, to make a good retreat. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so liuely, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused these *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to aduance; leaving void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall back, when they should bee over-hardly pressed. So, casting them into the forme of a Crescent, hee made them as it were his Vantguard: the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thinn, as seruing only to guide it orderly back, when neede should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthened and thickned against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to haue bene so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behinde it: though such figures, cut in bras, as I haue scene of this Battaile, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appeare: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Rere, to second the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, when they were driuen to retreat; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in yercel stood betwene the last ranks of his long batallions, and in the head of his reare, doubtlesse well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betwene the left battallion and the Ruer *Ausidus*, were the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, vnder the command of *Ardubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plaines, was *Hanno* (Linie saith *Maharbal*) with the *Numidian* light horse. *Hannibal* himselfe, with his brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Rere. The whole summe of *Hannibals* Armie in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and fourtie thousand foot; his enemies hauing two to one against him in foot; and hee, five to three against them in horse.

The *Roman* Armie was marshalled in the vsuall forme: but somewhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had bene found convenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former waye. It was indeede no bad way of resistance against Elephants to make the Ranks thick and short, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Rere, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, vnder the shelter whereof the disordered troupes might re-allie themselves. Thus much

it seemes, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailles accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his vnderstanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field; their aduantage was in Horse, against which, this manner of combattall was very vnprofitable, inasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than vpon a long flanke. As for *Emilius*; it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant, and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yeeld for very wearinesse vnto the more contentious. Vpon the right hand, and toward the Ruer, were the *Roman* horse-men, vnder the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the *Latines*, and other Associates: *Cn. Seruilius* the former yeares Consul, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly risen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* hauing their faces Northward; the *Romans* toward the South.

After some light skirmish, betwene the *Roman* *Velites* and *Hannibal* his Darters and slingers of the *Balances*: *Ardubal* brake vpon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountred; not after the manner of seruice on horse back, vsed in those times, wheeling about *Alman*-like; but each giuing on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as hauing the Ruer on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to pierce and breake through. Wherefore they not only vled their Lances and Swordes; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: and so, their horses running from vnder them, fill many to the ground; where starting vp againe, they beganne to deale blowes like foot-men. In conclusion, the *Roman* horse were ouer-borne, and driuen by plaine force to a staggering recoile. This the Consul *Paulus* could not remedie. For *Ardubal*, with his boisterous *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, was not to bee refilled by these *Roman* Gentlemen, vnequall both in number, and in horsemanship. When the battailes came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found worke enough, and somewhat more than enough, to breake that great Crescent, vpon which they first fell: so strongly, for the while, did the *Gauls* and *Spanish* foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battaile drew towards the midit; by whose aide, these Opposites were forced to disband, and lie back to their first place. This they did in great halfe and feare: and were with no lesse halfe, and follie, pursued. Vpon the *Africans*, that stood behinde them, they needed not to fall foule; both for that there was void roome enough; and forasmuch as the Rere, or Hornes of this Moone, pointed into the safe retreat, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to reinforce them, when time should require. In this battleretreat, or flight, of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, it hapned, as was necessarie, that they who had stood in the limbe or vter compass of the halfe Moone, made the innermost or concave surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the inside outward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, vnouched, only turning round, and recoiling very little. So the *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an halfe-circle; which they should not haue needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thinn and broken, and the bottome of it, none other than a throng of men rowted, and seeming vnable to make resistance) had all the enemies foot bene cast into this one great bodie, that was in a manner dissolved. But whilst the Legions, following their supposed victorie, rushed on vpon those that stood before them, and thereby vnnitwittingly engaged themselves deeply within the principall strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battallions on either side aduanced so farre, that getting beyond the Rere of them, they inclosed them, in a manner, behinde: and forward they could not passe farre, without remosing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the least easie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as couered the *Africans*; who lay behinde it vndiscovered, vntill now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *vnawares*; and that they behaued themselves, as

Plut. in vit. Hannib.

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men that thought vpon no other worke, than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would haue bene so mad, as to runne head-long with the whole bulke of their Armie, into the throat of slaughter; had they seene those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashnesse of inferior Capitaines: but since the Consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe among the Legions; it cannot bee supposed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themselves. *Asdrubal*, hauing broken the troups of *Roman* horse, that were led by the Consul *Paulus*, followed vpon them along the River side, beating downe, and killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The Consul himselfe was either driuen vpon his owne Legions, or willingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Neuertheless hee cheered vp his men as well as hee could, both with comfortable wordes, and with the example of his own stout behaviour: beating downe, and killing many of the enemies with his owne hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the same part of the battaile; and with better successe. For the Consul receiued a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to saue him from further harme; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weakenesse, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his companie alighted, thinking that the Consul had giuen order so to doe: as in many battailes, the *Roman* men at armes had left their horses, to help their foot in distresse. When *Hannibal* (for he was neare at hand) perceived this, and vnderstood that the Consul had willed his horse-men to dismount; He was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather he would haue deliuered them vnto me, bound hand and foot*: meaning, that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horse of the Associates, in the left wing, was mercifully troubled by *Hanno* (or *Mabarbal*) and the *Numidians*: who beating vp and downe about that great sandie Plaine, raised a foule dust; which a strong South winde, blowing thereaccustomarily, draue into the eyes and mouthes of the *Romans*. These, vying their aduantage both of number and of lightnesse, wearied the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giuing, nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him a happy day of it. For when the battailes were euen readie to ioyne; five hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellows, with their shields cast behinde their backs, (as was the manner of those which yielded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendred themselves. This was good luck to beginne withall, if there had bene good meaning. *Varro* had not leasure to examine them; but caused them, vnweaponed as they were, to get them behinde the Armie, where he had them rest quietly till all was done. These craftie aduenturers did as hee bad them, for a while; till they found opportunitie to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yielded. Vnder their lackets they had short swordes and poyards; besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were slaine, and therewithall flew vpon the hindmost of the *Romans*, whilst all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater terrour. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plaine leuell ground, found meanes to lay an ambush at the back of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was giuen by the same hand which gaue the first. *Asdrubal*, hauing in short space broken the *Roman* troups of horse, and cut in peeces all, saue the Companie of *Æmilius* that rusted into the grosse of his foot, and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage, betwene the River and their owne Battalions; did not stay to charge vpon the face of the Legions, but fell back behinde the Rear of his owne, and fetching about, came vp to the *Numidians*: with whom hee ioyned, and gaue

vpon *Terentius*. This fearefull cloude, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other side: so did it prognosticate a dismall storme vnto those, vpon whom it was readie now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, hauing wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more worke toward, than they could hope to sustaine; thought it the best way, to auoide the danger by present flight. The Consul was no lesse wife than they, in apprehending the greatnesse of his owne perill; nor more desperate, in striuing to worke impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many thranke from him, to sustaine the impression alone, which he could not haue endured with their assistance. Now hee found, that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at *Rome*; and another, to encounter him. But of this; or of ought else, excepting halte flight, his present leisure would not serue him to consider. Close at the heeles of him and his flying troups, followed the light *Numidians*: appointed by *Asdrubal* vnto the pursuit, as fittest for that seruice. *Asdrubal* himselfe, with the *Gauls* and *Spanis* horse, compassing about, fell vpon the backs of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else. He brake them easily; who before made ill resistance, being inclosed, and laid at on euery side, not knowing which way to turne. Here beganne a pitifull laughter: the vanquished multitude thronging vp and downe, they knew not whither or which way, whilst euery one sought to auoide the enemies, whom hee saw nearest. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Æmilius*, got vp to horse, and saued themselves: which though it is hardly vnderstood how they could doe; yet I will rather beleue it, than suppose that *Æmilius* reporteth, to grace thereby his Historie with this following tale. *C. Cornelius Lentulus*, galloping along by a place, where he saw the Consul sitting all blouided vpon a horse, entreated him to rise and saue himselfe; offering him his assistance and horse. But *Paulus* refused it; willing *Lentulus* to fight for himselfe, and not to loose time: saying, *That it was not his purpose to be brought againe into iudgement by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guiltie himselfe of that dayes losse*. Further he willed *Lentulus* to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to *Fabius*: willing them to fortifie *Rome*, as fast and well as they could; and telling *Fabius*, that hee liued and died mindfull of his whole (some counsaile). These wordes (peraduenture) or some to like purpose, the Consul vttered to *Lentulus*, either when against his will he was drawne to that Battaille, or when hee beheld the first defeat of his Horse; at what time he put himselfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew vnto what he said a good while before this; when he thought the Consul and his troupe, in little better case than if they had bene bound. The whole Grosse of the *Romans*, was inclosed indeede as within a sack, vwhereof the *African* Battalions made the sides; the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom; and *Asdrubal* with his horse, closed vp the mouth: in which part, they first of all were thrust together, and beganne the Rout, vwherein all the reil followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not sit his horse, whilst the battaile yet lasted, and whilst the spaces were somewhat open, by which hee might haue withdrawne himselfe; was now (had he neuer so well bene mounted) vnable to fly, hauing in his vway so close a throng of his owne miserable followers, and so many heapes of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It sufficeth vnto his honour, That in the Battaille hee fought no lesse valiantly, than hee had vnto before, both abtained himselfe, and dissuaded his fellow-Consul, from fighting at all. If, when the day was vtterly lost, it had laine in his power to saue his owne life, vnto the good of his Countrie, neuer more needing it; I should thinke, that hee either too much distressed himselfe, or being too faintly minded, was vncare of the World, and his vnthankfull Citizens. But if such a resolution were praise vnto him in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the English vertue of the Lord *John Talbot*, Viscount *Lisle*, sonne to that famous Earle of *Shrewsburie*, who died in the Battaille of *Chastillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, graciously,

if not mortally, wounded, and accomptable for the ouerthrow received: *Talbot* was in the floure of his youth, unhurt, easily able to haue escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refused to forsake his father; who foreseeing the losse of the battaile, and not meaning to staine his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble sonne to be gone, and leaue him.

In this terrible ouerthrow died all the *Roman* foot, saue two or three thousand, who (as *Liue* saith) escaped into the lesser campe; whence, the same night, about five hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with such of those in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conueyed themselves away ere morning, about foure thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troup, 10 partly dispersed, into *Cannu/um*: the next day, the *Roman* Camps, both lesse and greater, were yeelded vnto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Emilius* had left on the West side of *Aufidus* (as was shewed before) to set vpon the campe of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-near done, the battaile was lost: and *Hannibal*, comming ouer the water to them, draue them into their owne campe; which they quickly yeelded, hauing lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first fight of *Hannibal*, comming vpon them with his victorious Armie, a great number of these did flie; and the eby escaped, whilest their fellows, making defence in vaine, 20 retired into their campe, and held the Enemie buied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made vp by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that hauing serued at *Canna*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their Companions fighting. Of the *Roman* horse what numbers escaped it is vncertaine: but very few they were that saued themselves in the first charge, by getting behinde the Riuier; and *Terentius* the Consul recovered *Venusia*, with three score and ten at the most in his companie. That he was so ill attended, it is no mirraile: for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his nearest way thither, had bene through the mid of *Hannibals* Armie, if the passage had bene open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of sight, he returned vp some by-way; so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted centre. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consul, but tooke other waies, and were scattered ouer the fields; two thousand, or thereabouts, were gathered vp by the *Numidians*, and made prisoners: the rest were slaine, all fivee three hundred; who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundrie Townes. There died in this great Battaille of *Canna*, besides *L. Amilius* *Paullus* the Consul, two of the *Roman* Quætors or Treasurers, and one and twentie Colonells or Tribunes of the Souldiers, foure score Senators, or such as had borne Office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of especiall make, as hauing bene *Aediles*, *Prætors*, or *Consuls*: among whom was *Cn. 40 Scipilius* the last yeres Consul, and *Atinutius*, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battaile, *Liue* makes no greater than three thousand four, and three hundred horse: too few to haue defended, for the space of one halfe houre, both the *Roman* camps; which yet the same *Liue* saith, to haue bene ouer-cowardly yeelded vp. We may therefore doe better, to giue credit vnto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no lesse than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were only such as the Enemie spared, when the furie of Execution was past: but to these must be added about five thousand more, who yeelded in the greater campe, when their companie were either slaine or fled. 50 So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romans*, especially the Consul *Varrus*, had before cast vp (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they finde it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some foure thousand *Gauls*, fifteene hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horse, or thereabouts: a losse not

Liue. l. 19.

not sensible, in the joy of so great a victorie; which if he had pursued, as *Atahabal* aduised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the Warre had presently bene at an end. But hee believed not so farre in his owne prosperitie; and was therefore told, That he knew how to get, not how to lose, a victorie.

§. IX.

Of things following the battaile at *Canna*.

10 **N**ot without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*: who regarding more the pleasure of them, vnto whose honour they consecrated their tra- uailles, than the truth of things, and information of posteritie, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* *Quirites* and *Fathers* conscript. No man of sound judgement will condemne this libertie of censure, which *Polybius* hath vied. For, to recompence his junioritie, (such as it was) hee produceth sub- 15 stantiall arguments, to iustifie his owne Relation; and confute the vanitie of those former Authors, out of their owne writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which paines it is to be suspected, that hee would not haue taken, had hee bene borne in either of these two Cities, but haue spared some part of his diligence, and bene contented, to haue all men thinke better and more honourably than it deserued, of his owne Countrey. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter finde in others; and shall haue cause to wish, that either they were somewhat lesse *Roman*, or else, that some Workes of their opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least heare both sides speake: being henceforth delitute of *Polybius* his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But since this cannot be, we must be 30 sometimes bold, to obserue the coherence of things; and belieue so much only to be true, as dependeth vpon good reason, or (at least) faire probability. This attentive circumspection is needfull euen at the present: such is the repugnancie, or forgetfulness, which we finde in the best Narration, of things following the Battaille of *Canna*. For it is said, that foure thousand foot and horse gathered together about the Consul *Terentius* at *Venusia*; that others, to the number of ten thousand, got into *Cannu/um*, choosling for their Captaines yong *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Consul *Terentius* *Varro*, joyning his companie vnto those of *Scipio* at *Cannu/um*, wrote vnto the Senate, that hee had now well-near ten thousand men about him; that these letters of the Consul were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly 40 risen, that had bene taking order for pacifying those tumults in the Citie, which grew vpon the first bruit of the ouerthrow; and yet, that Embassadors from *Capua* (after some consultation, whether it were meet to send any, or without further circumstance, to side with *Hannibal*) were sent vnto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venusia*, a prerie while before he wrote those letters, which ouer-tooke (in a manner) at *Rome* the first newes of the ouerthrow. Among such incoherencies, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter en- 50 suing: mutuall dependencie in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the *Roman* campe, and trusted vp the spoiles, forth- with hee dislodged, and marched away into *Samnium*; finding a disposition in the *Hopines*, and many other people thereabout, to forsake the *Roman* partie, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The first Towne that opened the gates vnto him, was *Cassia*, where he laid vp his baggage: and leauing his brother *Mago* to take in other places, He halted into *Campania*. The generall affection of the Multitude, in all the Cities

of *Italie*, was inclinable vnto him; not only in regard of their grievous losses, sustained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Countrey, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly endure; but in a loving respect vnto that great courtesie (as it seemed) which he vied, vnto each of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victorie at *Canna*, He had lovingly dismissed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate, against him that had fought to deliuer them from bondage. Neither spared hee to winne their loue with gifts; pretending, to admire their valour; but seeking indeede, by all waies and means, to make them his, whilst all other motives were concurrent. At this time also hee beganne to deale kindly (though against his nature) with his *Roman* prisoners: telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred vnto their Estate; but being provoked by injuries, fought to right himselfe and his countrey; and fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, should beare soueraigne Rule, not, which of them should be destroyed. So he gaue them leaue to chooſe ten of their number, that should bee sent home to treat with the *Fathers* about their ranſome: and together with these, he sent *Carthage* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and Generall of his Horse, to seele the disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much aduersitie, and could stoope vnto desire of peace. But with the *Romans* these artes prevailed not, as shall bee shew'd in due place. The people of *Italie*, all or most of them, saue the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not only wearie of their losses past, but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Societie for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Bruttians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not vntill the former generation vterly subdued, beganne to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the *Campanians*, a Nation of all other in *Italie* most bound vnto the State of *Rome*, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as freightly conioyned, as were any saue the *Latines*, changed on a sudden their loue into hatred; without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

*Campania*, is the most goodly and fruitfull Prouince of *Italie*, if not (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the Citie of *Capua*, answerable vnto the Countrey, whereof it was Head, so great, faire, and wealthie, that it seemed no lesse conuenient a seat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all qualities, brauerie is the least requisite vnto soueraigne command. The *Campanians* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themselves, like layes by their feathers, despised the vnsortunate vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons, and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principall among them, as in other Cities, that bore especiall regard vnto the maiestie of *Rome*, and could not endure to heare of Innoation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately so prevailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calpurnius*, an ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was vp-held, by furthering all popular desires: whereof, the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their Citie to the *Carthaginian*, shortly after the battaile of *Thrasymene*: wherupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his iourne into *Campania*; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting vpon him. At that time, either the newnes of the *Roman* Armie, or some other feare of the *Capuans*, hindered them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leisure, to treat about any articles of new Confederacie: or had leisure seuered, yet were the Multitude (whose inconstant loue *Hannibal* had wonne from the *Romans*, by gentle vſage, and free dismissing, of some prisoners in good account among them) vnable to hold any such negotiation, without aduice of the Senate; which mainly impugned it. So they that had promised to yeeld vp their towne to *Hannibal*, &c. to meet him on the way, with some of their nobilitie, that should assure him of all faithfull meanings; were driuen to sit still, in a great perplexitie: as hauing failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discouered themselves,

themselves, to draw vpon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this case were no small number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incensed against their Senate; on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their owne cowardize. The People, holding so tender a regard of libertie, that euen the lawfull Government of Magistrates grieved them, with an imaginative oppression; had now good cause to feare, lest the Senators would become their Lords indeede, and by helpe of the *Romans*, bring them vnder a more streight subiection, than euer they had endured. This feare, being readie to breake into some outrage, *Pacuvius* made vse of, to serue his owne ambition. He discoursed vnto the Senate, as they sat in Councell, about these motions troubling the Citie: and said, That he himselfe had both married a *Roman* Ladie, and given his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*; but, that the danger of forsaking the *Roman* partie was not now the greatest: for that the People were violently bent euen to murder all the Senate, and afterward to ioyne themselves with *Hannibal*; who should countenance the fact, and saue them harmless. This he spake, as a man well knowne to be beloued himselfe by the People, and priue vnto their designs. Having thoroughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging ouer them: He promised neuertheless to deliuer them all, and to set things in quiet, if they would freely put themselves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other assurance that they should demand, for his faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting vp the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor issue forth, without his leaue, He called the People to assembly; and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would bee glad to heare, hee told them, that these wicked Gouvernours were surpris'd by his pollicie, and all fast, readie to abide what sentence they would lay vpon them. Only thus much he aduised them, as a thing which necessitie required, That they should chooſe a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger vpon the old. So rehearsing vnto them the names of one or two Senators, hee asked what their iudgement was of those. All cried out, that they were worthe of death, Choosethen (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the Multitude, vnprovided for such an election, was silent; vntill at last, some one or other aduentured to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were vtterly disliked by the whole Assembly; either for some knowne fault, baselesse, and insufficiencie; or else euen because they were vnknowne, and therefore held vnworthie. This difficultie in the new Election appearing more and more, whilst more were to be chosen; (the fittest men to be substituted, hauing bene named among the first, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* entreated, and easily prevailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtlesse) they would make, hauing thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not only the People, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and esteemed him their Patron; but the Senators also, were gouerned by him: to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted, for suing all their liues. Neither did the Senate faile after this, by all obsequiousnesse, to court the People; giuing the reines vnto their lawlesse Will, who else were likely to cast them downe: All the Citie being thus of one minde; only feare of the *Romans*, kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battaille at *Canna*, this impediment was removed: and few there were, that would open their mouths to speake against the Rebellion. Yet so farre as three hundred principall Gentlemen of the *Campanians*, did then serue the *Romans* in the Isle of *Sicill*: the Parents and Kinsmen of these prevailed so farre, that Embassadors were sent vnto *Terentius* the Consul; to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Feare. These, wherefoer they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the seruice of their State; and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented vnto them, the greatnesse of the *Roman* misfortune: saying, that all was lost; and that the *Campanians* must now,

not helpe the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themselves, but, make warre in their defence against the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had sometimes done for the *Campans* against the *Sannites*. Hereunto hee is said to haue added a foolish Inuention, against *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carcases, and to feede vpon mans flesh; with such other stiffe, as only bewraied his owne feare. As for the *Campans* themselves, He put them in minde of their present strength: they hauing thirtie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse; with monie, and all prouisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder than they came: and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous, in aduenturing to seeke their owne libertie. Hauing reported this at *Capua*: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they casily made Alliance, vpon these conditions: That the *Campans* should be absolutely free, and ruled by their owne Lawes; That no Citizen of theirs should bee subiect vnto any *Carthaginian* Magistrate, in what case soeuer, whether in Warre, or Peace; and, That *Hannibal* should deliuer vnto the *Campans* three hundred *Roman* prisoners, such as they themselves would chooe, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicil*.

Against all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius* an honorable Citizen opposed himselfe earnestly: wing, in vaine, many perswasions, to the wilfull and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in minde of *Pyrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending Embassadors to *Hannibal*: and this also did he, when the new Alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a *Carthaginian* Garrison was entering the Towne: at which time he gaue advice, either to keepe it out, or to fall vpon it, and cut it in peeces, that, by such a notable peece of seruice, they might make amends vnto the *Romans*, whom they had forsaken.

Aduertisement hereof was giuen to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not farre off, sent for *Magius* to come speake with him in the campe. This *Magius* refused: alleging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subiection vnto any *Carthaginian*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon hastened himselfe towards *Capua*: forbearing to attempt any further vpon *Naples*; which he thought to haue taken in his way by *Scalade*, but found the walls too high, and was not well provided, to lay siege vnto it. At *Capua* hee was entertained with great solemnitie and pompe: all the people issuing forth of the Towne, to behold that great Commander, which had wonne so many noble victories. Hauing taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly Citie, and passed ouer his first Entertainements; He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the *Roman* yoke; promising, that ere long all *Italie*, and *Rome* it selfe, should bee driuen to acknowledge *Capua* as chiefe, and receiue Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly tooke part with the *Romans* their enemies; Hee prayed that, that they would not thinke him a *Campian*, but a Traitor to the State; and vse him accordingly, giuing sentence out of hand vpon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and *Magius*, deliuered vnto *Hannibal*; who vnwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his first coming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his libertie, if hee kept him aliuie, thought it best to send him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* settled his friendship with the *Campans*: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to speake against him; being assisted by *Perolla* the sonne of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would haue murdered *Hannibal*, whilst hee was at supper, the first night of his coming; had not his Fathers authoritie kept him from making any such attempt. All the Towne (besides) were so earnest in the loue of their new Societie, that they are said to haue murdered all the *Romans*, vpon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to haue smothered them to death in an hot Bathe.

The

The same course of fortune, with those of *Capua*, ranne some other Townes thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-Citie. *Nola*, *Nuceris*, *Naples*, *Casertine*, and *Acerra*, were the Cities next adjoining, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to finde them weakly manned as they were indeede, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled Townes; but were faine to leaue all places, except a few of the most suspected, vnto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. *Rome* it selfe was in extreme feare of *Hannibal*, coming at the first report of the ouerthrow at *Cannae*: and the griefe of that losse was so generall, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the prouision against apparent danger. It was hard to iudge, whether the losse alreadie received, or the feare of destruction presently threatening, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to stint the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Courriers were sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went: whereof when letters from the Consul *Varro* had thoroughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ranne into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal bookes, buried aliuie two men and women *Gauls* and *Greekes*, in their Oxe-market. If the bookes of *Sibyl* gaue them such instructions; we may iustly thinke, that *Sibyl* herselfe was instructed by the Deuill. Yet is it not improbable, that extremitie of feare caused them to hearken to wicked Sooth-sayers; who's detestable counsailes they afterwards, for their owne honour, (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the bookes of *Sibyl*. An Embassadour was sent to *Delphi*, to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire, with what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the Gods; and obtaine an end of these calamities. This is enough to discouer the greatnesse of their feare; though not fruing to giue remedie. At the same time came letters out of *Sicil*, from the Prætor *Octavius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to passe ouer into *Africk*. In these were contained newes, of one *Carthaginian* fleet, that waited the Kingdome of *Syren* their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Isles *Ægeis*, which was in readinesse to set vpon *Durbeum*, and the rest of the *Roman* Province, if the Prætor stirred aside, to the rescue of *Syren*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needfull to call home *Tarentinus* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take soeueraigne charge of the Weale publique, with absolute power, as necessitie required. It must needs seeme strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul, and bid him welcome home, giuing him thanks for that he had not departed of the Weale publique. Use this was done (as may seeme) by order from the Senate; which altho (doubtlesse) provided wisely, for vp-holding the generall reputation. In his coming into the Citie, had renewed the lamentations and out-cries of the people: what else would haue followed, than a contempt of their wretchednesse, among those, that were subiect vnto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeede he gaue it not) of bestowing vpon him their welcome, and thanks; they noised abroad a fame, which came perhaps vnto the eares of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimitie and Confidence: that might seeme grounded on their remaying through them. This therefore was wisely done: But whereas *Linus* would haue vs thinke, that it was done generously, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleue him not. It was done fearfully, and to couer their griefe: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would haue struck off his head; as in few yeares after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being lesse blame-worthy, for a smaller offence. *Cl. Iunius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to multering of Souldiers, of whom they raised foure new Legions, and a thousand horse: though with much difficultie; as being faine to take vp some, that were very Boies. These foure Legions, are elsewhere forgotten, in accompt of the forces leuied by this Dictator and

Lin. 1. 6.

Lin. 1. 12.

Liv. l. 23.

two Legions only fet downe, that had bene enrolled in the beginning of the yeare for custodie of the Citie. Wherefore it may be, that these two Legions being drawne into the field; foure new ones of *Prætorians*, or Striplings, were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to bee reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding vnto them eight thousand sturdie slaues, that were put in hope of libertie, if they should deserue it by manfull seruice. This not sufficing; the Dictator proclaimed, that whosoever ought monie and could not pay it, or had committed any capital offence, should forthwith bee discharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would serue in the Warre. To arme these Companies, they were faine to take downe, out of their Temples and Porches, the spoiles of their enemies that had bene there set vp: among which, were fix thousand Armour of the *Gauls*, that had bene carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this Warre. To such mockerie had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were faine to issue forth of their owne gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was readie to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman-like*.

About the same time it was, that *Carthala*, with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Canna*, came to *Rome*. *Carthala* was not admitted into the Citie, but commanded, whilst he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territorie. To the Messengers of the captiues, audience was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition, to be ransomed at the publicke charge; not only the teares and lamentation of their poore kins-folke, but the great neede, wherein the Citie then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their iurie; which yet they obtained not: Besides the general custome of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner in the former warre) not to be too tender of such as had yeelded to the Enemy; much was alleged against these who now craued ransome: but the speciall point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might haue saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not vnto these poore men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consul's: they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted monie; and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to auoid the disbarment: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we finde recorded. Neither must wee regard it, that the slaues which were armed for the warre, are said to haue cost more, than the summe did amount vnto, that would haue ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had bene seuer; when as in dedde they were futeable to the present fortune, poore, and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little prooffe, that *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaues, whom he had taken in the campe among their Masters, at no more, than euery one the third part of a common Souldiers ransome: and likely it is, that hee offered them at the price, whereas he thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargaine for slaues might haue bene made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with priuate men; yet must we withall consider, that these priuate men did only lend these slaues for a while vnto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forbeare the price of them (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchised) vntill the warre should bee ended. If *Hannibal* would haue giuen such long day of payment; it is likely that the *Romans* would haue bene his chapmen: but seeing he dealt only for readie monie, they chose rather to say, We will not giue, than, We cannot. The like austeritie, vpon the same reason, but contrarie pretence, was vsed toward the Souldiers that escaped from that great Bataille. These were charged, for hauing fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might haue done so. True it is, that in such cases (if cuer) that which they call *ragione del Stato* may serue for an excuse: when the Common-wealth being driuen to a miserable Exigent, is faine to helpe it selfe, by doing iniurieth

Liv. l. 24.

priuate

priuate men. And so dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all those that had serued at *Canna*, to be transported into *Sicily*; and there to serue, not as others did vntill they had fulfilled twentie yeares in the warres, or else were fiftie yeares of age; but vntill this warre should bee ended, how long fouer it lasted, and that without reward. The same thriftie censure, was afterwards laid vpon others, for their misbehaviour: but neuer vpon any man of qualitie, save only (a good while after this, at better leisure) vpon *Cassius Metellus*, and a few other hare-brained fooles his companions; who being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of so great a losse, were deuiling, after the battaile, which way to runne out of *Italie*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one Towne within it. The inequality of this rigour grew shortly distastfull to the Commonaltie: and was openly blamed by a Tribune of the People; neuertheless it was quietly digested, the excuse being no lesse apparent than the fault.

Liv. l. 25.

*M. Iunius* the Dictator, hauing dispatched all needfull businesse within the Citie, tooke the field with five and twentie thousand men. What he did with this Arme, I cannot finde: nor more of him, than this, That he spent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater euill: for of any euill done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans* in this their weake citate, only *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Ofizia* with a fleet, readie to set saile for *Sicily*, hauing one Legion aboard his ships, and fiftene hundred other Souldiers newly taken vp: with which forces he was to defend that Island, and doe what harme hee could in *Africa*. But hearing of the ouerthrow at *Canna*, he sent these of his new Leuie to *Rome*, for defence of the Citie; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Canusium*: deliuering the fleet, emptie of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, and chiefe Citizens of *Ofizia*, to help them: who were like to be forced by the Multitude (assisted, as were the rest of the *Campanians*) to let in the *Carthaginians*; and knew not how to auoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberate about the Articles of this new Confederacie. Wherefore he made great journies thitherward; and arrived even time enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle walkes *Hannibal* made, betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: assaying by faire wordes, and terrible threats, the one and the other Citie. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloyaltie: it had also a sure Haucn; whereby it stood in the lesse feare, of sustayning much inconuenience, by spoile of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrey. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, that *Hannibal* was Master of the field: which if he laid waste, all the poore people were vtterly vndone. So thought the Multitude: and such talkes &c. some, that had little feare of their owne priuate want or povertie, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of these, one *Z. Bantius* was chiefe; a stout yong Gentleman, and Souldier of especiall marke, well beloued in the Citie, and one that had done good seruice to the *Romans*: but was found by *Hannibal*, halfe dead at *Canna*, and after much gentle vsage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberall gifts. Hee therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to returne the greatest thanks he could vnto so courteous an Enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought vpon the same case nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had bene by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* State, had not repaired vnto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and louing entertainment, being himselfe also a man highly reputed for his personall valour, he made this *Bantius* so farre in loue with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whereof he had not presently aduertisement. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and assaid, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison; vpon confidence whereof they gaue him a peremptorie answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Neueris*: which he tooke by composition; and so returned back againe

against *Nola*. Hee was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore vnto him: who although they durst not stirre in his quarrell, being ouerawed by the *Roman* Garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly besieged, and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not bee wanting vnto the accomplishment of their owne desires. Hee therefore brought his Armie close to the Towne, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to doe much good, but only to make shew of a meaning to force the Towne; which hee sought in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night-time there passed messages betwene him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could bee trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne should presently rise; and seizing vpon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was aduertised: and fearing, lest the Conspirators would shortly aduenture, even to finde him busied within the Citie, whilst the *Carthaginians* should scale the walls; he thought it the surest way to cut off the enemies hope, and send him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three Companies, within three severall gates looking towards the Enemy: Hee gave a freight command, that all the Citizens should keep their houses. Thus hee lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder; against whom hee had customarily issued forth before more early, euery day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discovered, and *Marcellus* now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon hee had his men bring ladders, and make readie for the assault; which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very walls, and thought nothing lesse, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: suddenly the middle gate was opened, wherout *Marcellus*, with the best and oldest of his Souldiers, brake forth vpon them, with a great noise, to make his vnexpected fallie the more terrible. Whilst the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him: the other two gates opened, wherout like fort issued they of the new-leiued Companies vpon the enemies backs. The sudden terror was more auailable vnto the *Romans*, than their force: yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a victorie, and reputed one of the bravest Acts performed in all that warre; forasmuch as hereby it was first proued, that *Hannibal* might be ouercome. After this, *Marcellus*, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a strict account of the Citizens of *Nola*: condemning about three score and ten of high Treason, whose heads hee struck off; and so leaving the Towne in quiet obedience vnto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Suessula*. *Hannibal* in the meane season was gone to *Acerra*: where being excluded, he thought it no wisdom to loose time in perswasions, but laid siege vnto it, and beganne on all sides to close it vp. This terrified the People, who know themselves vnable to hold out. Therefore, before his Workes were finished, and they quite surrounded; they stole out by night, and left him the Towne empty: which hee lacked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the Dictator, that he was about *Casiline*, thither went *Hannibal*: as being vnwilling, that an Enemy to neare should disquiet him at *Capua*; where hee meant to Winter. It seemed, or rather indecide it plaine, that the late victorie of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the spirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durst vvith a small part of his Armie lecke out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, vpon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, at the most, and those not slaine in plaine battaile, but by a sudden eruption; witnesseth chiefly, in what great feare they stood of *Hannibal*, and how Crell-fallen they were: that hauing three yeares since demanded at *Carthage*, the bodie of *Hannibal*, to be deliuered vnto their pleasure, by his owne Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good newes, to heare, That in a skirmish not farre from

from *Rome* he appeared to be a man, and not resistlesse. At *Caslinum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Towne, and held it. Five hundred of the *Prænestines* there were, and about foure hundred of *Perusia*, with some of the *Latinæ*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the Battaille of *Canna*, being sent by their severall States to the campe: whither whilst they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountered them, and sent them back sorrowfull; for they loued well their Lords the *Romans*, vnder whose gouernement they liued happily. So came they all, one after another, to *Casiline*, where they met and staid. Neither had they staid there long, ere they heard newes from *Capua*, How that great Citie became the Ring-leader of all the *Campanians* into rebellion. The people of *Casiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore fought how to rid their hands of those *Prænestines* and their fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traites laid one for another, at last they slew all the Townefolke in a night, and fortified the Western part of the Towne (for it was diuided by the Riuer *Vulturius*) against the Enemy. If they had runne away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Casiline* were, as the rest of the *Campanians*, all Traitors; they themselves might haue been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancie in defence of the place witnesseth, vpon what honest reasons they surprised it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to haue encountered with greater forces: but these few found him more worke than he expected. Diuers assaults hee gaue, but was still repelled with losse: and many fallies they made, with variable euent. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much induritie to his force, that he was driuen to close them vp, and seek to winne them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the horse, lay with the *Roman* Armie higher vp the Riuer: who faide would haue relieved *Casiline*, but that the Dictator, being gone to *Rome* about some matters of Religion, had giuen him expresse charge not to fight till his returne. *Marcellus* from *Suessula* could not come: his way being stopp'd by the ouer-flowings of *Vulturius*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campanians*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water staid his iourne, such entreaties were needlesse. Neither is it like, that the Dictator tarried at *Rome* so long, as till extreme famine had consumed the Garrison in *Casiline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne was lost, because the *Romans* durst not aduenture to raise the siege. Barrells of corne were sent by night, floting downe the Riuer; and when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of the water, stuck among the Willows on the banke, whereby this manner of reliefe was discovered and prevented; *Gracchus* cast a great quantitie of Nuts into the streame, which faintly sustained the poore besieged men. At length, when all foode was spent, and whatsoever grew greene vnder the walls was gathered for fallies; the *Carthaginians* ploughed vp the ground: wherupon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seede. *Hannibal* seeing this, admired their patience; and said, That he meant not to stay at *Casiline*, vntill the Rapes were growne. Wherefore, though hitherto hee had refused to hearken vnto any Composition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their obstinacie; yet now he was content, to grant them their liues at an indifferent ranfome, which when they had paid, hee quietly dismissed them according to his promise. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* hee placed in *Casiline*, as a Garrison for defence of the *Campanians*, vnto whom hee restored it. To the *Prænestine* Souldiers great thanks were giuen, and louing rewards; among which, they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were, in *Prænestine*: which is no weake proofe, of the good estate wherein the Citie flourished, that were subject to the *Roman* Gouernement. This siege of *Casiline* was not a little beneficiall to the *Romans*; as hauing long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise haue bene better spent. For Winter ouer-tooke him,

him, long before he could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honor he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Armie, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beate the *Romans* in following times, as shall appeare hereafter.

## §. X.

Of the great supply that was decreed at *Carthage* to be sent to *HANNIBAL* in *Italie*.  
How by the malice of *HANNO*, and slooth or parsimonie of the *Carthaginians*,  
the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the *Carthaginians*  
grew faster, than of the *Romans*. Of *FABIVS* and other  
old *Roman* Historians, how partiall they were in  
their writings.

**W**hen *Mago*, the sonne of *Amilear*, had spent some time about the taking in of such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battaile at *Cannes*; his brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*; and thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyfull message of Victorie. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many *Roman* Generalls his brother had fought; what *Consuls* he had chased, wounded, or slaine; how the stout *Romans*, that in the former warre neuer shunned any occasion of fight, were now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Capitaine, because he neuer durst adventure to come to battaile; that, not without reason, their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slaine of them about two hundred thousand, and taken about fiftie thousand prisoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *S. unites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italie*, that following the fortune of those great victories, had revolted vnto the *Carthaginians*. Among the rest he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly Citie, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chiefe seat of their Dominion in *Italie*: and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had beene entertained, where he meant to rest that winter, attending their supply. As for the warre, He said it was euen at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not giue the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to recollect themselves, and repaire their broken forces. He willed them to consider, that the warre was farre from home, in the Enemies Countrey; that so many Battailles had much diminished his brothers Armie; that the *Souldiers*, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberrall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of monie, corne, and other necessaries; but that these things must bee sent from *Carthage*: which the victorie would requite with large amends. Finally hee caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were slaine, to be peeped out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three buhels, or (as others would rather haue it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appeare the greatnesse of the *Roman* calamitie, forasmuch as none but the principall of that Order, were accustomed to weare that ornament.

\* Thus *Lie* reports it; and credible it is, that while *Rome* was poore, the brauerie of private men was not altogether so great, as the Law would haue permitted; though otherwise *Luc Annal*: The wearing of the ring, was the generall privilege of the *Roman* Equites.

Who so considers the former *Punicke* Warre, may easily finde, that the State of *Carthage* neuer did receive, in all the durance thereof, any such hopefull aduertisements from their Capitaines abroad. Wherefore it is no meruaile, if the Errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemencie of this joy, *Himilear*, a Senator aduerser to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to haue demanded of that great perswader vnto peace with *Rome*, Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yeelded vp vnto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to giue thanks vnto the Gods, for this their good successe. Hereunto though it bee not likely that

*Hanno*

*Hanno* made the same formall answer, which *Lie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres conscripti*, by a terme proper to the *Romans*, and putting them in minde of his owne shamefull ouerthrow receiued at the Ilands *Ægates*: yet the summe of his speech appeares to haue bene no lesse malicious, than it is set downe, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himselfe, at his departure out of *Italie*, exclaimed against the wickednesse of this *Hanno*; saying, that his hatred against the *Barchines*, had oppressed their Familie, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is reported; saying, It ill becomed him, who had vanquished the *Romans*, to call for more helpe, as if he had bene beaten; or him, that had taken their campe, filled forsooth with spoile, to make request for meat and monie. To these caualis, if answer were needfull, it might be said, That other bootie than of horses and slaues, little was to be found in the *Roman* campe: the best of the *Souldiers* carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few silver studs in the bridles and trappings of their horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any maine conuoy of monie and prouisions, going to supply all wants of a great Armie in some other Prouince, (as the two *Scipios* are afterwards said to haue done, when they wanne the campe of *Asdrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spain*, in his iourne towards *Italie*) then might such an objection more iustly haue bene made vnto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein hee best might hope to preuaile, contained a perswasion to vse their fortune with moderation; and now to seeke peace, whilst they had so much the better in warre.

What would haue bene the issue of this counsaile, if it had bene followed, it were not easie to say. For though it bee likely, that the *Roman* pride would haue brooked much indignitie, in freeing *Italie* from the danger of warre, yet it is not likely, that the faith, so often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would haue bene kept entire, when any opinion of good aduantage had called for reuenge of so many shamefull ouerthrowes; since after this warre ended, and a new league concluded, no submissiue behauiour could preferre *Carthage* from ruine, longer than vntill such time, as *Rome* was at leisure from all other warres. This counsaile therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seeme temperate, was in deede very pellicent; and serued only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a maine consent of the Senate, that fortie thousand *Ammidians*, fortie Elephants, and great abundance of silver, should bee sent out to *Hannibal*: and that, besides these, twentie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, should be lured in *Spain*; not only to supply, as needs should require, the Armies in that Prouince, but to be transported into *Italie*.

This great aide, had it bene as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Historians would not haue found cause, to taxe the rechelesse imprudence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannes* to *Rome*; or in refreshing his Armie among the delights of *Capua*: the next years worke would haue finished the businesse, with lesse dangerous adventure; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campani*, would haue bene commended, as rewards by him well thought vpon, wherewith to animate both them and others; that were to be employed in the following warre. But either the too much carelesnesse of those, that were loth to make haile in laying out their monie, before extreme necessity required it; or the craftie malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working vpon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commoditie, than sense of the publike neede; vterly peruerred, and made vnprofitable in the performance, the order that had bene so well set downe. The Elephants were sent: and some monie peraduantage; vncertaine it is, how long after. But those great forces of threecore thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, came not into *Italie*, till much was lost of that which already had bene gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Armie, was first consumed by time, and sundrie accidents of warre. Only some

a *Liv*. 1. 23.

b *Liv*. 1. 26.

some small numbers, no way answering vnto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spain*; and the journey of *Afarabul* thence through *France* into *Italie* much talked of, but he not enabled thereto, till many yeares were past, and the *Romans* had recovered their strength.

Here wee may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their Citie, both by the *Tributes* receiued from their subiects, and by their wealthie Trade of merchandize. For it is not long, since the warre of the Mercinaries; and the perfidious tyrannie of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessitie twelue hundred talents, had exceedingly impouerished *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, euen by the expence of so much monie, as was to bee disbursed for redeeming of peace, after the losse at *Agathis*. Yet wee see, what great Armies of *Africans*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foot, are appointed to the seruice in *Italie*, and how little the *Carthaginians* feare the want of monie in these chargeable vnder takings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other side, hauing three or foure yeares together bene forced to some extraordinary cost, are faine to goe vpon credit, euen for the price of those slaues, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such advantage, in meanes to enrich their Treasurie, had the wealthy merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterranean Sea*, euen from *Tyrrus* their Mother-Citie in the bottome of the streights vnto the great Ocean, about the *Romans*: who liued on the fruits of their ground; and receiued their *Tributes* from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of *Carthage*, the impudence of *Roman* fullhood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discovered plainly whence the jealousy was bred, that this mighty Citie would againe rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, hauing giuen vp hostages, euen before the *Roman* Armie did set forth, to performe whatsoever should bee enjoyed them, with condition that their Citie might not be destroyed; and hauing accordingly, when they were so required, yielded vp all their weapons, and engines of warre; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the Citie of *Carthage*, which was the Bodie of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Towne must needs be demolished, and remoued into some other place, that should be twelue miles distant from the Sea. For (saide the *Romans*) this Trade of merchandize, by which yee now liue, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as yee promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of husbandrie; an wholesome kinde of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conseruation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glossing wordes, plainly shewes, what good obseruation the elder *Cato* had made of the baslie growth of *Carthage* in riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, added still this conclusion, *Thus I thinke; and that Carthage should be destroyed*; He may seeme, not only to haue had regard vnto that present wealth, which at his being there hee had found in the Citie, but much more vnto these times, and the great height wherunto it rose, euen suddenly as wee see, out of many calamities, whilst the *Romans* thought, that it had not bene in case to dare so terrible a warre.

Becas the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skillfull than the *Romans*; so came they farre short of them, in the honourable care of the publike good: hauing euery one, or most of them, a more principall regard of his owne priuate benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in Victors) when the first heat of their affection, wherein they concluded to pursue the warre strongly, was ouer-past, goe more leisurely to worke, than had bene requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perswade couetous men, that they should first of all defend their owne in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Prouince was secured, they might send an Armie into *Italie*; so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdom, to commit

all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the Enemies; or (which perhaps were worke) to the Government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who hauing once (if they could so doe) finished the warre, might easily make *Hannibal* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that thee had giuen them to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their owne slacknesse, incredulitie, dulnesse, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perswaded rather to make small disturbances in *Spain*, than to set vp all their reit at once in *Italie*. Yet was it indeede impossible, to hold a Countrey of so large extent, and lo open a coast, as that of *Spain*, free from all incursion of the Enemy: especially the affection of the *Natural* (as in a new Conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had bene to make a running warre, by which the *Romans* might haue bene found occupied, euen with the ordinarie *Carthaginian* Garisons, or some little addition therunto. For if it were thought meet, to deferre the prosecution of their maine intendment against *Rome* it selfe, vntill such time as euery little thorne were pulled out of the sides of so great a Prouince; then must *Emporia* haue bene besieged and forced: which by reason of alliance with the *Masilians*, gaue vnto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a readie and secure Harbour. But the Towne of *Emporia* was too strong to be wonne in haste: it had long defended it selfe against the *Barbarians*; hauing not aboue foure hundred paces of wall to the maine Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great *Spanish* Towne of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compasse, very strong likewise, and friend vnto the *Grecians*, though not ouer-much trusted. Wherefore to force this Towne of *Emporia*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Masilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*; would haue been a worke of little lesse difficultie, than was the *Roman* warre (in appearance) after the battaile at *Canna*: yea it had bene in effect none other, than to alter the seat of the warre; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better iudgement, neare vnto the gates of *Rome*. The difficultie of this attempt being such, as caused it altogether to be forborne; great follie it was, to bee much troubled about expelling the *Romans* vtterly out of *Spain*: whom they might more easily haue diuerted thence, and drawne home to their owne doores, by making strong warre vpon their Citie. For euen so the *Romans* afterwarde remoued *Hannibal* into *Africa*, by sending an Armie to *Carthage*, and by taking the like course, they now endeouored to change the seat of the warre, transferring it out of *Italie* into *Spain*. But the priuate affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is accellarie to their owne purposes, did make them easily winke at opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it selfe, though they let not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken vnto his discourages, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keepe the peace full. In the meane while they suffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to wearie themselves in traualle for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in generally highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the indolence of these *Barchines* had bene somewhat more than needfull. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were farre lesse honorable than the People of *Rome*: not only in gouernement of their subiect Prouinces, but in administration of their owne Estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weale publike about their priuate interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parsimonie toward their owne Mercinaries, when the former *Roman* warre was finished: so the conclusion of this warre present, will make them complaine, with feeling sighes, of their negligence in supplying *Hannibal*, after the victorie at *Canna*; when gladly they would giue all their Treasuries, to redeem the opportunity, that now they let passe, as if it were cost enough to send a few handfulls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spanish* businesse, and the state of *Africa* it selfe, depended wholly,

\* Of such ambition *Hanno* directly accused *Hannibal*, saying, that the wide warre vpon warre, that so hee might haue compassed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himselfe a King. *Liv.* lib. 21.

ly, or for the most part, vpon successe of things in *Itale*, the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly how matters were ordered in *Spaine* by the *Carthaginian* Gouvernours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set downe. For though we must not reprehend, in that worthe Historian *Liuie*, the tender loue of his owne Countreie, which made him giue credit vnto *Fabius* and others: yet mult we not, for his sake, beleue those lies, which the vnpartiall judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gaue them originall. It were needlesse to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the vntruth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example may suffice. Hee saith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former warre, That hauing cleane spent their strength, and being euen broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselues vnto the *Romans*. Contrarie herunto we finde in the *Life* of *AMILCAR*, set downe by *Emilius Probins*, That *Eryx* was in such fort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to bee in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not beene any warre. These wordes, being referred to the brauer resolution of the *Carthaginian* Souldiers, and the singular vertue of their Generall infusing such spirit into them; may be taken as not ouerliberrall. For in the Treatie of peace betwene *Amilcar* and *Catulus*, when the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay downe their Armes, and forsake *Sicily*, threatening, that otherwise he would not take of any composition: *Amilcar* boldly bad him choose, whether he would take of it, or no; for that the Armes, which his Countreie had put into his handes to vse against her Enemies, it was not his purpose to yeeld vp vnto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrarie to their custome vpon like aduantages, were content to let *Amilcar* haue his will, and not to stand with him vpon point of honour, whilest otherwise they might quietly rid their handes of him; paine enough it is, that they were farr from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would haue him seeme. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with vntruth; saying, that howsoeuer *Amilcar*, and his Souldiers, had endured all extremities, yet they behaued themselues as men that had no sense thereof; and were as farr from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference betwene *Fabius* (as also perhaps betwene other old Writers of the *Roman* storie) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mightie Citee of *Rome*: we must take it in good part, that howsoeuer *Liuie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, joyning very foolishly his owne shamefull ouerthrow at the Ilands *Ægætes*, with the great seruices of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had like-vent; yet *Ægætes* elsewhere he forbearth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his owne vnhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That the affaires of *Carthage* went neuer better, than a little before the losse of their fleet in that battail at *Sea*: wherein himselfe was General. Now concerning the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spaine*, there is cause to wils, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, and others of the like stampe, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Liuie* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to thinke too well of their relations: which are such as follow.

\* *Agætes* insula, *Eryx*que ante oculos propanit, *Ægætes*. *Liu.* lib. 21.  
a *Liu. lib. 21.*

§. XI. 50

§. XI.

Stranger reports of the Roman victories in *Spaine*, before *ASDRUBAL* the sonne of *AMILCAR* followed thence his brother *HANNIBAL* into *Italie*.



That hath beene shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul, returning from *Gaul* into *Italie*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alpes*, sent before him his brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Armie, into *Spaine*. Two *Roman* Legions, with foure- teene thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelue hundred horse, had beene allotted vnto this Consul, therewith to make warre in *Spaine* against *Hannibal*: vnto since he was marching into *Italie* with the strength of his Armie, *P. Scipio* beleueed, that a good part of these his owne forces might well be spared from the *Spanish* Expedition; and therefore made bold to carrie some of the number back with him, sending on his brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himselfe remayned in *Italie* all the time of his Consulship: which being expired, He was sent Proconsul into *Spaine* by the Senate, with an Armie of eight thousand men, and a fleet of thirtie Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Prouince, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat meruailous. For they continually preuailed in *Spaine*, against the *Carthaginians*: whom they vanquished in so many battailes, and with-drew from their Alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates; that wee haue cause to wonder, how the Enemy could so often finde meanes to repaire his forces, and returne strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliuer the Countreie from the tyrannic of *Carthage*, might easily winne vnto their Confederacie, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durst aduenture to breake it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerours, might serue to arme the Naturalls against these Invaders; and to reclaime those, that had revolted vnto the *Romans*, were it only by the memorie of such ill successe; as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* treasure: which easily raised souldiers, among those valiant, but (in that Age) poore, and gold-thirstie Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* warres; or seruing the *Carthaginians* in *Affric*. And peradventure, if we durst be bold to say it; the victories of the *Scipio's* were neither so many, nor so great, as they are set out by *Liuie*. This we may be bold to say, That the great Capitaine *Fabius*, or *Liuie* in his person, maketh an objection vnto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Liuie* for him, doth answer, That if *ASDRUBAL* were vanquished, as *Scipio* would say, by him in *Spaine*: strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to *Rome*, that the same vanquished man should invade *Italie*. And it is indeede an incredible narration, That *ASDRUBAL* being closed in on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of a battaile, saue only by the steepe descent of Rocks, ouer a great Riuer that lay at his back, ranne away with all his monie, Elephants, and broken troups, ouer *Tagus*, directly toward the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italie*; vpon which hee fell with more than three score thousand armed souldiers. Neither doe I see, how it hangs well together, That he chose a peece of ground very defensible, but most incommo- dious for his retreat, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his monie and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the Enemy: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for so are they said to haue done in the last battaile betwene him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his camp. Wherefore we can no more than be forrie, that all *Carthaginian* records of this warre, and *Spanish*, (if there were any) being vterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell vs: vnto whom it were no wisdom to giue too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily runne ouer the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spaine*; not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

R R R R 2

Cn.

Orat. 310. C. 10.  
Halle.

Lib. 12.1.

Polyb. 3.

Cn. Cornelius landed at Emporia, an Haven-towne not farre within the Pyrenes, retaining still the same name with little inflexion. That by the fame of his clemencie he allured many Nations to become subiect vnto Rome, as the storie beginnes of him, I could easily beleuee, if I vnderstood by what occasion they had neede to vse his clemencie, or he to giue such famous example thereof, being a mere stranger, and hauing no iurisdiction in the Countrey. Yet is it certaine, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himselfe into the loue of the *Barbarians*; among whom, his dexteritie in practise had the better successe, for that hee seemed to haue none other errand, than setting them at libertie. This pretext auailed with some: others were to bechired with monie: and some hee compelled to yeeld by force or feare; especially, when he had wonne a battaile against *Hanno*. In to all Treaties of accord, made with these people, likely it is that hee remembered to insert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances neuer forgate, vnto in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Maisiastern Pop. Rom. comiter conferent*, which is, as *Tullie* interpreteth, *That they should gently (or kindly) uphold the Maiestie of the People of Rome*. This was in appearance nothing troublefome; yet implied it indeede an obscure couenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *dittonis Romanæ*; of the *Roman iurisdiction*; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Countrey wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italie*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the *Barguitans*, *Hannibal* had found, at his coming among them, such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Gouvernour ouer them, as ouer the rest of the Prouince betwene *Iberus* and the *Pyrenes*, but made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceiue it, for I doe not thinke he gaue the Principalltie of their Countrey vnto *Hanno* and his Heires.) He made him not only Lieutenant generall ouer them, in matters of warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but tooke from them all interiour Officers of their owne, leauing them to be gouerned by *Hanno*, at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to reioyce at the coming of *Scipio*: with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to ioyne; it being the custome of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indifferently into the protection of others, that many times proue worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milaneis*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, wearie by turnes of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as more sensible still of the present cuill which they felt, than regardfull of the greater mischiefe, wherinto they ranne by seeking to auoide it. This bad affection of his Prouince, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left vnto him: besides which it is like, that some forces hee was able to raise out of his Prouince. Therefore hee aduentured a battaile with *Scipio*; wherein hee was overthrowne and taken. Following this victorie, *Scipio* besieged *Stiffum*, a Towne hard by, and wanne it. But *Asdrubal* hauing passed *Iberus*, and coming too late to the reliefe of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, fell vpon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not farre about *Tarracon*, whom he found carelesse, as after a victorie, rousing abroad in the Countrey; and with great slaughter draue them aboard their ships. This done, he ranne vp into the Countrey, where he with-drew the *Illegetes* from the *Roman* partie, though they had giuen hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the meane season was gone to visit and aide his fleet: where hauing set things in order, he returned back, and made toward *Asdrubal*; who durst not abide his coming, but with-drew himselfe againe ouer *Iberus*. So the *Illegetes* were compelled by force, hauing lost *Athanasia* their chiefe Citie, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increase the number of their hostages. The *Asietans* likewise, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirte daies;

daies; hoping in vaine, that the sharpe Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would haue made the *Romans* to dislodge. But they were faine at length to yeeld: and for this their obstinacie, they were amerced twentie talents of siluer. During the siege, the *Lactari* came to helpe their distressed Neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leauing twelue thousand of their companie dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how these *Lactari*, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should, without any cause remembered, become *Carthaginian* on the sudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of *Iberus*, hauing lately become voluntarily *dittonis Romanæ*; subiect vnto Rome, should, in continuance of the storie, after a few lines, hold warre against *Scipio*, without any assistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I beleuee, that *Asdrubal*, as it were by a charme, stirred vp the *Illegetes*, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take armes in his quarrell; whilst himselfe had not the daring to stand against *Scipio*, but ranne away, and saved himselfe beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* Writer, would haue told it thus: That *Scipio* aduenturing too farre into the Countrey, was beaten by *Asdrubal* back to his ships, whence hee durst not stirre, until Winter came on: at what time this *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Prouince, leauing some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* wanne, by returning vpon them, vnlooked for, through a deepe snow. As for the *Lactari*, *Illegetes*, and the rest, we may reasonably thinke, that they fought their owne benefit: helping themselves one while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwise, vpon sense of injuries receiued, or apprehension of more grievous tyrannie, vnder which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, hearkening againe vnto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to liue vnder their owne Countrey Lawes, and not vnder Gouvernours sent from Rome or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may testifie: euen from henceforth vnto the dayes of *Augustus Cæsar*; till when they were neuer thoroughly conquered.

The yeare following this, Cn. *Scipio* had a victorie against the *Carthaginians*, in fight at Sea; or rather came vpon them vnlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships, that ranne not too far on ground, he tooke: and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended. After this victorie, about one hundred and twentie Nations, or petty Estates, in *Spain*, are said to haue submitted themselves vnto the *Romans*, and giuen Hostages: whereby *Asdrubal* was compelled to flee into the vtmost corners of the Land, and hide himselfe in *Lusitania*. Yet it followes; that the *Illegetes* did againe rebell; that *Asdrubal* hereupon came ouer *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though hauing easily vanquished the *Illegetes*) went not forth to meet him, but stirred vp against him the *Celtiberians*; that lately were become his subiects and had giuen him Hostages. These tooke from the *Carthaginian* three Townes, and vanquished him in two battailes; wherein they slue fifteen thousand of his men, and tooke foure thousand prisoners. Then arrived P. *Scipio*, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren jointly administered the businesse in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian* Warre; the two *Scipios* did, had constant, without feare or doubt, passe ouer *Iberus*, and besiege *Saguntum*. Little cause of doubt had they, if Cn. had already subdued many Nations beyond it, and, among many others, the same *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish *Asdrubal*, *Bozlar*, the Gouvernour of *Saguntum*, a simple man, suffered himselfe to be perswaded by one *Aecidus* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the fauour and heartie good will of the Countrey, was by freely restoring vnto them their Hostages; as resting, without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the craftie *Spaniard*, being trusted with this message and restitution of the Hostages, carried them

all to the *Roman* Generalls: perswading them, as hee had done *Beller*, to make the Liberality their owne. Hereby the *Romans* purchased much loue: if the tale were true; and it were not rather true, as afterward and ere this we finde, that all the *Spanish* Hostages were left in new *Carthage*. I am wearie of rehearsing for many particularities, whereof I can beleue so few. But since wee finde no better certainties, we must content our selues with these.

The yeare following was like vnto this: *Asdrubal* must be beaten againe. The two *Scipio's* diuide their forces: *Cn.* makes warre by Land; *P.* by Sea. *Asdrubal*, with much labour and entreatie, hath gotten foure thousand foot, and fise hundred horse, out of *Africa*: Hee repaires his fleet; and prouides euery way to make resistance. But all his chiefe Sea-men, and Masters of his ships, reuolt vnto the *Romans*: because they had bene chidden the last yeare for their negligence, which had betrayed the Naue. The reuolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the *Carpetani*, or *Carpetani*, an In-land people about *Toledo* in the very Center of *Spaine*. These doe much mischief, so that *Asdrubal* is faine to make a iourne to them. His sudden coming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, so valiantly assaile him, that they driue him, for very feare, to incampe himselfe strongly on an high peece of ground; whence hee dares not come forth to giue them battaile. So they take a Towne by force, wherein hee had laid vp all his provisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Countre round about. This good successe breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Asdrubal* comes vpon them, takes them vnprepared, beates them, kills the most of them, and disperleth the rest; so that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Thence come directions from *Carthage*, that *Asdrubal* should leade his Armie forth- with into *Italie*: which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to doe, if they had bene informed by his letters in what hard case he was, and had so weakly supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus wee finde it reported; and that vpon the very rumour of this his iourne, almost all *Spaine* was readie to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore sends word presently to *Carthage*, that this must not be so: or, if they will needes haue it so, that then they must send him a Succes- 30 four, and well attended with a strong Armie, which to employ they should finde worke more than enough; such notable men were the *Roman* Generalls. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moued with this excole: *Asdrubal* must needes be gone; and *Ilmicio*, with such forces as are thought expedient for that seruice, both by Land and Sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spaine*. Wherefore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to doe, than to furnish himselfe with store of monie, that hee might haue wherewithall to winne the friendship of the *Gauls*, through whose Countries hee must passe, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly too blame, for not remembering to ease him of this care. But since it can be no better, he laies great Impolitions vpon all the *Spaniards* his Subjects: and hauing gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio's* hearing these newes, are carefull how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *Ibera* (so called of the Riuers name running by it) the richest towne in all those quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*: who thereupon steps aside to relieue it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battaile with him: which they winne the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquished at home; than get the victorie, and afterwards be hal'd into *Italie*. Great numbers are slaine: and few should haue escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ranne away, ere the batailles were thoroughly joyned. Their campe the *Romans* take, and spoile: whereby (question- 35 lesse) they are maruailously enriched; all the monie that could be raked together in *Spaine*, being carried along in this *Italian* Expedition. This dayes euent joynes all *Spaine* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Countre stood in doubt before; and puts *Asdrubal* so farre from all thought of trauiailing into *Italie*, that it leaues him small hope of keeping himselfe safe in *Spaine*. Of these exploits aduertisement is sent to 40 *Rome*:

*Rome*: and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are; That they haue neither monie, apparrell, nor bread, wherewith to sustaine their Armie and Fleet; That all is wanting; so as vnlesse they may be supplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarrie any longer in the Province. These Letters come to *Rome* in an euill season; the State being scarcely able, after the losse at *Canna*, to helpe it selfe at home. Yet reliefe is sent: how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that loue and care, which the priuate Citizens of *Rome* bare vnto the Common-wealth, shall be inferred elsewhere, into the relation of things whereof the truth is lesse questionable. At the coming of 10 this supply, the two *Scipio's* pursue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we thinke; that remember the last newes of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his owne safetie? They finde him, and *Mago*, and *Amilcar* the sonne of *Bomilcar*, with an Armie of threecore thousand men, besieging *Iliturgi*: (which the learned *Orielius*, and others, probably conjecture to haue stood, where *Carmenia* is now, in the Kingdome of *Aragon*; for there was *Iliturgi*, afterward called *Forum Iulii*, quite another way) a Towne of the *Ile*, gettes their nearest Neighbour, for ha- 15 uing reuolted vnto the *Romans*. The Towne is greatly distressed; but most of all, with want of victuailes. The *Romans* therefore breake through betwene the Enemies camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them: and hauing victualled the place, encourage the townsmen to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should: mon- 20 hold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalfe. So they illue forth, about thirteen thousand against threecore thousand: and killing more of the enemies, than themselves were in number, driue all the three *Carthaginian* Com- manders, euery one, out of his quarter; and take that day, besides prisoners and other bootie, fiftie and eight Ensignes. The *Carthaginian* Armie, being thus beaten from *Iliturgi*, fall vpon *Incibilis*, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of *I- 25 berus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning monie by warre, for thus re-enforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondered, whence the *Cartha- ginians* had monie to pay them: since *Asdrubal* was lately driuen to poll the Coun- 30 trie, wanting monie of his owne; and being beaten in this iourne, had lost his wealthie carriages, when his campe was taken after the battaile by *Ibera*. Howsoe- uer it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custome) are beaten againe at *Incibilis*: where there are of them above thirteene thousand slaine, and above three thousand taken; besides two and fortie Ensignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spaine* fell from them vnto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antias*, or some other Historian, to whom *Liuie* gaue credit, conquer all *Spaine* twice in one yeare, by winning famous victories; whereof these good 35 Captaines, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their 40 owne side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next yeare, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*; and are ouertrowne by him. *P. Scipio*, to helpe these his friends, is forced to make great halte ouer the Riuier. At *Castrum altum*, a place in the mid-way betwene new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *P. Scipio* incampeth: and stores the place with victuailes, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the Countre round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horse haue charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off cleare; falling also vpon some straglers, or such as lag- 45 ged behinde their fellows in march, they haue cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behouefull, to retire vnto some place more assured. So *Pab-* 50 lius withdraws himselfe vnto *Monti Victoris*: that rising somewhat Eastward from *Incibilis*, over-looks the Southerne Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repaires vnto him; and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gelo*, with a full Armie, arrives to helpe his Companions. As they lie thus neare incamped to- 55 gether, *P. Scipio*, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places therabouts,

Lui. 123.

Lui. 123.

Lui. 13.

is discovered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himselfe to an high peece of ground; where they besiege him, vntill his brother *Cn. Scipio* fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) *Castulo*, a great citie of *Spaine*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joyne with the *Romans*; though being farre distant from them, and seated on the head of the River *Betis*. Neer the selfe the *Carthaginians* passe ouer *Iberus*, to besiege *Illiturgi* againe, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison; hoping to winne it by famine. Wee may iustly wonder, what should moue them to neglect the rebellion of *Castulo*, yea and the *Roman* Armie lying so close by them, and to seeke adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had bene so grievously beaten the yeare before. But thither they goe: and thither folloves them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breaks out vpon them the next day, and in two battailes kills aboute twelue thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with fixe and thirtie Ensignes. This victorie (doublelesse) is remarkable: confidering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than fixe thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra*: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Amada*; where the *Romans* are loone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that lasteth foure houres, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victorie, and a more notable would haue gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* bene wounded. Thirtie nine Elephants are killed; and twelue thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fiftie Ensignes. The *Carthaginians* flie to *Auriger*; and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquisheth the *Carthaginians* againe: but kills not halfe so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrowes, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by nature to set warre on foot, quickly fill vp the broken troups of *Asdrubal*: who hauing also hired some of the *Gauls*, adventures once more to trie his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten againe, and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the *Romans* are euen ashamed, to leaue *Saguntum* enthralled vnto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalfe of that Citie, they had at first entred into this warre. And well may wee thinke it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since wee may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Countrie once and againe. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were faine (as appears) to goe their way without it: so as they neede not to blush, for hauing so long forborne to doe that, which ere now they had attempted, but were vnable to performe. At the present they winne *Saguntum*: and restore the possession thereof vnto such of the poore dispersed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the Countrie of the *Turdetani*, that had ministered vnto *Hannibal* matter of quarrell against the *Saguntines*. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would haue disturbed them, if they had bene able.

But ouer-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* haue gotten in *Spaine*, other print or token of all their braue exploits, wee can perceiue none, that this recouerie of *Saguntum*: excepting the stopping of *Asdrubals* iourne; which was indeede of greatest importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they haue landed at *Emporia*, an Hauentowne, built and peopled by a Colonie of the *Phoenicians*, kinne to the *Nisibitians*, friends to the *Romans*; They haue easily wonne to their partie, lost, recouered, and lost againe, some petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perswasion, other whiles by force, and sometimes by their owne vnstedd passions; and now finally they haue wonne a Towne, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire possession; who had rooted out the old Inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily beleue, that when they tooke *Saguntum* (if they tooke it not by surpris; which is to be suspected, since

in this Action wee finde no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we thinke, that all those battailes lately remembered, after euery one of which *Asdrubal* fared downe before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed readie to rebell, were prosperous vnto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to carrie the warre from Towne to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their owne places of strength, and therein to attend the leuie and arriuall of new supplies. And surely, if the *Romans* had bene absolute Masters of the field, when they wanne *Saguntum*, they would not haue consumed a whole yeare following, in practising only with the *Celtiberians* the next adjoining people. Yet made they this, little lesse than two yeares businesse. Of these *Celtiberians* we heare before, that they haue yielded vp themselves vnto the *Romans*; for securitie of their faith, giuen Hostages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made warre against the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without expresse condition of a great summe, hired to serue in the *Roman* Campe. How this may hold together I cannot perceiue; vnlesse perhaps in those daies it were the *Roman* custome, or rather the custome of some bad Author whom *Luius* followes, to call euery Mellerenger, or stragler, that entred their campe, an Hostage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, send an Armie of thirtie thousand to helpe the *Romans*: out of which, three hundred the littest men are chosen, and carried into *Italie*, there to deal with their Countreimen that follow *Hannibal* in his warres: But if any of these three hundred returne back into *Spaine*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him such newes of the riches and welfare of *Hannibals* men, that all his fellowes at home are the lesse vnwilling to follow *Asdrubal*, when he shall next haue a desire to leade them into *Italie*. Hereof wee finde more than probabilitie, when these Mercinarie *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Armie in the field. The two *Scipios*, presuming on this access of strength, diuide their forces, and seeke out the Enemies; who lie not farre off with three Armies. *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Amilcar*, is nearest at hand; euen among the *Celtiberians*, at *Anitorgis*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the feare is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, hearing the newes, will make vse of their distance, which is five daies march, and, by running into the furthest parts of the Countrie, save themselves from being our-taken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Armie; leaving the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his brother. Hee that hath the longer iourne to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his liues end. *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, are not studying how to runne away: they finde no such necessitie. They joyne their forces together; meet with *P. Scipio*; and lay at him so hardly, that hee is driuen to keepe himselfe close within his Trenches: wherein he thinks himselfe not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Masaniassa*, Prince of the *Massageti*, *Numidians* bordering vpon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chiefe honour of this seruice is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis*, a *Spanish* Prince, is comming with seven thousand and fixe hundred of the *Suesetani*, to joyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be freight thrust vp, and beleaged, He issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* vpon the way; leauing *T. Fonteus* his Lieutenant, with a small companie, to defend the campe. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues so long, that the *Numidian* horse appeare (whom he thought to haue bene ignorant of his departure) and fall vpon the *Romans* on all sides: neither are the *Carthaginians* farre behinde; but come so fast vpon him in R care, that *P. Scipio*, vnesteine

taine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where neede most requirith, is thruck through with a lance, and slaine: very few of his Armie escaping the same destinie, through benefit of the darke night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twentie dayes after. At his meeting with *Asdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercenaries all forsake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Countrey. If *Antiochus*, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Bentley* takes it; a *Celtiberian* Towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly beleue, that they were wonne by *Asdrubal*, and easily perswaded to take as much monie for not fighting, as they should haue had for hazarding their liues. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being vnable to stay them; and no lesse vnable, without their helpe, either to resist the Enemy, or to ioyne with his Brother, makes a very violent retreat; herein only differing from plaine flight, that hee keeps his mentogether. *Asdrubal* presteth hard vpon him: and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gefso*, hauing made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. *Scipio* steales from them all, by night; but is ouer-taken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stonie ground, where growes not so much as a shrub, vnfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he findes, of easie ascent on euery side; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Palisado. These weak defences the *Carthaginians* loone teare in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leaue very few of them aliue; that sauing themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoining, escape vnto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp, as is before said. It is a terrible ouerthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on euery side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to couer them, could breake out, and throw themselves within woods adjoining, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio's* campe, on the North side of *Iberus*, fearfull (as may be supposed) of his owne life; since his Generall, with two parts of the *Roman* Armie, had little hope to remaine long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a young *Roman* Gentleman of a notable spirit: who haing gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawne some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretie Armie. The Souldiers, being to choose a Generall by most voices, preferre this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lieutenant; as well they may. For *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gefso*, coming vpon them; this *L. Martius* do encourageth his men, (specially weeping when hee led them forth, vpon remembrance of their more honourable Generalls lately slaine) and admonisheth them of their present needes, that he beates the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victorie perhaps he might haue gotten, but that hee wisely founds the retreat; reseruing the furie of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldnesse growes, in enemies lately vanquished, and now againe little better than taken: but when they see, that the *Roman* dares not follow his aduantage, they returne to their former securitie; and vtterly despising him, set neither *Corps du garde*, nor Sentinell, but rest secure, as if no enemy were neare. *Martius* therefore animates his souldiers with liuely wordes; and tells them, That there is no aduantage more safe, than that which is furthest from suspicion of being vnder-taken. They are soone perswaded to follow him, in any desperate peece of seruice. So he leades them forth by night, and leales vpon the campe of *Asdrubal*: where finding no guard, but the enemies fast-asleepe, or very drowzie, He enters without resistance, fires their Cabbins, and giues a terrible alarme; so that all afrighted, the *Carthaginians* runne head-long one vpon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their campe *Martius* hath prepossessed, so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke vpon it, and runne away toward the campe of *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, that lay fixe miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley be-

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tweene their two campes he hath bestowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall euery one, and are cut in peeces. But lest perchance any should haue escaped, and giue the alarme before his coming; *Martius* hastens to be there as soone as they. By which diligent speede, He comes early in the morning vpon this further campe: which with no great difficulty he enters; and partly by force, partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceiued, when they beheld the *Roman* shields, foule, and bloudied with their former execution, He driues head-long into flight, all that can saue themselves from the furie of the sword. Thirtie seuen thousand of the enemies perish in this 10 nights worke; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirtie, that are taken prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* adds, that the campe of *Mago* was also taken, and seuen thousand slaine: and that in another battaile with *Asdrubal*, there were slaine ten thousand more; besides foure thousand three hundred and thirtie, taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Liue* therefore hath elsewhere well obserued, That there is none so intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that haue fallen in battailes. That, whilst *Martius* was making an Oration to his souldiers, a flame of fire thone about his head, *Liue* reporteth as a common tale, not giuing thereunto any credit: and temperately concludeth, I hat this Captaine 20 *Martius* got a great name; which he might well doe, if with so small forces, and in so lutt dreffe, He could clearly get off from the Enemies, and giue them any parting blow, though it were farre lesse than that which is here set downe.

Of these occurrences *L. Martius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his owne good seruice, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might iudge him worthe to hold the place of their Vicegerent in *Spaine*: which the better to intimate vnto them, He stiled himselfe Propretor. The *Fathers* were no lesse moued with the tidings, than the case required: and therefore tooke such careful order, for supplying their forces in *Spaine*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, crethe Companies, leuied to serue in that Province, could be sent away; yet would they not stay a tide for defence of the Citie it selfe, but shipped them in all haste for 30 *Spaine*. As for that title of Propretor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in usurping it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to haue the souldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was dispatched away, with all conuenient haste, into *Spaine*: carrying with him about sixte thousand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* Horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the affaires of *Rome* beganne to prosper in *Italie*, and afforded means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise, the victories of *Martius* would ill haue serued, either to keepe footing in *Spaine*, or to 40 stop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alpes*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Armie, which was vnder *Martius* and *Fonteius*, he found surer tokens of the ouerthrowes received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts vnto the Senate. The *Roman* partie was forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends: whom how to reclaim, it could not easly be deuised. Yet *Claudius* aduanced boldly towards *Asdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the *Ausetani*, neare enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no issue, but only through a streight, whereon the *Roman* seized at his first coming. What should haue tempted any man of vaderstanding to incampe in such a place, 50 does not finde: and as little reason can I finde in that which followed. For it is said, That *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe thus lockt vp, made offer to depart forth-with out of all *Spaine*, and quit the Province to the *Romans*, vpon condition, that he and his Armie might be thence dismissed; That he spent many daies, in entertaining parlee with *Claudius* about this buisnesse, That night by night hee conueied his foot-men

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(a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a miltie day, Hee stole away with all his Horfe and Elephants, leaving his campe empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generalls in *Spaine*; wee shall finde no lesse cause to wonder at the Implicite of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Countrey, with one of these three Chieftaines, than at the strange nature of those passages: through which the foot-men could hardly creepe out by night; the Horfe and Elephants easily following them in a darke miltie day. Wherefore in giuing beliefe to such a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to haue bene of farre lesse value. Howsoever it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could doe, serued to purchase any new friends in *Spaine*, or to recouer the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Propretor, tooke it not well, that the Senate, regardlesse of their good deserts, had repealed their Election; and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may haue moued them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) yong *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignitie, were needfull to worke regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloued memorie of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to doe good, were it reuiued in one of the same Familie. Whether vpon these, or vpon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Prouince; and *Publius* the son of *P. Scipio* sent Proconsul into *Spaine*.

This is that *P. Scipio*, who afterward transferred the warre into *Africk*. where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Countrey. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Continencie, Bountie; and other Vertues that purchase loue; of which qualities what great vse he made, shall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, fauouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders*; vanitie; How he vsed to walke alone in the *Capitoll*, as one that had some secret conference with *Iupiter*; How a Dragon (which must haue bene one of the Gods; and, in likelihood, *Iupiter* himselfe) was thought to haue conuersed with his Mother, entring her chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than meere fables, deuised by Historians, who sought thereby to adde vnto the glorie of *Rome*: that this noble Citie might seeme, not only to haue surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generalltie, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serue to adorne this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as a matter of vnquestionable truth, That when a Proconsul was to be chosen for *Spaine*, there durst not any Captaine of the principall Citizens offer himselfe as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the People of *Rome* were much astonished therat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citie stood looking one another in the face, not one of them hauing the heart, to aduenture himselfe in such a desperate seruice; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about foure and twentie yeares of age, getting vp on an high place where hee might be scene of all the Multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred vpon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreames: and either very vnreasonable was the feare of all the *Roman* Captaines, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spaine* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Prouince, which *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard euen now, was readie to abandon. But vpon these inconherencies, which I finde in the too partiall *Roman* Historians, I doe not willingly insist.

*P. Scipio* was sent Proconsul into *Spaine*; and with him was joyned *M. Iunius Sylanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadiutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot, and

and a thousand horse, in thirtie *Quinquereme Gallies*. With these they landed at *Emporia*; and marched from thence to *Tarracon* along the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio*'s arrival, it is said, that Embassages came to him space from all quarters of the Prouince: which he entertained with such a majestic, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the Enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and so much the greater was their feare, by how much the lesse they could giue any reason of it. It wee must beleuee this, then must wee needs beleuee, that their feare was euen as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so yong a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the winter following (or, as some thinke, all the next yeare) hee did nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprise was against new *Carthage*: vpon which he came vnexpected, with five and twentie thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; his Sea-forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. Hee assailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wanne it by assault the first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it, by their too much confidence vpon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might haue bene well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of *Tarracon* had not discovered vnto *Scipio*, a secret passage vnto the walls; whereof the Townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could haue no notice. This Citie of new *Carthage*, relembed the old and great *Carthage* in situation; standing vpon a demi-Iland, betwene an Hauen and a great Lake. All the Westerne side of the wall, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher men of *Tarracon* had founded; and finding in some part thereof a shelte, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deepe, or (at most) wading vp to the Naull, *Scipio* thrust thereto some Companies of his men; who recovered the top of the wals without resistance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend it selfe by the naturall strength. These falling suddenly vpon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the Citie; easily forced a gate, and gaue free entrance to the *Roman* Armie. What bootie was found within the Towne, *Luie* himselfe cannot certainly affirme; but is faine to say, That some *Roman* Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treasurie, we may easily perceiue, how great a vanitie it was to say, That all the wealth of *Africk* and *Spaine*, was heaped vp in that one Towne. But therein were bestowed all the *Spanish* Hostages: (or at least of the adjoining Prouinces) whom *Scipio* entreated with singular courtesie; restoring them vnto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit. Hercupon a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two pettie Kings of the *Hergetes* and *Lacetani*, nearest Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the North side of *Iberus*, forsooke the *Carthaginian* partie; and joyned with the *Romans*. The speech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Hergetes*, is much commended; for that he did not vant himselfe, as commonly fugitiues vse, of the pleasure which he did vnto the *Romans*, in reuolting from their Enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*, and invited by the honorable dealing of *Scipio*. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeede no vntrue token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the *Hergetes* had long ere this (as we haue heard before) forsaken the *Carthaginian* partie, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*; then could nothing haue bene deuised more vaine, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the fame, when he should haue rather craued pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Vncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howeouer the two elder *Scipio*'s had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the *Romans* neuer Masters of the Countrey, till this worthy Commander, by recouering their Hostages from the *Carthaginians*; and

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by his great munificence in sending them home, wanne vnto himselfe the assured loue and assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generalls, when they heard of this losse, were very forrie: yet neuertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a yong man, hauing stolne a Towne by surpris, was too farre transported, and ouer-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Vncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more conuenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine owne conjecture; I should be bold to say, That the *Carthaginians* were at this time busie, in setting forth towards *Italy*; and that *Scipio*, to diuert them, vnder-tooke new *Carthage*, as his Father and Vncle, vpon the like occasion, late downe before *Ibera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not bene much amiss, if the passage ouer the Lake had bene vndiscovered, and the Towne held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in coming to such good issue vpon the first day: yet in the generality of the bulinesse, betwene *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should bee staied from going into *Italy*, than that base of *Spain* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to doe, that should hinder his iourne; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* worke, in that lingering warre of taking and retaking Townes, whilst the maine of the *Carthaginian* forces, vnder *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprife: euen to fight in triall of the Empire. But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whether hee ranne for feare, as thinking himselfe ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but heare the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, coming vpon *Asdrubal*; his Vancourers charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* host; that they drawe them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, euen by that small peece of frivole, how full of spirit the *Roman* Armie was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that euen ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with a River, very steepe of ascent, and not easie of access on the fore-side; by which himselfe got vp, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plaine, wherein he strongly incamped himselfe: and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plaine; into which he descended, more vpon brauerie, than he might not seeme to hide himselfe within his Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Armie to the hazard of a battaile, for which this was no equall ground. But such advantage of place could not saue him from the *Romans*. They climbed vp the Hill to him; they recovered euen footing with him; droue him out of this lower Plaine, vpon into his Campe on the Hill-top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants belowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet much more strongly breaking their passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got vp before them, they drawe both Men and Elephants head-long. I know not whether: for it is said, that there was no way to flie. Out of such a battaile, wherein he lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to haue escaped; and gathering together his disperfed troupes, to haue marched towards the *Pyrennes*, hauing sent away his Elephants ere the fight beganne. Neuertheless *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, are reported after this, to haue consulted with him about this warre; and finally to haue concluded, that god hee needed must, were it but to carrie all the *Spaniards* as farre as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to haue been true, it shall appeare at his coming into *Italy*; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affaires, haue too long detained vs.

§. XII.

## §. XII.

The great troubles that HANNIBAL raised in all quarters, to the Citie of Rome. POSTHUMVS the Roman Generall, with his whole Armie, is slain by the Gauls. PHILIP King of Macedon, enters into a League with HANNIBAL, against the Romans. The Romans, joining with the Aetolians, make warre vpon PHILIP in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him; the better to intend their businesse against the Carthaginians.

WE left Hannibal wintering at *Capua*: where hee and his new Confederates rejoiced (as may bee thought) not a little, to heare the good newes from *Carthage* of such mightie aide, as was decreed to bee sent thence vnto him. In former times hee had found worke enough, to carrie the *Romans* corne into his owne barnes, and to driue away their Cattle to *Geryon*: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Armie; by making him Master of the open field. Hee might perhaps haue forc'd some walled Townes, in like sort as he did *Geryon*, and the Cattle of *Cannae*; but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Armie must haue endured the Winter and Spring following, vntill corne were ripe, would haue grievously punished him for such imployment of the Sommer. This may haue bene the reason; why hee forbore to adventure vpon *Rome* after his victorie at *Cannae*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certaintie) to carrie the Citie at his first coming; want of victualles would haue compelled him to quit the enterprife. Yea many of the people that opened so hastily their gates vnto him, vpon the fresh bruit of his glorious successe, would haue taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the euent of another battaile: if being, either for want of meanes to force the Citie, or of necessities to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seeme) from the walls of *Rome*, hee had presented himselfe vnto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the yeare; when time to force their obedience was wanting, vntill they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and trauaile was past, when so many States of *Italy* were become his: the yeare following, the *Sannites*, and other old enemies of *Rome*, were like to receive a notable pleasure of their new alliance with *Carthage*; by helping to lay siege vnto that proud Citie, which so long had held them in subjection. Thus the Winter was passed ouer joyfully, sauing that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to second the welcome report of those mightie forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promised supply there arrived no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I finde not: only we finde, that after this he had about thirtie of them; whereas all, save one, that hee brought ouer the *Alpes*, had bene lost in his iourne through the marshes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make vnto Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischiefs the perswasion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwise, they might perhaps informe him, that it was thought a safer, though a farther way about, to passe along through *Spain* and *Gule*, as hee himselfe had done; and increase the Armie, by hyring the *Barbarians* in the iourne; than to commit the maine strength of their Citie, to the hazard of the Seas; especially wanting a commodious Haven, to receiue the fleet that should carrie such a number of Men, Horfes, and Elephants, with all needfull prouisions. With these allegations *Hannibal* must rest content; and seeke, as well as he can, to satisfie his *Italian* Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeare serued, he tooke the field; and hauing finished what rested to be done at *Callinum*, sought to make himselfe Master of some good Haven-towne thereabout; that might serue to entertaine the *Carthaginian* fleet; or take from his

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Enemies



close prisoners to *Rome*: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest sold for bond-slaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon a new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speede; concluding, as was agreed before; only with some litle of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed; thinking with what heauie weight this *Macedonian* warre, in an euill houre, was likely to fall vpon them; when their shoulders were ouer burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they tooke a noble resolution; and futeable vnto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would haue beaten vpon them from *Spain*. They judged it more easie, with small forces to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their strength to resist him in *Italie*. And herein they were in the right. For that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joyning with *Hannibal* in such a time, would haue sufficed to shake the allegiance not only of the *Latines*, and other their most faithfull Subjects, but euén of the *Roman* Colonies that held all priuiledges of the Citie, it will appeare by the following successe of things. *M. Valerius* the Pretor, with twentie *Quinguereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend vpon the *Macedonian*: and to set on foot some commotion in *Greece*; or to nourish the troubles already therein begonne. *Philip* was busie about the Sea-townes, that looked towards *Italie*, setting vpon *Apollonia*; and thence falling vpon *Oricum*; which he wanne, and so returned to *Apollonia* againe. The *Epirus* craved helpe of *M. Valerius*: or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other businesse to doe. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Townsmen in good order; but not to keepe out the *Romans*: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspicion. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Towne; and sent thence a thousand men, vnder *Namus Crispus* an vnder-taking and expert Capitaine; which got by night into *Apollonia*. These made a notable sallie; and brake into *Philip*'s Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his camp, and raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to haue departed thence by Sea; but *Valerius*, coming with his fleet from *Oricum*, stopped vp the mouth of the Riuer; so that hee was faine to burne his ships, (which belike were no better than long botes) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this, *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwaies enemie to the Crowne of *Macedon*: and easily perswaded them (being so affected, as hath elsẽ where bene shewed) to make strong warre on *Philip*; wherein he promised them great assistance from the *Romans*. That which most moued the troublesome spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*: after which they had gaped long; and whereof the *Roman* was as liberal in making promise, as if already it had bene his owne. So a league was made betwene them: and afterward solemnely published at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*; and by the *Romans*, in their *Capitoll*. The conditions were, That from *Ætolia* to *Corycia*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the Countrey should bee subdued, and left vnto the *Ætolians*; the pillage only to be giuen to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it should be with Prouision, to hold no longer, than whilst hee obtained from doing iniurie to the *Romans*, or their Associates. This was indeede the only point, whereat *Valerius* aimed: who promised as much on the *Romans* behalfe, That they should not make peace with the *Macedonian*, vnlesse it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this League was place referred for the *Lacedemonians* and *Eleans*, as to those that had made or fauoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Ser diletus*: the first of which reigned at *Pergamus*, in *Asia* the lesse, a Prince hereafter much to bee spoken of; the other two held some part of *Ilyria*, about which the *Romans* were so farre from contending with them, that gladly they fought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates, are thrust into the Treatie; rather to giue it countenance, than for any readinesse

readinesse which they disclofe to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Pretor, with *Dorymachus* and others, are yet awhile the only men, of whom the *Roman* Generalls must make much; as the late *French* King, *Henric* the fourth, when he had only the title of *Nauarre*, was said to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was noridle, when he heard wherunto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Armie; made a countenance of warre vpon the *Ilyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to inleite the Kingdome of *Macedon*; walled the Countrey about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*; and ouer-running the *Pelagians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held suspected, came downe into *Thessalie*, whence hee made shew as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, he thought to stirre vp all the *Greekes* adjoyning, against the *Ætolians*; whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Countrey. To which purpose, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, he left *Perseus* his sonne and heire, with foure thousand men, vpon their borders: with the rest of his Armie, before greater bulinesse should ouer-take and entangle him; He made a long iourne into *Thrace*, against a people called the *Medes*; that were wont to fall vpon *Macedon*, whensoever the King was absent. The *Ætolians*, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the *Acarnanians*; in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and winne their little Countrey, ere hee should bee able to returne. Hereto it much auailed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Oeniada* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Townes, conueniently situated to let in an Armie; and conigned them vnto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we say) euery Mothers sonne of them, in defence of their Countrey; together with the great halfe of the *Macedonian* (who laid aside all other businesse) to succour these his friends; caused the *Ætolians* to forsake their enterprife. When this Expedition was giuen ouer, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell vpon *Anticyra*, which they tooke: the *Romans* assailing it by Sea; the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Towne; and the *Romans* the spoile.

For these good seruices *M. Valerius* was chosen Consul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpicius* sent in his stead, to keepe the warre on foot in *Greece*. But besides the *Roman* helpe, *Attalus* out of *Asia* came ouer to assist the *Ætolians*. Hee was chiefly moued, by his owne jealousy of *Philip*'s greatness: though somewhat also tickled with the vanitie, of being chosen by the *Ætolians* their principall Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titular, he tooke in very louing part. Against the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had sent, being joyned with the maine power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, these his troublesome Neighbours desired peace of him; and vied their best meanes to get it. But when the day, appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come: the *Embassadours*, in stead of making submission, proposed vnto him such intolerable condition; as ill befemed vanquished men to offer; and might therefore well testifie, that their mindes were altered. It was not any loue of peace, but feare of being besieged in their owne Townes, that had made them delirious of composition. This feare being taken away, by the encouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as euer: and thrust a Garrison of their owne, and some *Roman* friends, into *Elis*; which threatened *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut ouer the streight from *Naupactis*, walled the Countrey in a terrible braverie: wherein *Philip* required them; coming vpon them in haste from the *Azmann* Games (which he was then celebrating) and sending them faster away, but nothing richer, than they came.

In the heat of this contention, *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no lesse than *Attalus* held suspected the power of *Philip*; sent a Naue into *Greece*, to assist the *Macedonian* partie. The like did the *Carthaginians*: and vpon greater reason; as being more interested in the successe of his affaires. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships; yet the Vessells were

were such, as could not hold out against the *Roman Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoued him, to vse the helpe of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aide came somewhat too late: which might better at first haue kept those Enemies from falling vpon any part of *Greece*; than after wards it could serue to driue them out, when they had pierced into the bowells of that Countrie. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea; it was needfull that he should correct the *Eleans*, bad Neighbours to the *Achaians*, his principall Confederates. But in assailing their Towne, Hee was encountered by the *Aetolian* and *Roman* Garrison; which draue him back with some losse. In such cases, especially where God intends a great conuersion of Empire, Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had receiued no great detriment, in his retreat from *Elis*: rather he had giuen testimonie of his personall valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horse was slaine vnder him. He had also loone after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of foure thousand; with some twentie thousand head of Cattle, which they had brought together into a place of safetie, as they thought, when their Countrie was invaded. But it had happened, that in his pursuit of the *Roman* forragers about *Sicyon*, his horse running badly vnder a low tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the fashion of those times) the King wore in his Crest. This was gathered vp by an *Aetolian*; who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philip*'s death. The horne was well known; and the tale belieued. All *Macedon* therefore was in a vpror; and not only the Borderers, readie to fall vpon the Countrie, but some Captaines of *Philip*, callie corrupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in that change of things, ranne into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home; leauing not three thousand men, to assist his friends the *Achaians*. Hee also tooke order, to haue Beacons erected; that might giue him notice of the Enemies doings; vpon whom hee meant shortly to returne. The affaires of *Macedon*, his preference quickly established. But in *Greece* all went ill-favourably: especially in the Ile of *Euboea*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus*, and the *Romans*, the Towne of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arriue to helpe it; where also the strong Citie of *Chalcis* was likely to haue bene lost, if hee had not come the sooner. He made such hastie marches, that hee had almost taken *Attalus* in the Citie of *Opus*. This Citie, lying ouer against *Euboea*, *Attalus* had wonne, more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that hee had vsed. Now because the *Roman* souldiers had defrauded him in the sack of *Oreum*, and taken all to themselves: it was agreed, that *Attalus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*; without admitting the *Romans* to be his Gaiers. But whilst he was busie, in drawing as much monie as hee could out of the Citizens: the sudden tidings of *Philip*'s arriuall, made him leaue all behinde him, and runne away to the Sea-side, where hee got aboard his ships; finding the *Romans* gone before, vpon the like feare. Either the indignitie of this misadventure; or tidings of *Prusias* the *Bithynian* his insuasion vpon the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* returne home, without staying to take leaue of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*; wonne *Torone*, *Tritonias*, *Drymon*, and many small townes in those parts; performing likewise some Actions, of more brauerie than importance, against the *Aetolians*. In the meane season, *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*, had bene busie in *Peloponnesus*; but hearing of *Philip*'s arriuall, was returned home.

The *Lacedaemonians*, hearing certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, went about to chooe two new Kings; and to conserue themselves to their old manner of gouernment. But their estate was so farre out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the Citie, proued nolesse vnfortunate, than had bene so their attempts of reconseruing a large Dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a Tyrant roleys among them: vnto whom succeeded this *Machanidas*; and shortly after came *Nabis*, that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Aetolian* and *Roman* side, for feare of the *Achaians*; that were the chiefe Confederates of *Philip*, and hated ex-

remely the name both of *Tyrant*, and of *Lacedaemonian*. But of these wee shall speake more hereafter.

*Philip* entring into *Achaia*, and fecing his presence had brought the contentment of assurance to that Countrie; spake braue wordes to the Assembly of their States, saying, That hee had to doe with an Enemy, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. Hee told how hee had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*; but could no where finde them; such haste they made, for feare of being ouer-taken. But flight, Hee said, was not alwaies prosperous: Hee should one day light vpon them; as ere this hee sundrie times had done, and ill to their losse. The *Achaians* were glad to heare these wordes; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deedes accompanying them. For he reitored vnto their Nation some Townes, that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, Hee rendred *Aliphera*. The *Dymiscians*, that had bene taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaues, Hee fought out, ranfomed, and put in quiet possession of their owne Citie. Further, passing ouer the *Corinthian Gulfes*, Hee fell vpon the *Aetolians*: whom hee draue into the mountains and woods, or other their strongest holds; and wasted their Countrie. This done, Hee tooke leaue of the *Achaians*: and returning home by Sea, visited the people that were his subjects, or dependants; and animated them so well, that they reled fearelesse of any threatening danger. Then had he leifure to make warre vpon the *Dardaniens*, ill Neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom neuerthelisse he was not so farre occupied, but that hee could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himselfe Maister of the Sea; the *Romans* (since the departure of *Attalus*) hauing not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ranne along the coast of *Greece*, fast by them where they lay.

This good successfe added much reputation to the *Macedonian*; and emboldened him to make strong warre vpon the *Aetolians*, at their owne doores. As for the *Romans*; either some displeasure, conceiued against their Confederates; or some feare of danger at home, when *Asdrubal* was readie to fall vpon *Italie*; caused them to giue ouer the care of things in *Greece*, and leaue their friends there to their owne fortunes. The *Aetolians* therefore, being driuen to great extremitie, were faine to sue for peace vnto *Philip*; and accept it, vpon what euer conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirtie fise Gallies, came ouer in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Aetolia*, hee turned aside to *Dyrrachium*, and *Apollonia*; making a great noise, as if with these his owne forces hee would worke wonders. But it was not long, ere *Philip* came to visit him; and found him tame enough. The King presented him bataille: but he refused it; and suffering the *Macedonians* to waste the Countrie round about, before his eyes, kept himselfe close with in the walls of *Apollonia*; making some Ouertures of peace: which caused *Philip* to returne home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the *Aetolians*, as had *Philip*, to take in euill part the demeanour of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the Royall offer that hee made them, to serue their turne in *Italie*, and assist them in getting their hearts desire, before hee would expect any requital: they had not sent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation of his Armie, or to free his coast from the *Roman* and *Aetolian* Pyracies. Only once they came to his helpe, which was, at his last iournie into *Achaia*. But they were gone againe before his arriuall: hauing done nothing; and pretending feare of being taken by the *Romans*, euen at such time as *Philip*, with his owne Naue, durst boldly passe by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This relesse dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seeme to haue bene one of *Hannibal*'s tricks; whereof *Hannibal* do bitterly complained. For it could not but grieue this malicious man exceedingly; to heare, that so great a King made offer to serue in person vnder

*Hannibal*,

*Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the World at his pleasure. Therefore hee had reason, such as *Enue* could suggest, to perswade the *Carthaginians* vnto a safe and thirritie course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* warres for mightie a Prince, whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection vnto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their libertie. Rather they should doe well to saue charges; and feede the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet, and some other succours. This would cost nothing: yet would it serue to terrifie the *Romans*, and compell them to send part of their forces from home; that might finde this Enemie worke abroad. So should the *Roman* Armies be lessened in *Italie*; and *Philip*, when once he was engaged in the warre, be vrged vnto the prosecution, by his owne necessitie: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges; yea scarce to the labour of giuing him thanks. Now if it might come to passe, as *Hannibal* euery day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italie*, should within awhile bee at the deuotion of *Carthage*: better it were that the Cite should be free, so as the troublesome *Greekes* might addresse their complaints vnto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Iudges betweene them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africa*, should wait vpon *Philip* as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no lesse impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsaile of *Hanno* and his fellows, were such as this; or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their owne disposition without his aduice, were too sparing, and carelesse, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; even in that little courtlike which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why hee begonne the building of an hundred Gallies, as if hee would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would haue reached, had hee not vainely giuen credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the *Ætolians* had submitted themselves alreadie: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very feare of him; with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to haue succoured them in their necessitie, He might giue over the warre, and, without reprehension, leaue them to themselves. For hee had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrell were merely his owne, and hee vnable to manage it. The vanitie of which their conceits would appeare vnto them: when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year following it was agreed, by mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should retaine three or foure Townes of *Illyria*, which they had recovered in this warre, being part of their old *Illyrian* Conquest: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*; and therefore perhaps inserted into the covenants, that somewhat might seeme to haue been gotten. On the other side, the *Atinians* were appointed to returne vnder the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the Countie about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not giue peace, as they would seeme to haue done, but accepted it, vpon conditions somewhat to their losse.

The Confederates and Dependents of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achaens*, *Boeotians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the People of *Illyria*, as an honorable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; *Pleuratus*, an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Messenians*, and *Athenians*. The *Ætolians* were omitted, belike, as hauing agreed for themselves before. But the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Ætolians*, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their League with *Philip*) were

were also infected by the *Romans*; that were neuer slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*, they stood much vpon their old honour; and loued to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great Actions. Yet the setting downe of their name in this Treatie, serued the *Romans* to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a bulke people; and ministred occasion to renew the Warre, when meanes did better serue to follow it.

### §. XIII.

How the Romans beganne to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieuing the publike necessities of their Common-wealth.



It was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing so many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the halues; and wasted more men and monie to no purpose, than would haue serued (if good order had bene taken) to finish the whole warre in farre shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This error had bene the lesse harmefull, if their care of *Italie* had bene such as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal*, to wearie himselfe with expectation of their promised supplies: which being still deferred from yeare to yeare, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerour could haue desired. The death of *Polibonius*, and destruction of his whole Armie in *Gaul*; the begunne rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuse*; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole Ile of *Sicily*; as also that Warre, of which we last spake, threatened from *Macedon*; happening all at one time; and that so nearely after their terrible ouerthrow at *Cannæ*, among so many reuolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would vtterly haue sunke the *Roman* State, had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first year, yet atleast the second, sent ouer to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that euen this diuersitie of great hopes, appearing from all parts, admitted matter vnto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, wherupon to worke. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to performe all that was decreed for *Italie*: yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their severall Armies. This had not bene a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had bene thoroughly prosecuted: though it flood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperitie of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* warre, should haue bene strengthened; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender troups, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the warre in *Spain*; the lingering aide which they sent, to vp-hold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was alreadie well neare beaten downe; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hastic catching at *Sicily*: little deferred to be thought good reasons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these Actions, considered apart by it selfe, was no otherwise to be allowed as discreetly vnder-taken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, That the care of *Italie*, made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serue to content *Hannibal*; then must hee patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were jealous of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatsoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himselfe to Necessitie, to feede his *Italian* friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about *Naples*, *Naples*, *Cuma*, and other places: being loth to spend his Armie in an hard siege, that was to be referred for a worke of more importance. Many offers hee made vpon

upon *Nola*; but alwaies with bad successe. Once *Marcellus* fought a battaile with him there: yet vnder the very walls of the Towne; hauing the assistance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the *Roman* side, since the Heads, that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that fight lost: which was no great meruaile; his forces being then diuided, and imployed in sundrie parts of *Italie* at once. *Naples* was, euen in those daies, a strong Citie; and required a yeares worke to haue taken it by force. Wherefore the earnest desire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwaies frustrate. Vpon the Towne of *Cuma* they of *Capua* had their plot; and were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chiefe Magistrates of the *Cumans*, desiring them (as being also *Campans*) to be present at a solemn sacrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their general good: promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly, from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made them to entertaine; but priuily sent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the *Roman* Consul.

*Gracchus* was a very good man of warre; and happily chosen Consul in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should haue bene *Posthumus Albinus*, that was lately slaine by the *Gauls*: after whose death *Marcellus* was chosen; as being judged the fittest man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman Augures* either found some religious impediment, that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at least they feared so to haue done: because this was the first time, that euer two *Plebeian* Consuls were chosen together. *Marcellus* therefore gaue ouer the place: and *Q. Fabius Maximus* the late famous Dictator, was substituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the Citie, about matters of Religion, or Superstition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Conular Armie, waited vpon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meet the Enemy in field; yet intenuie to all occasions, that should be presented. The *Volones*, or *slaves*, that lately had bene armed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men, hee continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Armie skilfull in the exercises of warre; than to keepe it from quarrells, that might arise by vbraiding one another with their base condition.

Whilest the Consul was thus busied at *Linternum*; the Senators of *Cuma* sent him word, of all that had passed betweene them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them confident against the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himselfe into *Cuma*: whence he issued at such time, as the Magistrates of that Citie were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hana*, three miles from *Cuma*. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chiefe Magistrate of *Capua*, with foureteene thousand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deuising how to surprize others, than fearing himselfe to be assailed. The Consul therefore, suffering none to goe forth of *Cuma*, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, issued out of the Towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreshed with meat and sleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights seruice. So he came vpon the *Capuans* vnawares: and slew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander; loosing not about an hundred of his owne men. Their campe he tooke: but taried not long to rise it, for feare of *Hannibal*; who lay not farr off. By this his prouidence, he escaped a greater losse, than he had brought vpon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hana*, forthwith he marched thither: hoping to finde those yong souldiers, and slaues, busied in making spoile, and loading themselves with the bootie. But they were all gotten safe within *Cuma*; which partly for anger, partly for desire of gaining it, and partly at the vrgent entreatie of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* assailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill successe,

the *Carthaginian* and their fellows spent about this Towne. They raised a wooden Tower against it: which they brought close vnto the walls; and thinking thereby to force an Entrie. But the Defendants, on the inside of the wall, raised against this an higher Tower: whence they made resistance; and found meanes at length, to consume with fire the worke of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were busied in quenching the fire; the *Romans*, falling out of the Towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and draue them to their Trenches, with the slaughter of about foureteene hundred. The Consul wisely founded the Retreat; ere his men were too farr engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readinesse to requite their seruice. Neither would He, in the pride of this good successe, adventure forth against the Enemy; who presented him battaile the day following, neare vnto the walls. *Hannibal* therefore, seeing no likelihood to preuaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake vp the siege; and returned to his old Campe at *Tifata*. About these times, and shortly after, when *Fabius* the other Consul had taken the field; some small Townes were recovered by the *Romans*, and the people feuerly punished for their revolt.

The *Carthaginian* Armie was too small, to fill with Garrisons all places that had yielded; and withall to abide (as it must doe) strong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supplic from home, that should enable him to strike at *Rome* it selfe, was driven in the meane time to alter his course of warre: and, in stead of making (as formerly he had done) a general inuasion vpon the whole Country, to passe from place to place; and wait vpon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Country of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grievously waied by *Marcellus*, in the absence of *Hannibal*: as also was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Consul; when *Hannibal* hauing followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and received there the losse before mentioned, was gone to Winter in *Apulia*. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the *Romans*, in their owne behalfe, to get the Souerainty. They held it reason, that they should be protected, by such as thought to haue dominion ouer them: whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; and gaue vnto their old the more easie meanes, to take reuenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intenuie, as necessitie constrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Consulship: and ioyred with him *M. Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed vnto that honour the yeare before. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*; and *Marcellus*, the *Roman* Sword. In *Fabius* it was highly, and vpon iust reason, commended, That being himselfe Consul, and holding the Election, he did not stand vpon nice points of formalitie, or regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but caused himselfe to be chosen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what neede the Citie stood of able Commanders. The great name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made; serued to put the *Campans* in feare, that *Capua* it selfe should be besieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal* at their earnest entreatie came from *Arpi*: (where he lay, hearkening after news from *Tarentum*), and, hauing with his presence comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden vpon *Puteoli*, a Sea towne of *Campania*; about which he spent three dayes in vaine, hoping to haue wonne it. The Garrison in *Puteoli* was fixe thousand strong: and did their ducie so well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good successe, could onely shew his anger vpon the fields there; and about *Naples*; which hauing done, and once more (with as ill successe as before) assailed *Nola*, he bent his course to *Tarentum*: wherin he had verie great intelligence.

Whilest he was in his progresse thither; *Hanno* made a iourne against *Beneuentum*; and *T. Gracchus* the last yeares Consul, hauing from *Aueris*, met him there; and fought with him a battaile. *Hanno* had with him about seauenteene thousand Foot, *Britians* and *Lucans* for the most part: besides twelue hundred Horse; verie few of

which were *Italians*, all the rest, *Numidians* and *Moors*. He held the *Roman* works four hours ere it could be perceived, to which side the victorie would incline. But *Gracchus* his souldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed *flaues*, had received from their Generall a peremptorie denunciation; That this day, or neuer, they must purchase their libertie, bringing every man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The sweet reward of libertie was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it; howbeit that vaine labour, imposed by their Generall, of cutting off the *flaine* Enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the seruice, by employment of so many hands, in a worke so little concerning the victorie. *Gracchus* therefore finding his owne error, wisely corrected it; proclaiming a loude, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting of any more; for that all should haue libertie immediatly after the battaile, if they wanne the day. This encouragement made them run headlong vpon the Enemy; whom their desperate furie had soone ouerthrowne, if the *Roman* Horle could haue made their part good against the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what hee could, and pressed so hard vpon the *Roman* battaile, that foure thousand of the *flaues*, (for feare either of him, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatned before the battaile, vnto those that should not valiantly beaue themselves) retired vnto a ground of strength: yet was hee glad at length to faue himselfe by flight, when the Grosse of his Armie was broken; being vnable to remedie the losse. Leaving the field, hee was accompanied by no more than two thousand: most of which were Horle; all the rest were either *flaine* or taken. The *Roman* Generall gaue vnto all his souldiers that reward of libertie, which hee had promised: but vnto those foure thousand, which had recoiled vnto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they serued in the warres, they should neither eate nor drinke otherwise than standing, vnlesse sicknesse forced them to breake his Order. So the victorious Armie returned to *Beneuentum*: where the newly enfranchised souldiers were seales in public by the townsmen; some sitting, some standing, & all of them hauing their heads couered (as was the custome of *flaues* manumised) with Caps, or white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthe of remembrance) was afterward hung vp in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of *Libertie*; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeede the first Battaille, worthe of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italie*: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Flame*, being things of small importance.

Thus the *Romans* through industrie, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Canna*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasurie was so poore, that no industrie nor art could serue to helpe it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) serue, to feede their Townes and Armies; without any surpluse, that might be exchanged for other needfull commodities. Few they were in *Italie*, that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worke doe than before; as liuing vpon the same Trade, and subiect to the same inconueniences, which enfeebled *Rome* it selfe. *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yield great profit, hardly now maintained the *Roman* Armies, that lay in those Prouinces, to hold them safe and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, every one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now doe least for his Countrey, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised vpon them by the *poll*, yet must it be farre lesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently considering the greatnes of the war within the bowels of *Italie*, that could not be thence expelled without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, which *Sicily* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many a mong the Naturals declining from the friendship or subiection of *Rome*; the threats

of the *Macedonians*, readie to land in the Easterne parts of *Italie*, if they were not at the coile to finde him worke at home; the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his brother ouer the *Alpes*, as soone as he could rid himselfe of the *Scipio* in *Spain*; and the pueritie of the Common-wealth, which had not monie for any one of these mortall dangers: were driuen almost euen to extreme want of counsaile. But being urged by the violence of swift necessitie, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio* from *Spain*; they resolved vpon the only course, without which the Citie could not haue subsisted.

They called the people to Assembly: wherein *Q. Fabius* the Pretor laide open the publique wants; and plainly said, That in this Exigent, there must be no taking of monie for victuaile, weapons, apparrell, or the like things needfull to the Souldiers: but that such as had stiffe, or were artificers, must truft the Common-wealth with the Loane of their commodities, and labours, vntill the Warre were ended. Hereunto hee so effectually exhorted all men, especially the *Publicans* or *Customers*, and those which in former times had liued vpon their dening in the common Reuenues, that the charge was vnder-taken by private men; and the Armie in *Spain* as well supplied, as if the Treasurie had bene full. Shortly after this, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *P. Furius Philus* the *Roman* Censors, taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the Citie, were chiefly intente to the correction of those, that had mis-behaued themselves in this present warre. They beganne with *L. Cassius Metellus*: who, after the battaile at *Canna*, had held discourse with some of his companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italie*, had bene no better than lost. After him they tooke in hand those, that hauing brought to *Rome* the message of their fellowes made prisoners at *Canna*, returned not back to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had leaped once back into his campe; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captiues names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; euen whosoever had not serued in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes appointed. Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had vied to bee) hurtfull only in reputation: but greater weight was added thereto, by this Decree of the Senate following; That all such as were noted with infamie by these Censors, should bee transported into *Sicily*, there to serue vntill the end of the Warre, vnder the same hard conditions, that were imposed vpon the Remainer of the Armie beaten at *Canna*. The Office of the Censors was; to take the List and account of the Citizens; to choose or displace the Senators; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) vpon those, whose vnholiness or vicious behaviour fell not within compasse of the Law. They tooke also an account of the *Roman* Gentlemen: among whom they distributed the publique Horles of service, vnto such as they thought meet; or tooke them away for their misbehaviour. Generally, they had the ouer-sight of mens lues and manners: and their censure was much reuerenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of ranke; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could doe) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasurie, from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this generall Taxe, and matters of Moraltie, they had the charge of all publique Workes; as mending of high waies, bridges, and water-courses, the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man encroched vpon the streets, high-waies, or other places that ought to bee common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customes, and other publique Reuenues, to farme: so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding vnto this Office; as maintayning themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small helpe to conserue the dignitie of the Senate: to

commonallie being obnoxious vnto the Censors; which were alwaies of that Order, and carefull to vp-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weale being now impouerished by warre, and hauing small store of Lands to let, or of Customes that were worth the farming, *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perueling the Temples, or other decayed Places, that needed reparations: or if they tooke a view of what was requisite to be done in this kinde, yet forbore they to let any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generositie of the *Romans*. They that had bene accustomed, in more happie times, to vndertake such peeces of worke, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had bene no such want: promising liberally their cost and trauaile, without expectation of any payment, before the end of the warre. In like sort, the Masters of those slaues, that lately had bene enfranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forebear the price of them, vntill the Citie were in better case to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieue, as farre forth as euery one was able, the common necessitie; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widowes liuing vnder Patronage, were brought into the Treasurie; and there the *Quæstor* kept a booke, of all that was laied out for the sustenance of these Widowes and Orphans: whilēt the whole stock was vsed by the Citie. This good example of those which remained in the Towne, preuailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay, and called those *Martinsvies*, that did accept it, when their countrie was in so great want.

The twelue hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*, nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride, yielded halfe so much commoditie, as might bee laied in balance against these miseries, wherinto their Estate was now reduced. Neuerthelesse if wee consider things aright; the calamities of this Warre did rather enable *Rome* to deale with those Enemies, whom shee forth-with vnder-tooke, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto shee attained, ere the yongest of those men was dead, whose names wee haue already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* metall grew more hard and solide: and by paring the branches of priuate fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Citie of *Athens*; when *Xerxes* had burnt the Towne to ashes, and taken from euery particular Citizen all hope of other felicitie, than that which rested in the common happinesse of the vniuersalitie. Certaine it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath judiciously obserued) That a State whose dimension or stemme is small, may aptly serue to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comes to passe, whereall regard of domestical prosperitie is laied aside; and euery mans care addressed to the benefit of his countrie. Hereof I might say, that our Age hath scene a great example, in the vniited Provinces in the *Netherlandes*; whose present riches and strength, grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Townes, or almost of their Families, perceiued it selfe to hold, whilēt the Generalltie was oppressed by the Duke of *Alva*; were it so, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme indurie, and straining themselves to fill their publike Treasurie, they are all growne wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their seruices by Land. Wherefore if wee valew at such a rate as we ought, the patient Resolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and, aboue all other, the great loue of the Common-weale, which was found in *Rome* in these dangerous times: we may truly say, That the Citie was neuer in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being growne more large and beautifull, should in all reason haue bene more deare vnto them; if the riches and delicacies of *Africa* had not infected

infected them with sensuality, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens, and Subjects of *Rome*, could haue believed their owne interest to be as great, in those wars which those latter Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded vpon so great vertue, could not haue bene throwne downe by the hands of rude *Barbarians*, were they neuer so many. But vnto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though hee hath giuen vnto Man the knowledge of those waies, by which Kingdomes rise and fall; yet hath left him subject vnto the affections, which draw on these fatall changes, in their times appointed.

## §. XIII.

The Romans winne some Townes back from HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL winnes Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of HANNIBAL. The iourne of HANNIBAL to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.

As the People of *Rome* strained themselves to the vtmost, for maintayning the warre: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industrie, in seeking to recouer what had bene lost. The Towne of *Castine*, *Fabius* beleiged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and likely to haue bene relieved by those of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola* had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Neuerthelesse the place held out so obdutely, that *Fabius* was disposed to giue it ouer: saying, that the enterprise was not great; yet as difficult, as atting of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrarie opinion. He said, That many such things, as were not at first to haue bene vnder-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to bee prosecuted vnto the best effect. So the siege held on: and the Towne was pressed so hard, that the *Campanians* dwelling therein grew fearefull, and craved parlee; offering to giue it vp, so as all might haue leaue to depart in safetie, whither they pleased. Whilēt they were thus treating of conditions: or whilēt they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diuersly reported) *Marcellus*, seizing vpon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put to sword that came in their way. Fiftie of those that were first gotten out, ranne to *Fabius* the Consul: wo saved them, and sent them to *Capua* in falcie; all the rest were either slaine, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deserued commendations, by holding his word good vnto these fiftie; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such, as escaped the heat of execution, could bee excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himselfe, after the *Roman* fashion, with some quiuocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was *Mount Marfan* in *Gallie* taken by the Marshall *Manlius*, when I was a yong man in *France*. For whilēt he entertained parlee about composition; the besieged ranne all from their severall guards, vpon hastie desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The Marshall therefore discouering a part of the walls vnguarded, entred by *Sedala*; and put all due the Gouverneur vnto the sword. Herein that Gouverneur of *Mount Marfan* committed two grosse errors; the one, in that hee gaue no order for the Capitaines and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee, without pledges for assurance giuen and received. Some such ouer-sight, the Gouverneur of *Castine* seemeth to haue committed; yet neither the aduantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Manlius*, was very honourable. When this worke was ended, many small Townes of the *Samnites*, and some of the

*Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recovered: wherein were taken, or slaine, about five and twentie thousand of the Enemies; and the Countrey grievously waited by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying sick at *Neola*.

*Hannibal* in the meane while was about *Sirientum*; waiting to heare from those, that had promised to giue vp the Towne. But *M. Valerius*, the *Roman* Propretor, had thrust for many men into it, that the Traitors durst not stirre. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was faine to depart, hauing wearied himselfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he waited not the Countrey; but contented himselfe with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*: which he chose for his wintering place; and beganne to victualle it, when Sommer was but halfe past. It is said, that he was in loue with a yong Wench in that towne: in which regard if he beganne his Winter more timely, than other wise needed requir'd, He did not like the *Romans*; whom necessity enforced, to make their Sommer last as long, as they were able to trauaile vp and downe the Countrey.

About this time beganne great troubles, in *Sicily*; whither *Marcellus* the Consul was sent, to take such order for the Province, as neede should require. Of the doings there, which were out more time than his Consulship, we will speake hereafter.

The new Consuls, chosen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the sonne of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The *Romans* found it needfull for the publicke seruice, to employ often-times their best able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the warre, to recontinue their Officers, and chosse such, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any dilance of time, which was otherwise required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant vnto his sonne: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne vnto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the campe, and his sonne rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve Liſtors, which carried each an axe with a bundle of rods before the Consul, suffered him, in regard of due reuerence, to passe by them on horse back; which was against the custome. But the sonne perceiving this, commanded the last of his Liſtors to note it: who thereupon bad the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Consul on his feet. The father chearefully did so, saying, *It was my minde, sonne, to make triall, whether thou diddest understand thy selfe to bee Consul*. *Cassius Attinius* a wealthie Citizen of *Arpi*, who, after the battaile at *Canna*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that Towne, seeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend; came priuily to this Consul *Fabius*, and offered to render it back vnto him, if he might bee therefore well rewarded. The Consul purposed to follow old examples: and to make this *Attinius* a patterne to all Traitors; vſing him, as *Camillus* and *Fabius* had done those, that offered their vnfaithfull seruice against the *Falſci*, and King *Pyrhus*. But *Q. Fabius* the father, was of another opinion: and said, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to reuolt from the *Romans*, than to turne vnto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that hee should be sent to the Towne of *Cales*, and there kept as prisoner; vntill they could better resolue, what to doe with him, or what vse to make of him. *Hannibal*, vnderstanding that *Attinius* was gone, and among the *Romans*, tooke it not sorrowfully; but thought this a good occasion, to seize vpon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet, that he might seeme rather seuerer, than couctous, He sent for the wife and children of *Attinius* into his campe: where hauing examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitiue, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the Treason, to be burnt aliue; and tooke all their goods vnto himselfe. *Fabius* the Consul shortly after came to *Arpi*: which he wanne by *Scalade*, in a stormie and rainie night. Five thousand of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the Towne; and of the *Arpines* themselves, there were about three thousand. These were thrust forth by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; when it was vnderstood, that the *Romans* had gotten ouer the wall, and broken open a Gate. For the souldiers held the townsmen suspected:

ſuſpected; and therefore thought it no wiſedome, to truſt them at their backs. But after ſome little reſiſtance, the *Arpines* gaue ouer fight, and entertained parlee with the *Romans*: proteſting, that they had beene betrayed by their Princes; and were become ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, againſt their wills. In proceſſe of this diſcouriſe, the *Arpine* Pretor went vnto the *Roman* Conſul: and receiuing his faith for ſecuritie of the Towne, preſently made head againſt the Garriſon. This notwithstanding; like it is, that *Hannibals* men continued to make good reſiſtance. For when almoſt a thouſand of them, that were *Spaniards*, offered to leaue their companions, and ſerue ouer the *Roman* ſide; it was yet couenanted, That the *Carthaginians* ſhould be ſuffered to paſſe forth quietly, and returne to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and ſo *Arpi* became *Roman* againe; with little other loſſe, than of him that had betrayed it. About the ſame time, *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Pretors: and vnto *Cneius Fulvius*, another of the Pretors, an hundred and twelue Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their ſeruice; vpon no other condition, than to haue their goods reſtored vnto them, when their Citie ſhould bee recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of ſmall importance: but conſidering the generall hatred of the *Campans* toward *Rome*, it ſerued to diſcouer the inclination of the *Italians* in thoſe times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of thoſe mightie ſuccours, that had beene promiſed from *Carthage*. The *Conſentines* alſo, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Bruttians*, that had yielded themſelves to *Hannibal*; returned againe to their old allegiance. Others would haue followed their example; but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a *Publican* had made himſelfe a Capitaine, and gotten reputation by ſome petty exploits in forraging the countrey, was ſlaine by *Hanna*, with a great multitude of thoſe that followed him. *Hannibal* in the meane while had all his care bent vpon *Tarentum*; which if hee could take, it ſeemed that it would ſtand him in good ſtead, for drawing out that helpe out of *Aſaden*, which his *Carthaginians* failed to ſend. Long he waited, ere he could bring his deſire to paſſe: and being loth to hazard his forces, where hee hoped to preuaile by intelligence; He contented himſelfe, with taking in ſome poore Townes of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum* found means to accompliſh their purpoſe, and his wiſh. One *Phileas*, that was of their conſpiracie, who lay at *Rome* as Embaſſador, praſtiſing with the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, and ſuch as had the keeping of them, conuiged them by night out of the Citie. But hee and his companie were the next day ſo cloſely purſued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to *Rome*; where they ſuffered death, as Traitors. By reaſon of this crueltie, or ſecuritie, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans*, more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conſpirators, they followed their buſineſſe the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention ſhould happen to be diſcouered. Wherefore they ſent againe to *Hannibal*: and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the ſame compoſition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico* and *Philomenes*, two the chief among them, vſed much to goe forth of the Towne on hunting by night, as if they durſt not take their pleaſure by day, for feare of the *Carthaginians*. Seldome or neuer they miſſed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it readie for their hands, that they might not ſeeme to haue been abroad vpon other occaſion. From the campe of *Hannibal*, it was about three daies iourne to *Tarentum*, if hee ſhould haue marched thither with his whole Armie. This cauſed his long abode in one place the leſſe to be ſuſpected: as alſo to make his Enemies the more ſecure. He cauſed it to be giuen out, that he was ſick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were growne careleſſe of ſuch his neighbourhood, and the Conſpirators had ſet their buſineſſe in order; He tooke with him ten thouſand the moſt expedite of his horſe and foot; and long before breake of day, made all ſpeede thitherward. Fourſcore light horſe of the *Numidians* ranne a great way before him, beating all the waies, and killing any that they met, for feare left he, and his troupe following him, ſhould be diſcouered.

covered. It had beene often the manner of some few *Numidian* horse, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a signe, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dillodged; and gaue order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to itrip them of their bootie, and send them gone. But when it grew darke night; *Hannibal*, guided by *Philemenes*, came close to the towne: where, according to the tokens agreed vpon, making a light to shew his arrival; *Nico*, that was within the Towne, answered him with another light, in signe that he was readie. Presently *Nico* beggan to set vpon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philemenes* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called vp the Porter; bidding him make haste, for that hee had killed a great Bore, so heaue, that scarce two men could stand vnder it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith entred two yong men, loaden with the Bore, which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to bee worthe the looking on. While the Porter stood wondering at the largenesse of the beast, *Philemenes* ranne him through with his Bore-speare: and letting in some thirtie armed men, fell vpon all the watch; whom when he had slaine, he entred the great gate. So the Armie of *Hannibal*, entring *Tarentum* at two gates, went directly toward the Market-place; where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and sent into all quarters of the Citie, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof *Hannibal* willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in fight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheare. All the Towne was in an vprore: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was vnskillfully founded by a *Greece* in the Theater: which helped the suspition, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to spoile the Towne; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadell, that stood in the mouth of the Haven; whence hee might easily perceiue the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal*, assembling the *Tarentines*, gaue them to vnderstand, what good affection hee bore them; inuighed bitterly against the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppressors; and spake what else he thought fit for the present. This done: and hauing gotten such spoile as was to bee had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, he addrest himselfe against the Citadell; hoping that if the Garrison would fall out, he might giue them such a blow, as should make them vnable to defend the Peerce. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he beganne to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a brauerie falling forth, gaue charge vpon his men: who fell back of purpose according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could, and so farre from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then gaue *Hannibal* a signe to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared readie for the purpose: and fiercely setting vpon the Enemy, draue him back with great slaughter, as fast as he could runne; so that afterwards he durst not issue forth. The Citadell stood vpon a Demi-Iland, that was plaine ground; and fortified only with a ditch and wall against the Towne, whereunto it was ioyned by a cawsey. This cawsey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like sort against the Citadell; to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his helpe, to keepe themselves from all danger thence. His worke in few daies went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that hee conceiued hope of winning the Peerce it selfe, by taking a little more paines. Wherefore he made readie all sorts of engines, to force the place. But whilet he was busied in his workes, there came by Sea a strong supply from *Metapontum*: which tooke away all hope of preuailling; and made him returne to his former counsaile. Now forasmuch as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the Haven, and could not passe forth, whilet the *Romans* held the Citadell: it seemed likely, that the Towne would suffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea; whilet the *Roman* Garrison, by helpe of their shipping, might easily be relieued.

lieued, and enabled to hold out. Against this inopuenience, it was rather willed by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the Haven, to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Towne standing in plaine ground, and their streets being faire and broad, it would bee no hard matter to draw the Gallies ouer Land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This he vnderooke and effected: whereby the *Roman* Garrison was reduced into great necessitie; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* often-times otherwise busied, than his affaires required.

Thus with mutuall losse on both sides, the time passed; and the *Roman* fortress growing daily stronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great Citie of *Capua*. Three and twentie Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and halfe growth from that war of men, and of all necessities, whereinto the losse at *Canna* had reduced them. But to fill vp these Legions, they were faine to take vp yong Boyes, that were vnder seuentene yeares of age: and to send Commissioners aboute fiftie miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appeare seruicable, and pressing them to the warres, making yet a Law, that their yeares of seruice, whereunto they were bound by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning so yong, as if they had beene of lawfull age. Before the *Roman* Armie drew neare, the *Capuans* felt great want of victualles, as if they had alreadye bene besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoile, which the *Romans* had in foregoing yeares made vpon their grounds. They sent therefore Embassadors to *Hannibal*, desiring him to succour them: ere they were closed vp, as they feared to bee shortly. Hee gaue them comfortable wordes: and sent *Hanno* with an Armie to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed a day; against which they should be readie with all manner of carriages, to store themselves with victualles, that he would provide. Neither did he promise more, than he performed. For hee caused great quantitie of graine, that had bene leied vp in *Capua* round about, to be brought into his campe, three miles from *Beneuentum*; Thither at the time appointed came no more than fortie Cartes or Wagons, with a few pack-horses; as if this had beene enough to victualle *Capua*. Such was the carelesse of the *Capuans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worse than very beasts; since hunger could not teach them to haue greater care. Wherfore hee gaue them a longer day, against which hee made provision to store them thoroughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the *Roman* Consuls, from the Citizens of *Beneuentum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius*, the Consul, taking with him such strength as hee thought needfull for the seruice, came into *Beneuentum* night; where with diligence he made inquirie into the behaviour of the Inhabitants. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Armie was gone abroad, to make provisions; that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their campe; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set vpon a great Haruest. Hereupon the Consul bade his men prepare themselves, to assault the Enemies campe: and leauing all his impediments within *Beneuentum*, he marched thitherward so early in the morning, that hee was there with the first breake of day. By comming so vnspected, hee had well neare forced the campe on the sudden. But it was very strong, and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the lesse desire had *Hanno* to looke more of his men in the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he said, that it were better to goe more leisurely and substantially to worke; to send for his fellow-Consul with the rest of their Armie; and to let betwene *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Capuans* should depart thence, nor the *Carthaginian* be able to relieue them. Being thus discouraging, and about to found the retreat; hee saw, that some of his men had gotten ouer the Enemies Rampart. There

There was grear bootie; or (which was all one to the souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that campe. Wherefore some Ensigne-bearers threw their Ensignes ouer the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, vnlesse they would endure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Feare of such ignomie, than which none could bee greater, made the Souldiers aduenture fo desperately; that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed purpose, and encouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them, that had already gotten ouer the Trenches. Thus the campe was wonne: in which were slaine aboue like thousand; and taken, aboue seven thousand; besides all the store of victualles, and carriages, with abundance of bootie, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This misadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Consuls, made them of *Capua* send a pittifull Embassage to *Hannibal*: putting him in minde of all the loue, that he was wont to protecl vnto their Citie; and how he had made shew, to affect it no lesse than *Carthage*. But now, they said, it would be losse, as *Aspi* was lately, if he gaue not strong and speedie succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable wordes: and sent away two thousand horse, to keepe their grounds from spoile; whilst hee himselfe was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the citadell, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many townes adjoining, to yeeld vnto him. Among the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and, being ouer-taken, suffered death for their attempt; were some of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greekes*, inhabiting that Easterne part of *Italy*, which was called of old *Magna Græcia*. These people tooke to heart the death of their Hostages; and thought the punishment greater, than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as soone as the *Roman* Garrison was taken from them, to defend the citadell of *Tarentum*, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurians* would haue done the like, vpon the like reason: had not some companies slaine in their Towne; which they feared that they should not be able to master. Neuertheless they helped themselves by cunning: inuiting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were neare at hand: against whom whilst they proffered their seruice to *Atinius*, the *Roman* captaine; they drew him forth to fight; and recoyling from him, closed vp their gates. A little formalitie they vsed, in pretending feare, lest the Enemy should breake in together with the *Romans*; in saving *Atinius* himselfe, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chiefe men were vnacquainted with the practise) whether they should yeeld to the *Carthaginian*, or no. But this disputation lasted not long: for they that had remoued the chiefe impediment, easily preuailed in the rest; and deliuered vp the Towne to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good successe, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in those quarters; whilst the Consuls, fortifying *Benueventum* to secure their backs, addressed themselves vnto the siege of *Capua*.

Many disasters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterprise. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of warre; that had of late bene twice Consul, was slaine either by trecherie of some *Lucans*, that drew him into an ambush; or by some *Carthaginian* straglers, among whom he fell vnawares. His bodie, or his head, was very honorably interred; either by *Hannibal* himselfe, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* sent it: He was appointed to lie in *Benueventum*, there to secure the back of the Armie that should besiege *Capua*. But his death happened in an ill time; to the great hindrance of that businesse. The *Volantes*, or *Slaves* lately manumitted, forooke their Ensignes, and went euery one whether hee thought good, as if they had bene discharged by the decease of their Leader; so that it asked some labour to seeke them out, and bring them back into their campe. Neuertheless the Consuls went forward with their worke; and drawing neare to *Capua*, did all acts of hostilitie which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua*, gaue them an hard welcome; wherein aboue fifteene hundred *Romans* were slaine. Neither was it long, ere *Hannibal* came thither: who fought with the Consuls, and

and had the better; inasmuch that he caused them to dislodge. They remoued by night, and went severall waies: *Fulvius* toward *Cuma*; *Claudius*, into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*: who hauing led him a great walke, fetched a compaile about, and returned to *Capua*. It so fell out, that one *M. Centenius Penula* a stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a *Centurion*, lay with an Armie not farre from thence, where *Hannibal* rested, when hee was wearie of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vants to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would worke, if he might be trusted with the leading of five thousand men. The *Fathers* were vnwilling in such a time, to reject the vertue of any good Souldier; how meane soeuer his condition were. Wherefore they gaue him the charge of eight thousand: and hee himselfe, being a proper man, and talking brauely, gathered vp so many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gaue prooffe of the difference, betweene a stout *Centurion*, and one able to command in chiefe. Hee and his fellows were all (in a manner) slaine; scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soone after this *Hannibal* had word, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Pretor with eightene thousand men, was in *Apulia*, very carelesse, and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither hee therefore hastened, to visit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine strength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he should haue cut off those forces, that lay in the Prouinces: as vnder men of small abilitie. Comming vpon *Fulvius*, He found him and his men so jollie, that needes they would haue fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So hee bestowed *Clatago* with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places they about most fit for ambush. Then offering battaile to *Fulvius*, Hee soone had him in the trap: whence hee made him glad to escape aliue; leaving all, save two thousand of his followers, dead behinde him.

These two great blowes, receiued one presently after the other, much astonished the *Romans*. Neuertheless all care was taken, to gather vp the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Consuls should goe substantially forwards with the siege of *Capua*; which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls fate downe before the towne: and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Pretors, came with his Armie from *Suessula* to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That whosoever would diffuse forth of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, should haue his pardon, and be suffered to enjoy all that vnto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their owne strength, and the succours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the citie was closed vp, they sent Messengers to the *Carthaginian*; which found him at *Brundisium*. He had made a long iourne, in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* citadell: of which expectation failing, He turned to *Brundisium*; vpon aduertisement that he should be let in. There the *Capuans* met him; told him of their danger with earnest wordes; and were with wordes as braue recomfited. He bad them consider, how a few daies since he had chased the Consuls out of their fields; and told them, that we would presently come thither againe, and send the *Romans* going, as fast as before. With this good answer the Messengers returned: and hardly could get back into the citie; which the *Romans* had almost entrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himselfe; He was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily deuoted vnto his friendship, would hold out a long time; and thereby giue him leisure, to doe what he thought requisite among the *Tarentines*, and in those Easterne parts of *Italy*; whilst the *Roman* Arme spent it selfe in a tedious siege. Thus he lingered; and thereby gaue the Consuls time, both to fortifie themselves at *Capua*, and to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in *Rome*; whilst hee himselfe pursued hopes, that neuer found successe.

*Claudius* and *Fulvius*, when their terme of Office was expired, were appointed to continue the siege at *Capua*; retaining the same Armies, as Proconsuls. The towne men

men often fallied out: rather in a brauerie, than likelihood to worke any matter of effect; the Enemie lying close within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the *Campan* horle (for their foot was easily beaten) the *Romans* vied to thrust out some troups, that should hold them skirmish. In the exercise the *Campan* vially had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemie; who scorned to take foile at the hands of such Rebels. It was therefore deuised, that some active and courageous yong men, should learne to ride beinde the *Roman* men at armes; leaping vp, and againe dismounting lightly, as occasion serued. These were furnished like the *Volter*, hauing each of them three or foure small darts; which alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thick vpon the Enemies horle; whom vanquishing in this kinde of seruice, they much disheartened in the maine. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the Citie; *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*; and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell vpon their campe. At the same time the *Capuans* issued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deuise: letting all their multitude of vnseruiceable people on the walls; which, with a loud noise of Pannes and Basons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* opposing himselfe to the *Campan*, easily defended his Trenches against them; and so well repressed them, that he draue them at length back into their Citie. Neuerthelesse, in pursuing them to their gates, he received a wound, that accompanied him in short space after to his graue. *Q. Fuluius* was held harder to his taske, by *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginian* Armie. The *Roman* campe was euen at point to haue bene lost: and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought with him three and thirtie, were either gotten within the rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slaine vpon it, fell into the ditch; and filled it vp in such sort, that their bodies serued as a bridge vnto the *Asiatics*. It is said, that *Hannibal* in this tumult caused some fugitives, that could speake *Latine* well, to proclaim aloud, as it were in the Consuls name, That every one of the Souldiers should shift for himselfe, and flie betimes vnto the next Hills, forasmuch as the campe was alreadye lost. But all would not serue. The fraud was detected: and the Armie, hauing stiren there so long, had at good leasure strongly entrenched it selfe; so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchase of *Capua* had (as was thought) with-held him from taking *Rome* it selfe: and now his desire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadell, had well-nere lost *Capua*; in respect of which, neither the Citadell, nor Citie of *Tarentum*, were to haue bene much regarded. Failing therefore into a desperate anger with himselfe and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had met with no greater vfe: on the sudden he entertained an haughtie resolution, euen to set vpon *Rome*; and carrie to the walls of that proud Citie, the danger of warre that threatned *Capua*. This he thought would be a meane, to draw the *Roman* Generalls, or one of them at least, vnto the defence of their owne home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Armie; then had he his desire: If they diuided their forces; then was it likely, that either he, or the *Campan*, should well enough deale with them apart. Neither did he despair, that the terror of his coming might so astonish the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter some part or other of the Citie. His only feare was, lest the *Campan*, being ignorant of his purpose, should think he had forsaken them; and thereupon forthwith yield themselves to the Enemie. To prevent this danger, He sent letters to *Capua* by a subtle *Numidian*: who running as a fugitiue into the *Roman* campe, conueighed himselfe thence into the innermost Trenches into the Citie. The iourney to *Rome*, was to be performed with great celeritie: no small hope of good successe, resting in the suddenesse of his arriual there. Wherefore he caused his men, to haue in a readinesse ten daies victualles; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night transport his Armie ouer the Riuer of *Fulturnus*. This could not be done so closely, but that

that the *Roman* Generalls by some fugitiues had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate: which was therewith afflicted, according to the diuersitie of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gaue counsaile to let alone *Capua*, yea and all places else, rather then to put the Towne of *Rome* into perill of being taken by the Enemie. Others were loth to loose from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could thinke, that *Hannibal*, being vnable to relieue *Capua*, should iudge himselfe strong enough to winne *Rome*; and therefore stoutly said, That, those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the Citie, would serue the turne well enough, to keepe him out, and fend him thence; if he were lo vnwise, as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that letters should be sent to *Fuluius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in *Rome*: who, since they knew best, what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to iudge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred vnto the discretion of these Generalls at *Capua*, to doe as they thought behouefull: and if it might conueniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the Citie of *Rome* into much aduenture. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fuluius* tooke fiftene thousand foote, and a thousand horse, the choice of his whole Armie: with which he halted toward *Rome*; leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not trauell by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at *Capua*.

*Hannibal*, hauing passed ouer *Fulturnus*, burnt vp all his boats; and left nothing that might serue to transport the Enemie, in case he should order to pursue or coast him. Then halted he away toward *Rome*; staying no longer in any one place, then he needs must. Yet found he the bridges ouer *Liris* broken downe, by the people of *Fregelle*: which as it stopped him a little on his way; so it made him the more grieuouly to spoile their lands, whiles the bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waste he made: his *Numidians* running before him; druing the Countrey, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these newes came apace, one after another, into the Citie; some few bringing true aduertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their owne feare. All the streets, and Temples in *Rome*, were pestered with women, crying and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could doe none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Assemblie, readie to giue their aduice, if it were asked, or to take directions giuen by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with souldiers: it being vncertaine, vpon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midst of this trepidation, there came newes that *Q. Fuluius*, with part of the Armie from *Capua*, was halting to defence of the Citie. The Office of a Proconsul did expire, at his returne home, and entrie into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fuluius* might lose nothing by coming into the Citie in time of such need, an Act was passed, That He should haue equall power with the Consuls, during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arriued at *Rome*, one foone after another: *Fuluius* hauing bene long held occupied in passing ouer *Fulturnus*; and *Hannibal* recieving impediment in his iourney, as much as the Countrey was able to giue. The Consuls, and *Fuluius*, incamped without the Gates of *Rome*; attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; so tooke they more carefull and especial order, against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the Riuer *Anio* or *Anien*, three miles from the Towne: whence He aduanced with two thousand Horle, and rode along a great way vnder the walls; viewing the sitethereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But He either went, or (as the *Roman* Storie saith) was driuen away: without doing, or recieving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by care and diligence of the Senators. About the rest, one accident was both troublesome, and not without perill. Of *Numidians* that had shifted side, and fallen (vpon

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some displeasures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were some twelve hundred then in *Rome*: who were appointed by the *Consuls*, to passe through the *Towne*, from the Mount *Aventine* to the Gate *Collina*, wherewith was thought that their service might be usefull among broken wayes, and Garden walls lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*; bred such mistaking, as caused a great vprore among the people: all crying out, that *Aventine* was taken, and the enemy gotten within the walls. The noise was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the streets were full of cartrails, and husbandmen, which were fledde thither out of the Villages adjoining, that the passage was stopp'd up: and the poore *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the house-toppes, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would haue run out at the gates, had it not bene certaine who lay vnder the walls. To remedie the like inconueniences, it was ordained, *That all which had bene Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should haue authoritie as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed.* The day following, *Hannibal* passed ouer *Anien*, and presented battaile to the *Romans*, who did not wisely if they vnderooke it. It is said, that a terrible shewre of raine, caused both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to returne into their feuerall Camps: and that this happened two daies together, the weather breaking vp, and clearing, as soone as they were departed alund'r. Certaine it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten daies prouision, could not endure to stay there, vntill his victuals were all spent. In which regard, the *Romans*, if they suffered him to wait his time and prouisions, knowing that hee could not abide there long, did as became well-advised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather; the commendations must be giuen to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibals* comming to the Citie, how great focus it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of his forces, which appeared lesse than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soone abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the same time, the supplee appointed for *Spain*, after the death of the two *Scipios*, was sent out of the towne, & went forth at one gate, whilst the *Carthaginians* lay before another. In all *Panick* terrors, as they are called, wherof there is either no cause known, or no cause answerable to the greatnesse of the sudden consension; it is a good remedie, to doe somewhat quite contrarie to that which the danger would require, when it such, as men haue fashioned it in their anasled conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his souldiers to disarme themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great feare of they knew not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a foolish vprore in his Armie, by proclaiming a reward vnto him, that could tell who had sent the *Athenians* to the Campe. But in this present example of the *Romans*, appeares withall a great magnanimitie: whereby they sustained their reputation, and augmented it no lesse, than by this bolde attempt of *Hannibal*: it might seeme to haue bene diminished. Neither could they more finely haue checked the glorious conceits of their Enemies, and taken away the disgrace of that feare, which clouded their valour at their first comming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that vertue of ground, on which the *Carthaginians* lay incamped, was sold in *Rome*: and sold it was nothing vnder the value, but at a good rate, as it had bene in time of peace. This indignitie comming to his care, incensed *Hannibal* so much, that he made Port-fale of the Silver-smiths shops, which were neare about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his owne title to the houles within the Towne, were no whit worse, then any *Roman* Citizens could be vnto that piece of ground, wherewith hee raised his Tent. But this counter-paist was nothing worth. The *Romans* did seek to manifest that assurance, which they iustly had conceined *Hannibal*, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was alreadye past. His victuals were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had propoos'd vnto himselfe, this iourney had brought forth

forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore hee brake vp his campe: and doing what spoile he could in the *Roman* Territorie, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, He passed like a T'empest ouer the Countrey; and ranne toward the Easterne Sea, so fast that hee had almost taken the Citie of *Rhegium* before his arrival was feared or suspected. As for *Capua* hee gaue it lost: and is likely to haue cursed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieue that faire Citie; since hee had no other way to vent his griefe.

*Q. Fulvius* returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, that who so would yeeld, before a certaine day, might safely doe it. This, and the very returne of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gaue the *Capuans* to vnderstand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To truit the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, every mans conscience of his owne euill doers, told him that it was a vanitie: and some faint hope was giuen, by *Hanno* and *Boetius*, Captaines of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Towne, that *Hannibal* should come againe; if means could only be found, how to conuey such letters vnto him, as they would write. The carriage of the letters was vnderaken, by some *Numidians*: who would write, as fugitiues, out of the Towne, into the *Roman* campe, waited fit opportunitie to make an escape thence with their packets. But it hapned, ere they could conceiue themselves away, that one of them was detected by an Harlot following him out of the Towne; and the letters of *Boetius* and *Hanno*, were taken and opened; containing a vehement entreatie vnto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make warre against the *Capuans* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose Legions wheresoever they lie, there also should the *Carthaginian* Armie be readie to attend them; and by taking of such course, haue we gotten those victories at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannae*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himselfe, and betray them to their enemies, by turning an other way; as if it were his only care, that the Citie should not be taken in his full view: promising, to make a desperate sallie; if he would once more aduenture to set vpon the *Roman* camp. Such were the hopes of *Boetius* and his fellow. But *Hannibal* had alreadye done his best: and now beganne to faint vnder the burden of that warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Partisans in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those who were besieged in *Capua*, had bene sent ouer by the *Hannoniens*, to obscure the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were so; iustly might they curse their owne malice, which had cast them into this remedielesse necessitie. How soeuer it were, the letters directed vnto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeit fugitiues, as carried such messages, whipt them back into the Towne. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the *Capuans*: so that the Multitude crying out vpon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble, and consult, about the yeelding vp of *Capua* vnto the *Romans*. The brauest of the Senators, and such as a few yeares since had bene most forward in joining with *Hannibal*, vnderstood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drinke to them such an health, as should set them free from that cruell reuenge, which the Enemy sought vpon their bodies. About euen and twentie of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their liues together, by drinking poison. All the rest, hoping for more mercie than they had deserued, yeelded simply to discretion.

So one of the Towne-gates was set open: wherat a *Roman* Legion with some other companies, entring, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to goe forth into the *Roman* campe. At their comming thither, the Proconsuls laid yrons vpon them all: and commanding them to tell what store of gold and siluer they had at home, sent them into safe custodie;

custodie, some to *Cales*, others to *Thesnum*. Touching the generall Multitude; they were referred vnto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly vsed by *Fulsius* in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this aduertice. *Ap. Claudius* was brought euen to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received: yet was hee not inexorable to the *Campani*; as hauing loued them well in former times, and hauing giuen his daughter in marriage to that *Pacuruius*, of whom we spake before. But this facilitie of his Colleague, made *Fulsius* the more hattie in taking vengeance: for feare, lest, vpon the like respects, the *Roman* Senate might proue more gentle, than he thought behouefull to the common faictie, and honour of their late. Wherefore he tooke the paines, to ride by night vnto *Thesnum*, and from thence to *Cales*: where hee caused all the *Campan* prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which hee struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all Townes of *Italie* the lesse apt to follow the vaine hope of the *Campani*: and bred a general inclination, to returne vpon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Atellans*, *Calatines*, and *Sabatinens*, people of the *Campani*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made also now the like submission, for very feare, and want of abilitie to resist. They were therefore vsed with the like rigour, by *Fulsius*: who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their yong Gentlemen, burning with fire of reuenge, got into *Rome*: where they found means by night-time, to set on fire so many houses, that a great part of the Citie was like to haue bene consumed. The beginning of the fire in diuers places at once, argued that it was no casualitie. Wherefore libertie was proclaimed vnto any slave, and other sufficient reward vnto any free man, that should discouer who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out: and the *Campani*, being detected by a slave of their owne (to whom, about his libertie promised, was giuen about the summe of an hundred markes) had the punishment answerable to their defaults. *Fulsius* hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their walls: and this extreme securitie caused them at length to become Suppliants vnto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set vnto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Only two poore women in *Capua* (of which one had bene an Harlot) were found not guiltie of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wiues and children sold for slaves, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and referred to further desolation: but the generallitie of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certaine day; and confined vnto seuerall places, as best liked the angrie Victors. As for the Towne of *Capua*, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beautie and commodious site: but no corporation, or forme of policie, was allowed to be therein; only a *Roman* Prouest was euerie yeare sent, to gouerne ouer those that should inhabit it, and to doe iustice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great losses in the present warre. After this, the glorie of *Hannibal* beganne to shine with a more dimme light, than before: his oile being farre spent; and that, which should haue reuiued his flame, being vnfortunately shed; as shall be told in place conuenient.

§. XV.

§. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a partie in *Sardinia* and *Sicill*, held warre against the *Romans* in these Islands; and were ouer-come.



Hilleit things passed thus in *Italie*; the commotions raised in *Sardinia* and *Sicill* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happie end, by the industrious valcur of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and sudden: about thirtie thousand being vp in armes, ere the *Roman* forces could arrive there to suppress it. One *Harficoras* with his sonne *Hilistus*, mightie men in that land, were the Ring-leaders, being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promised the assistance of his Countrie. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterprise so carelesse, as in the rest of their maine vndertakings, about the same time. Yet it had bene better, if their care had bene directed vnto the prosecution of that maine buisinesse in *Italie*; whereon this, and all other hopes depended. For it would haue sufficed, if they could haue hindered the *Romans* from sending an Armie into *Sardinia*. *Harficoras* with his followers might well enough haue serued to drie out *Q. Matius* the Pretor; who lay sick in the Province; and not more weake in his owne bodie, than in his traine. But whilest they sought reuenge of that particular iniurie, whereof the sense was most grievous: they neglected the opportunitie of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all iniuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprise was such; as may seeme to haue discouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For where as they sent ouer *Asdrubal*, surnamed the bald, with a competent fleet and armie; assisted in this Expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Margo* a Gentleman of the *Barthine* house, and neare kinsman to *Hannibal*: it fo fell out, that the whole fleet by extremitie of foule weather was cast vpon the *Baleares*; so beaten, and in such cuill plight, that the *Sardinians* had euen spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

*Titus Manlius* was sent from *Rome* with two and twentie thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, to settle the estate of that land, which he had taken in, and annexed vnto the *Roman* Dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custome of the *Romans*, to preserue and vp-hold in their seuerall Provinces, the greatest effe and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Province had bene first subdued vnto their Empire. If any iniurie were done vnto the Prouincialls, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate; or whatsoever accident required the assistance of a Patron: the first Conqueror, and his race after him, were the most readie and best approved meanes, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very fire intelligence euery Province, and had alwaies in readinesse fit men to reclaim their Subjects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise haue required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius*, retayned in obedience all that were not already broken too farre out. Yet was *Harficoras* so strong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not haue made vp that number of two and twentie thousand, whereof we haue spoken before. He landed at *Calaris* or *Carallis*, where mooring his ships, he passed vp into the Countrie, and fought out the Enemy. *Hylstus*, the sonne of *Harficoras*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Armie left vnto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrie, to draw in more friends to his side. This yong Gentleman would needes aduerture to get honor, by giuing battaile to the *Romans* at his owne discretion. So hee rashly adu ventured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom hee received a terrible overthrow; and lost in one day about thirtie thousand of his followers. *Hylstus* himselfe, with

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the rest of his broken troops, got into *Cornus*, the chiefe Towne of the Island: whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soone after this defeat came *Astrubal* with his *Carthaginians*: too late to winne all *Sardinia*, in such halte as he might haue done, if the tempest had not hindered his voyage; yet soone enough, and strong enough to saue the Towne of *Cornus*, and to put a new spirit into the it ebells. *Manlius* hereupon with-drew himselfe back to *Calariis*: where he had not staid long, ere the *Sardinians* (such of them as adhered to the *Roman* partie) craued his assistance; their Countre being waied by the *Carthaginians*, and the Rebels, with whom they had refused to ioyne. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calariis*: where if he had staid a little longer, *Astrubal* would haue fought him out with some blemish to his reputation. But the fame of *Astrubal* and his companie, appears to haue been greater than was their strength. For after some triall made of them in a few skirmishes; *Manlius* aduentured all to the hazard of a battaile: wherein he slew twelue thousand of the enemies; and tooke of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thousand. Four hundred the battaile lasted: and victorie at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Islanders; whose courages had beene broken in their vnprosperous fight, not many daies before. The death of yong *Hyspilius*, and of his father *Hastorias*, that slew himselfe for griefe, together with the captiuitie of *Astrubal* himselfe, with *Meago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*; made the victorie the more famous. The vanquished Armie fled into *Cornus*: whither *Manlius* followed them; and in short space wanne the Towne. All other Cities of the Ile that had rebelled, followed the example of *Cornus*, and yielded vnto the *Roman*: who imposing vpon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best suited with the nature of their feallall offences, or their abilitie to pay, returned back to *Calariis* with a great bootie, and in short time to *Rome*; leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The warre in *Sicil*: was of greater length, and euery way more burdenfome to *Rome*: as also the victorie brought more honour and profit; for that the *Romans* became thereby not only fauers of their owne, as in *Sardinia*; but Lords of the whole Countre; by annexing the Citie and Dominion of *Syracuse*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soone after the battaile of *Canna*, the old King of *Syracuse* died: who had continued long a stedfast friend vnto the *Romans*; and greatly relieved them in this present warre. He left his Kingdome to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fiftene yeares of age; *Gelo* his sonne, that should haue bene his heire, being about fiftene yeares of age; *Gelo* his sonne, that should haue bene his heire, being about fiftene yeares of age; *Gelo* his sonne, that should haue bene his heire, being about fiftene yeares of age. To this yong King his successor, *Hiero* appointed fiftene tutors: of which the principall were *Andronodorus*, *Zotius*, and *Themistius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The rest were such, as he judged most likely to preferre the Kingdome, by the same arte, whereby himselfe had gotten and so long kept it. But within a little while; *Andronodorus*, waxing wearie of so many Coadjutors, beganne to commend the sufficiency of the yong Prince, as extraordinary in one of his yeares; and said, that he was able to rule the Kingdome without helpe of any Protector. Thus by giuing ouer his owne charge, he caused others to doe the like: hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to passe in a sort as hee desired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aside all care of gouernement, gaue himselfe wholly ouer to his pleasures: or if he had any regard of his Royall dignitie, it was only in matter of exterior shew, as wearing a Diademe with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people; that had neuer seene the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his sonne. But much more hee offended them, when by his insolent behaviour, futable to his outward pompe, he gaue proofe, that, in course of life, he would reuiue the memorie of *Tyrants* dead long since, from whom he tooke the patterne of his habit. Hee grew proud, lustfull, cruell, and dangerous to all that were about him: so that such of his late Tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to liue in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to auoid the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it selfe.

Only

Only *Andronodorus*, *Zotius*, and one *Thraiso* continued in grace with him, and were his Counsaillers, but not of his Cabinet. These, howsoeuer they agreed in other points, were at some dissension about that maine point, of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleasures, which was set on change: but *Thraiso*, hauing more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amitie with *Rome*. Whilest as yet it remained somewhat doubtfull, which way the King would incline: a conspiracie against his Person, was detected by a groom of his; to whom, one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practise, and the names of the vnder-takers. Long it was ere he would speake any thing: but yielding (as it seemed) in the end, vnto the extremitie of the torture; he confessed, that he had bene set on by *Thraiso*, whom hee appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were neare in loue or place vnto *Hieronymus*. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeede the Conspirators, walked boldly in the streets, and neuer shrunke for the matter: assuring themselves, that the resolution of *Theodorus* would yeeld to no extremitie. Thus they all escaped, and soone after found means to execute their purpose. The King himselfe, when *Thraiso* was taken out of the way, quickly resolved vpon siding with the *Carthaginians*; whereto he was very inclinable before. Yong men, when first they grow Masters of themselves, loue to seeme wiser than their fathers, by taking different courses. And the liberalitie of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great necessity, had of late bene such, as might haue bene termed excecious; were it not in regard of his prouidence; wherein hee tooke order for his owne estate, that depended vpon theirs. But the yong Nephew, taking little heed of dangers farre off; regarded only the things present; the weaknesse of *Rome*; the present fortunes of *Carthage*; and the much monie that his grand-father had laied out in vaine, to shoulder vp a falling house. Wherefore hee dealt with *Hannibal*: who readily entred into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* & *Epidides*, *Carthaginians* borne, but grand-children of a banished *Syracusan*. These grew into such fauour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they listed. So that when *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Pretor, hearing what wast towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betwene the People of *Rome* and the King of *Syracuse*; his Messengers were dismissed with an open scotte. For *Hieronymus* would needs haue them tell him, the order of the fight at *Canna*; that hee might thereby learne how to accommodate himselfe: saying, *ag*. That hee could hardly beleue the *Carthaginians*; so wonderfull was the victorie as they reported it. Hauing thus dismissed the *Romans*, hee sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, where hee concluded a league; with condition, at first, that a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that hee should raigne ouer all *Sicil*, and the *Carthaginians* rest satisfied, with what they could get in *Italic*. At these doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly stirre: partly for the indignities that were offered, partly for that it behoud not the *Romans*, to entertaine more quarrells, then were enforced vpon them by necessity; and partly (as may seeme) for that the reputation, both of himselfe, and of his Citie, had receiued such blemish, by that which happened vnto him in his iourne, as much discountenanced him when he came into *Sicil*, and forbad him to looke big. The monie that *Hiero* had bestowed vpon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieue them in their necessity, this *Appius* was to carrie back vnto him: it being refused by the *Roman* Senate, with greater brauerie than their present fortune would allow. But in stead of returning the monie with thanks, as he had bene directed, and as it had bene noised abroad that hee should doe: the warre against *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whereof we haue spoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aside their vaine glorie, and send word after him, that he should consign that monie ouer to *Marcus Valerius*; of whose voyage into *Greece*, the Citie had not otherwise wherewith to beare

bear the charge. This was done accordingly: and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie, is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious ostentation of the *Roman* magnanimities; into such a pittifull tune of thanksgiving, as mult needs haue bred sorrow and commiseration, in lo true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were deliuered after his death, matter of poeisme and corne, in *Theronimus* the new King.

But whilst *Theronimus* was more desirous of warre, than well resolu'd how to bequigne it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great inuouation in the state of *Syracuse*; which thereby might haue prospered more than euer, had it bene wisely gouerned. *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, of whom we spake before, were sent about the Countrey with two thousand men; to sollicite the Townes, and perswade them to shake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himselfe with an Armie of fifteene thousand horse and foot, went to *Leontium*, a Citie of his owne Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all haile, and accept him for Soueraigne. There the Conspirators tooke him on the sudden, as hee was passing through a narrow street; and rushing betwene him and his guard, strooke him dead. Forthwith libertie was proclaimed: and the found of that word so joyfully answered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Theronimus*, had little courage to enuenge their Masters death. Yet for feare of the worth, a great largesse was promised vnto the Souldiers, with rewards vnto their Captaines; which wrought so effectually; that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckon'd vp; the Armie, as in detestation of his bad life, suffered his carcase to lie vnburied. These newes, ranne quickly to *Syracuse*: whither some of the Conspirators, taking the Kings horses, polled away; to signifie all that had passed; to stirre vp the people to libertie; and to preuent *Andronodorus*, if he, or his fellowes would make offer to vsurpe a Tyrannie. The *Syracusians* hereupon presently tooke Armes, and made themselues masters of their owne Citie. *Andronodorus* on the other side fortified the Palace, and the Island: being yet vnertaine what to doe; betwene desire of making himselfe a fouraigne Lord; and feare of suffering punishment, as a Tyrant, if his enterprise miscarried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cherished him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that well knowne Prouerbe, which *Demofylus* had said; That a Tyrant should keepe his place, till he were haled out of it by the heeles, and not ride away from it on horse-back. But feare, and better counsaile prevailed so farre, that *Andronodorus*, hauing slept vpon the matter; dissembled his affections, and deferred his hope, vnto better opportunitie. The next day he came forth, and made a speech vnto the People: telling them; That hee was glad to see, how prudently they behaued themselues in so great a change; that he had stood in feare, least they would not haue contained themselues within bounds of discretion; but rather haue sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to rauish their libertie perforce, but to wred it vnto them for euer; he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and surrendered vp the charge, committed vnto him, by one that had bene an euill Maister, both to him and them. Hercupon great joy was made; and Pretors chosen (as in former times) to gouerne the Citie; of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chiefe. But such was his desire of Soueraignetie; and so vehement were the insitiuations of his wife; that shortly he beganne to practise with *Hippocrates*, *Epicles*, and other Captaines of the Mercenaries: hoping to make himselfe strong, by their helpe, that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, had bene with the *Syracusian* Pretors, and told them, that, being sent from *Hannibal* to *Theronimus*, they according to instructions of their Captaine, had done him, whilst he liued, what service they could; and that now they were desirous to returne home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed: and with a conuoy; that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and set them safe at *Leori*. This was easily

easily granted: both for that the *Syracusian* Magistrates were well contented to earne thanks of *Hannibal*, with such a little curtesie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickly of this troublesome couple; which were good souldiers, and gracious with the Armie, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two *Sicilians*, to be gone so hastily as they made thewest they were more mindfull of the businesse, for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselues into the boloms of such as were most likely to fill the Armie with tumult: especially of the *Roman* fugitiues, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselues, when the *Romans* and *Syracusians* were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as also of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. Hee found *Themistius*, that had married *Harmonia* the sister of *Theronimus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his owne, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents; hee revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the rest of the Pretors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themistius*, entering into the Senate, were slaine out of hand; and afterward accused to the People, of all the euill which they had done, whilst *Theronimus* liued, as by his authoritie; and now since attempted, in seeking to vsurpe the tyrannie themselues. It was also declared that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gela*, were accessarie to this dangerous treason: and that the vnquiet spirits of these women, would neuer cease to worke; vntill they had recovered those Royall ornaments, and Soueraigne power, whereof their familie was now dispossest. These daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gela*, were also condemned to die; and executioners presently sent by the enraged people, to take away their liues. *Demarata*, and *Harmonia*, had perhaps deferred this heauie sentence: but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Sossippus*, being altogether innocent; was murdered together with her two yong daughters, in the hasty execution of this rash judgement. Her husband *Sossippus* was a lover of the Common wealth; and in that respect so hated by *Theronimus*, that being sent Embassador to King *Ptoleme*, he durst not returne home; but staid in *Egypt* as a banished man. This consideration, when it was too late, together with some other pittifull accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude; that (pardoning themselues) all cryed out vpon the authors of so foule a butchery. Being thus incensed against the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfie their anger; they called for an election of new Pretors, in the roome of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately slaine: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should haue little cause to like. At the election were present a great rowt, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of souldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named *Epicles* Pretor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the lesse that the old Pretors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall cry forced them to be accepted. These being made Pretors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, betwene the *Syracusians* and the *Romans*. But hauing striven in vaine, and seeing that the People stood in feare of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus*, that was lately come into *Sicily*; they gaue way vnto the time, and suffered the old league of *Hiero* to be reconfirmed; which afterward they purposed to dissolue by practise. The *Leontines* had some need of a Garrison: and to them was sent *Hippocrates* the Pretor attended, by such fugitiues, and mercinarie souldiers, as were most burdnesome to *Syracuse*. Thither when he came, hee beganne to doe many acts of hostilitie against the *Romans*: first in secret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly vnderstanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent word vnto the *Syracusians*, that they had already broken the league; and that the peace would neuer be kept sincerely, vntill this turbulent paire of brethren were expelled the Island. *Epicles*, fearing to sustaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more desirous to set forward the warre, than to excuse any breach of peace; went himselfe vnto the *Leontines*, whom he perswaded to rebell against the *Syracusians*.

*ians.* For he said, that since they had all of late serued one Maister; there was little reason why the *Leontines* should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the *Syracusanians*; yea or much rather, all things considered; since in their firsts the Tyrant was laine, and libertie first proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of *Syracuse* were not contented, to enjoy the freedome purchased among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reason, that they should beare Dominion over those that had broken the chaine, wherewith both the one, and the other were bound; his aduise was, that such their arrogance should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one article of the league, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracusanians*. For it was agreed, *That all which had been* 10 *subject to Hiero and Hieronymus, should henceforth, be Vassals vnto the state of Syracuse.* Against this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; *Epicles* told them, that in this noueltie of change, they had fit opportunitie to recouer the freedome, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it vnreasonable, which this craftie *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had beene subdued by the same hand, which tooke libertie from the *Syracusanians*. But seeing they had long since yielded vnto *Syracuse*, and beene subject vnto that Citie, by what forme soeuer it was gouerned; this claime of libertie was rather reasonable than iust. Neuerthelesse the motion of *Epicles* was highly approued: in so much that when messengers came soone after from *Syracuse*, 20 to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done against the *Romans*; and to denounce vnto *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, that they should get them gone, either to *Lacedaemon*, or whither else they listed, so that they staid not in *Syde*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requested the *Syracusanians*, to make any bargaines for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themselves bound to obserue the couenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptorie answer, was forth-with reported vnto *Marcellus* by the *Syracusanians*: who offered him their assistance in doing iustice vpon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition that when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forth-with tooke the businesse in hand; which he dispatched in one 30 day. At the first assault, *Leontium* was taken: all saue the Castle, whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* fled; and stealing thence away by night coueited themselves into the Towne of *Herbesus*. The first thing that *Marcellus* did, when hee had wonne the Towne, was the same, which other *Roman* Captaines vsed after victorie; to seeke out the fugitiue *Roman* slaues and renegados, whom he caused all to die: the rest both of the Townsmen and Souldiers, he tooke to mercie; forbearing also to strip or spoile them. But the fame of his doings was bruted after a contrarie sort. It was said, that he had slaue, Man, Woman, and Child, and put the Towne to sack. These newes met the *Syracusanian* Armie vpon the way, as it was going to ioine with *Marcellus*, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercenaries there were, that had bene sent forth of *Syracuse*, vnder *Solis* and *Dinamenes* two of 40 the Pretors, to serue against the *Leontines* and other Rebels. These Captaines were honest men, and well affected to their Countrey: but the souldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They tooke the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-souldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had bene so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutinie; though what to demand, or with whom to be angrie, they could not tell. The Pretors therefore thought it best, to turne their vnquiet thoughts another way, and let them aworke in some place else: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no neede of their seruice. So toward *Herbesus* they marched: where lay 50 *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, the architects of all this mischief, deuiling what further harme they might doe; but now so weakly accompanied, that they seemed vnable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no lesse well aware; and therefore aduertured vpon a remedie little lesse desperate

desperate than their present case. They issued forth of *Herbesus* vnarmed, with oliue branches in their hands, in manner of suppliants; and so presented themselves to the Armie. Sixe hundred men of *Creete* were in the vanguard; that had bene well used by *Licentymus*; and some of them greatly bound vnto *Hannibal*; who had taken them prisoners in the Italian warre, and lowly dimissed them. These *Creetans* therefore welcomed the two bretheren, and bad them be of good cheare; saying, that no man should doe them harme, as long as they could vse their weapons. Herewithall the Armie was at a stand; and the rumor of this accident, ranne swiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Pretors thought to helpe the 10 matter by seueritie; which would not serue. For when they commaunded these two Traitors to be laid in yrons: the exclamation was so violent against them, that saue they were to let all alone, and returne, vncertaine what course to take, vnto *Megaras*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deuised a trick; whereby to helpe himselfe, and better the vncertaine case wherein he stood. He caused letters of his owne penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trustie *Creetans*; directed (as they made them) from the *Syracusanian* Pretors, to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the sword among the *Leontines*: but that it farther behoued him, to make the like dispatch of all the Mercenaries belonging to *Syracuse*; which were 20 all vniuie, all of them in generall, to the libertie of the Citie, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfait Epistle was openly rehearsed: the vpror was such, that *Solis* and his fellow Pretor, were glad to forsake the campe, and flee for their liues. All the *Syracusanians* remayning behinde, had bene cut in peeces by the enraged souldiers, if the two artificers of the sedition had not faued their liues; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne than for any good will. They perfwaded also a mischieuous knaue that had seru'd among the *Leontines*, to iustifie the bruit of *Marcellus* his crueltie; and to carrie home the newes to *Syracuse*, as an eye-witnesse. This incensed not only the multitude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole Towne with causelesse indignation. In 30 good time (said some) was the auarice and crueltie of the *Romans* detected: who, had they in like sort gotten into *Syracuse*, would haue dealt much worse; where their greedy appetites might haue bene tempted with a farre greater bootie. Whilst they were thus discouraging, and deuiling how to keepe out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Armie came to the gates; exhorting the Citizens to let him in, vnlesse for want of helpe, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Pretors with the best and wisest of the Senate, would faine haue kept him out: but the violence of the souldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the headstrong furie of those within the Towne; so that laboured to breake it open. So he entered, and immediately fell vpon the Pretors; whom (being forfaken by all men) he put to the sword, and 40 made slaughter of them and their followers vntill night. The next day he went openly to worke: and after the common example of Tyrants, gaue libertie to all slaues and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest sort, made himselfe and his brother Pretors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuse*.

When *Marcellus* was aduertised of this great alteration, hee thought it no time for him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent embassadors to *Syracuse*; that were not admitted into the Haven, but chafed out as enemies. Then drew hee neare with his Armie: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the Towne, sent before him, some to require a parlee. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Pretors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpose to doe hurt, but in fauour of the *Syracusanians*, which were oppressed by Tyrants; and to punish those, that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthe men, their Confederates, which were chafed out of the Towne, might be suffered to returne and enjoy

enjoy their owne; as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might be deliuered vp. Hereto *Epicides* briefly answered, That if their errand had bene to him, he could haue told what to say to them: but since it was directed vnto others, they should doe well to returne, when those to whom they were sent, had the gouernement in their hands. As for the warre which they threatned; hee told them, they should finde by experience, that to besiege *Syracuse* was an other manner of worke, than to take *Leontium*. Thus hee sent them gone; and returned back into the Citie. Immediately beganne the siege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quick and easie winning of *Leontium* did put *Marcellus* in hope, that so long a Circuit of walls, as compassed *Syracuse*, being manned with no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom hee had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his best, both by Land and Sea. Neuerthelſe all his labour was disappointed; and his hope of preuailling by open force, taken from him by the ill successe of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despair of battie victorie. But there liued at that time in *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the request of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of warre, as being in this extremitie put in vse, did more mischief to the *Romans* than could haue bene wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age bene knowne. This *Archimedes* discourſing once with *Hiero*, maintained, That it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of sure footing, whereon a man might stand. For prooffe of this bold assertion, he performed some strange workes; which made the King entreat him to conuert his studie vnto things of vse; that might preserue the Citie from danger of enemies. To such Mechanicall workes, *Archimedes*, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an iniurie done vnto the liberall sciences, to submit learned Propositions, vnto the workmanship, and gaine, of base handicrafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians, that seemed vnto him to profane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must we rashly taske a man so wise as *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious auerſitie, or affected singulartie in his reprehension. For it hath bene the unhappie fate of great inuentions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames, before they were published: and being once made knowne, to be vnder-valued; as falling within compass of the meanest wits and things, that euery one, could well haue performed. Hercof (to omit that memorabile example of *Columbus* his discoverie, with the much different sorts of neglect, which hee vnder-went before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparent prooffe. He that looks vpon our *Englishe Brewers*, and their Seruants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke it ridiculous to heare one say, that the making of Malt, was an inuention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in natural Philoſophie. Yet is not the skill of the inuention any whit the lesse, for that the labour of workmanship growes to be the Trade of ignorant men. The like may be said of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being deuised, and bettered, by great Scholars and wise men, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practise fell; that is, by such, as could flubber things easily ouer, and feede their workemen at the cheapeſt rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others, that haue, or would seeme to haue any secret skill, whereof the publication might doe good vnto mankind, are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kinde of iniustice, that the long trauells of an vnderstanding braine, beside the losse of time, and other expence, should be cast away vpon men of no worth; or yeeld lesse benefit vnto the Author of a great worke, than to meeke strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of Enuie, haue in it any thing allowable

and

and naturall, as haue Anger, Feare, and other the like Affections: it is in some such case as this; and serueth against those, which would vspire the knowledge, where-with, God hath denied to endue them. Neuerthelſe if we haue regard vnto common charitie, and the great affection that euery one ought to beare vnto the generall reliefe of mankind, altho the example of him that suffereth his Science to liue vpon the rust and vnuſed: it will appeare more commendable in wise men, so to enlarge these places, and to publish vnto the world, those good things that lie buried in their own bosomes. This ought especially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not pauerced to it some dangerous cunning; that may be peruerſed, by unskill men to a mischievous vse. For if the secret of any rare science, contained in the skill of blind ſome deadly and irrecoverable payson: better it were, that such a jewell remaine close in the hands of a wise and honest man; than being made common, blind all men to vs the remedie, by teaching the worst men how to doe mischief. But the workes which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended to very commendable ends. They were engines, seruing vnto the defence of *Syracuse*; not fit for the *Syracusan* to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to vse them, but reserved so much to his own direction; that after his death more of the same kinde was made, nor those, of his owne making were employed by the *Romans*. He diffused vnto this worthy man, that hee had approved, euen vnto the vulgar, the dignitie of his Science; and done especiall benefit vnto his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade; or teach the art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

*Marcellus* had caused certaine of his *Quinquagene* Gallies to be fastned together, and Towers erected on them, to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these, *Archimedes* had fundrie deuices; of which any one sort might haue repelled the assaultants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicitie of his great wit. He shot heauie stones and long peeces of timber, like vnto the yards of ships, which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These cast such such as lay farre off. They that were come nearer the walls, lay open to a continual volley of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an yron grapple were taken by the prow and hoisted vp; shaking out all the men; and afterward falling downe into the water. Some by strange engines were lifted vp into the ayre; where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls, or cast vpon the rocks: and all of them were so beaten, that they durst neuer come to any second assault. In like sort was the Land-armie handled. Stones and timber, falling vpon it like Haile; did not only ouerwhelme the men, but brake downe the *Roman* engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to giue ouer the assault. For remedie hercof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could earely before day get neere vnto the walls: they should be (as it were) vnder the point blank, and receiue no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which were wound vp hard to shoote a great compass. But this vaine hope cost many of the assaultants liues. For the shot came downe right vpon them; and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were vnable to stay by it) euen till they were gotten very farre off. This did so terrifie the *Romans*; that if they perceived any peece of timber, or a ropes end, vpon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his engines were readie to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare; against the cause whereof he knew no remedie. If the engines had stood vpon the walls, subiect to firing, or any such annoyance from without; he might haue holpen it by some deuice, to make them vnseruiceable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight, being erected in the streets behinde the walls, where *Archimedes* gaue directions how to vse them. Wherefore the *Roman* had none other way left, than to cut off from the Towne all prouision of victualls, both by Land and by Sea. This was a desperate peece of worke.

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For

For the enemies hauing so goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians*; that were strong by Sea; willing to supply them: were not likely loo-  
soone to bee consumed with famine; as the besiegers to bee wearied out; by  
lying in Leaguers before so strong a Citie; hauing no probability to carrie it.  
Yet, for want of better counsell to follow; this was thought the best; and most  
honourable course.

In the meane while, *Himilco*; Admirall of a *Carthaginian* fleet, that had waited  
long about *Sicily*, being by *Hippocrates* advertised of these passages, went home to  
*Carthage*; and there to dealt with the Senate; that rose and twentie thousand foot,  
threethousand horse, and twelue Elephants; were contraiued vnto his charge;  
wherewith to make warre vpon the *Romans* in *Sicily* by Land. Hee tooke many  
Townes; and many, that had anciently belonged vnto the *Carthaginians*; did yield  
vnto him. To remedie this mischiefe, and to stay the inclination of men, which  
following the current of *Furthure*, beganne to turne vnto the *Carthaginians*; *Mar-*  
*cellus* with a great part of his Armie; rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place  
to place about the Island. Hee tooke *Pelorus* and *Heraclea*, which yielded vnto him.  
Hee tooke also *Megara* by force and sackt it: either to tenthe others; that were ob-  
stinate, especially the *Syracusans*; or else because *Rome* was at this time poore; and  
his Armie must haue somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall desire was to haue  
sued *Agrirentum*: whither hee came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before.  
Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he  
could; for feare of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumsp-  
ection that he vsed, in regard of *Himilco*; stood him in good stead, against a danger  
that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leauing the charge of *Syracuse* vnto his  
brother, had lately issued out of the Citie, with ten thousand foot and five hundred  
horse; intending to ioine his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell vpon him, ere-  
ether was aware of the other; and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an eua-  
uictorie, against the disperd and halfe vnarmed *Syracusans*. The reputation hereof  
helped a litle to keepe the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*,  
ioining with *Hippocrates*, ranne ouer all the Island at his pleasure; and presented bat-  
telle to *Marcellus*, euen at his Trenches; but the *Romans* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar*  
also a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*; and victu-  
aled the Citie. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so againe; that al-  
though another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and  
safely arrived at *Marcellus* his campe: yet many places resorted vnto the *Carthagi-*  
*nians*; and thus or betraied the *Roman* Garrison.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath awhile;  
and *Marcellus* leauing some of his Armie before *Syracuse*, that he might not seeme  
to haue giuen ouer the siege, went vnto *Leontium*; where he lay intencue to all oc-  
casions. In the beginning of the Spring he flood in doubt; whether it were better to  
continue the laborious worke of besieging *Syracuse*; or to turne all his forces to  
continue the laborious worke of besieging *Syracuse*; or to turne all his forces to  
*Agrirentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly haue impaired his  
reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as vnable to preuaile: and he himselfe was  
of an eager disposition, euer vnwilling to giue ground, or to quit, as not fauile,  
an enterprise, that he had once taken in hand. Hee came therefore to *Syracuse*: where  
though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take  
the Citie by force or famine; yet was hee not without hope, that continuance of  
faile to preuaile by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end,  
he dealt with the *Syracusan* Gentlemen that remained in the Citie. This was not ealie for them  
practise with their friends that remained in the Citie. This was not ealie for them  
to doe because the towne would hearken to no parlee. At length a slave vnto one of  
the banished men, making them to runne away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*; where

where he talked in priuate with some few, as he had bene instructed. Thus beganne  
*Marcellus* to haue intelligence within the Citie: whence the Conspirators vied to  
send him aduertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in  
the night. But when they were growne to the number of fourescore, and thought  
themselues able to effect somewhat of importance: all was discouered; and they,  
like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while, one *Damasippus* a *Lacedemonian*,  
that had bene sent out of the Towne as an Embassadour to *Philip* King of *Macedon*,  
was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicles* was very desirous to ransom him:  
and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, nor farre from the walls.  
There, one of the *Romans*, looking vpon the wall, and wanting the more compen-  
dious arte of Geometrie, fell to numbring the stones: and, making an estimate of  
the height, judged it lesse than it had bene formerly deemed. Herewith hee ac-  
quainted *Marcellus*: who causing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding,  
that ladders of no extraordinarie length would reach it; made all things readie, and  
waited a conuenient time. It was the weakest part of the Towne, and therefore the  
most strongly garded: neither was there hope to preuaile by force against *Archime-*  
*des*, if they failed to take it by surpris. But a fugitiue out of the Towne brought  
word, that a great feast was to be held vnto *Diana*, which was to last three dayes:  
and that, because other good cheare was not so plentifull within the Citie, as in for-  
mer times, *Epicles*, to gratifie the People, had made the more large distribution of  
wine. A better opportunitie could not bee wished. Wherefore *Marcellus*, in the  
dead of the festiuall night, came vnto the walls; which hee tooke by *Scalado*. *Syracuse*  
was diuided into foure parts (or five, if *Epicles* were reckoned as one) each of which  
were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten some peeces,  
he had the commoditie of a better and safe lodging, with good store of bootie; and  
better opportunitie than before, to deale with the rest. For there were now a great  
many, as well of those in *Acradina* and the Island, inner parts of the Towne, as of  
those that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that beganne to hearken vnto  
compulsion; as being much terrified by the losse of those parts, which the *Romans*  
had taken and sackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harme, or none they  
did, vnto those, that were sheltered vnder strong houses: although it may seeme, that  
the inner walls were not altogether vnfortified of his helpe; since they held out a  
good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitiues, and Renegados,  
were more carefull than euer to defend the rest of the Citie: being sure to be rewar-  
ded with a cruell death, if *Marcellus* could preuaile. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were  
daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was sent away to *Carthage*, to bring helpe from thence.  
It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell vpon the old camp of the  
*Romans*, whilst *Epicles* sallied out of *Acradina* vpon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans*  
made such defence in each part, that the Assailants were repelled. Neuertheless,  
they continued to beset *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as freightly belie-  
ged, as he himselfe did besiege the Towne. But the pestilence at length consumed,  
together with the two Captaines, a great part of the Armie, and caused the rest to  
dillodge. The *Romans* were (though somewhat lesse) afflicted with the same pesti-  
lence, in so much that *Bomilcar* did put the Citie of *Carthage* in hope, that he might  
be taken where he lay, if any great forces were sent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted  
no desire to doe his Countrie service: but his courage was not answerable to his  
good will. Hee arrived at *Pachynus* with a strong fleet: where he staid; being loath  
to double the Cape; for that the winde did better serue the enemy than him.  
Thither sallied *Epicles* out of *Syracuse*: to acquaint him with the necessities of the  
Citie; and to draw him on. With much intreatie, at length hee came forward:  
but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was readie for him, he stood off into the  
deeper; and sailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicily* farewell. Then durst not *Epicles*  
returne into *Syracuse*, but went to *Agrirentum*: where he expected the issue; with a  
very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The *Sicilian* souldiers, that remained aliue of *Hippocrates* his Armie, lay as neare as they could fafely, vnto *Marcellus*; and some of them, in a ftrong Towne three miles off. These had done what good they could to *Syracuse*, by doing what hurt they could vnto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the itate of *Sicily* was giuen as desperate by the *Carthaginians*: they sent Embassadors to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Towne. Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gaue care: for he had staied there long enough; and had cause to feare, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither frowning againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their owne, enjoying their libertie and proper lawes; yet suffering the *Romans* to possesse, whatsoeuer had belonged vnto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicles* had left his charge, were put to death; new Pretors chosen; and the gates euen readie to be opened vnto *Marcellus*: when suddenly the *Roman* fugitiues disturbed all. These perceiving their owne condition to be desperate, perfwaded the other Mercinarie souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained only for themselves, and betrayed the Armie to the *Romans*. Wherefore they presently tooke armes, and fell vpon the new-chosen Pretors: whom they flue; and made election of fixe Captaines that should command ouer all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the souldiers; excepting only the fugitiues. The treatie therefore was againe set on foot, and wanted little of conclusion: which yet was delaied; either by some feare of the Citizens, that had seene (as they thought) proofe of the *Roman* auarice in the sack of *Epipole*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by some desire of *Marcellus* to get the Towne by force, that he might vse the libertie of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subject vnto *Rome*. *Merius* a *Spaniard* was one of the fixe Captaines, that had bene chosen in the late commotion: a man of such faith, as vsually is found in Mercinaries; holding his owne particular benefit aboue all other respects. With this Captaine, *Marcellus* dealt secretly: hauing a fit instrument of the same Nation, one *Religenes*; that went in companie with the *Roman* Embassadors, daily passing too and fro. This craftie Agent, perfwaded *Merius*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spaine*: and that if euer he purposed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in *Spaine*, or any where else; it was now the only time to doe it; by conforming himselfe to the will of the *Roman* Cencrall. By such hopes the *Spanish* Captaine was easily wonne: and sent forth his owne brother among the *Syracusan* Embassadors, to ratifie the couenant with *Marcellus*.

This vnder-hand dealing of *Marcellus* against the *Syracusians*, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards thoroughly approved at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Italy* to the *Romans* had bene such, as deserved not to be requited with the ruine of his Countrey: much lesse, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Armie of Mercinaries, should minister vnto the people of *Rome*, aduantage against them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired souldiers; and therefore were faine to yeld vnto the time, and obey those Ministers of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Armie. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicles*: it had bene their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of *Rome*. They had lately slaine many the principall of *Epicles* his followers; and many of themselves had also bene slaine, both lately and in former times, because of their desire vnto the peace. What though it were true, that the *Rafalcitie*, and some ill aduised Persons, joynd with the Souldiers in leaunting of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in those parts of their owne Citie which was taken? Ought therefore the *Roman* Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the *Syracusians*, to make a bargain vnder-hand against them, with a Captaine of the Mercinaries? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his returne

turne home. But the Senators, thought it a great deale better, to comfort the *Syracusians* with gentle wordes, and promises of good vantage in time to come; than to restore the bootie, and giue ouer the Dominion of a Citie, so great, wealthie, ftrong, and many waies important. Neuerthelesse if we consider the many inuencions, and great mischiefs, whereunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious; both by cuill neighbours, and by that very forme of policie, after which it was gouerned: we may truly affirme, That it receiued no small benefit, by becoming subject vnto *Rome*. For thereby it was not only assured against all forraigne enemies, domesticall conspiracies, and such Tyrants as of old had reigned therein: but freed from the necessity of banishing, or murdering, the most worthe Citizens, as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a thousand like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the iacobinie, wherein they held their libertie in vaine. Neither enjoyed that Citie, from her first foundation, any such long time of happinesse, as that wherein it flourished, when it reited secure vnder the protection of *Rome*; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition; whercof by *Marcellus* his victorie it was thoroughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, scrues not to make iniustice the more excusable: vntill we should approve the answer of that These, who being found to haue stolen a silver cup from a sick man, said, *He neuer leaues drinking*.

By the treason of *Merius*, the *Roman* Armie was let into possession of all *Syracuse*; wherein, the bootie that it found, was said to haue bene no lesse, than could haue bene hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it selfe; that maintained warre by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuse* was maruailously adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left vntouched; save only the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, into the *Roman* campe. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of *Archimedes*, was greatly lamented, euen by *Marcellus* himselfe. He was so busie about his Geometrie, in drawing figures, that he hearkned not to the noise, and vprore in the Citie; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* tooke heauily the death of him; and caused his body to bee honourably buried. Vpon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his life time) was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere, with an inscription of the proportion betwene them; which hee first found out. An Inuention of so litte vse, as this may seeme, pleased that great Artill better, than the deuiling of all those engines, that made him so famous. Such difference is betwene the iudgement of learned men, and of the vulgar sort. For many an one would thinke the monie lost, that had been spent vpon a sonne, whose studies, in the Vniuersitie had brought forth such fruit, as the proportion betwene a sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the Townes in *Sicily* yielded vnto the *Romans*; except *Agirgentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agirgentum* lay *Epicles* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately sent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines*, by many good peeces of seruite, had added some credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* side; and withall made his owne name great. By his perswasions, *Hanno* and *Epicles* aduencured to meet *Marcellus* without the Towne, and not be haue themselves as men expecting to be besieged. Neither was hee more valiant in counsell, than in execution. Once and againe he set vpon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped; and droue them fearefully into their Trenches. This bred enuie in *Epicles* and *Hanno*: especially in *Hanno*, that hauing bene lately sent from *Carthage*, with commission and authoritie from the State, thought him selfe wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that he had sent vnto him this *Mutines*, to be his Companion, and to take vpon him, like as good a man as himselfe. The indignitie seemed the greater, when *Mutines*, being to step aside vnto *Heraclides*, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the *Numidians*; aduised (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicles*) not to meddle with the enemy, vntill his returne. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight: and offered battell vnto *Marcellus*, before hee fought it. It is like, that a great

part of the *Roman* Armie was left behinde in *Syracuse*, as neede required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deale with those that came against them. But whatsoever disproportion was betweene the two Armies; farre greater were the odds betweene the Capitaines. For howsoever the people of *Carthage* would give authority by fauour; yet could they not give worth, and abilitie, in matter of warre. The *Numidians*, hauing before conceived some displeasure against their Capitaines: and being therefore some of them gone away to *Hanniball*; were much more offended, when they saw that the vainglorious enuie of *Hanno* carried him vnto the light, vpon a foolish desire to get victorie, without the helpe of *Mutines* their Countreman. Wherefore they sent vnto the *Roman* Generall, and bad him be confident: for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day; but only looke on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had bene misused. They made good their promise; and had their desire. For *Marcus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did so lustily set vpon the Enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, droue them back into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could haue bene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of warre than himselfe, and not haue hazarded a battaile without neede, the *Romans* would shortly haue been reduced into termes of great difficultie in their *Sicilian* warre. For *Marcus*, was shortly after to leaue the Province; and soone vpon his departure, there landed in the land a supply of eight thousand foot, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Armie drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Armie, consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Canna*, tooke it very haينously, that no good seruice done, could bring them into the fauour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent farre from home, and not suffered to returne back to *Rome* with their Generall. *Mutines* had pacified his Countreman the *Numidians*; and, like an honest man, did the best that he could for those whom he serued, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might haue bene, if the Armie lately overthrowne had bene entire. *M. Cornelius*, the *Roman* Pretor, vsed all diligence, both to pacifie his owne men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered those inland Townes that had rebelled; and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from ouer-running all the Countrie; yet hee hindered the Countrie from recruiting vnto *Mutines*. Above three score Townes, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*: of which, *Agrigentum* was the principall; and farre bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as he pleased, in despite of the *Romans*: not only to the succour of his owne adherents; but to the great waste of those that followed the contrarie part. But *Hanno*, in stead of being pleased with all these good seruices, was filled more and more with enuie, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) receiued instructions from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*; not to suffer *Hanniball*, or any *Hanniballian* to haue share in the honour of these *Sicilian* warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilst *Italy* was neglected, that should haue bene regarded more then all the rest. Wherefore, to shew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of *Hanniball*, to appoint vnto him an Assistant, or Director: Hee tooke away from *Mutines* his charge, and gaue it to his owne sonne; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among his *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrarie: and this spitefull dealing, occasioned the losse of whatsoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignitie offered vnto their Countreman, being such a braue Commander, that they offered him their seruice to requite the wrong; and were therefore absolutely at his owne disposition. *M. Valerius* *Laetius*, the *Roman* Consul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke these indignities: but being

neither a *Carthaginian*, nor fauoured by those that bore all the sway in *Carthage*; He thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his owne game, and forsake that Citie, which was likeli to perish by the euill counsell that gouerned it. He did not therefore, as his Countreman had lately done, content himselfe to see his Adversaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious ouer-weening; and to suffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not beare a part; but conspired against them, to deliuer vp *Agrigentum*, and to helpe to expell them vterly out of *Sicily*. The Consul was glad of his friendship: and carefully followed his aduertisements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had vnder-taken. For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly seize vpon a gate; where-at they let in some *Roman* Companies, that lay neare in a readinesse for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first he heard the noyse, thought it had bene no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*, as hee had bene well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacifie the trouble, he saw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among those discontented followers of *Mutines*, forth with he betooke himselfe to flight: and saving himselfe, with *Epistates*, in a small Bark, let saile for *Africa*, leauing all his Armie and Adherents in *Sicily*, to the merie of the *Romans*; that henceforward continued masters of the whole land.

*Laetius* the Consul hauing taken *Agrigentum*, did sharpe execution of iustice vpon all the Citizens. The principall of them hee scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the rest of them hee sold for slaues, and confiscated their goods; sending home to *Rome* the monie that was raised of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein *Rome* stood in no lesse necessitie of gold, than of Steele: which may haue bene the reason, why *Laetius* dealt so cruelly with the *Agrigentines*. Neuertheless the fame of such seueritie bred a terror among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*; so that in great haste they sought to make their peace. About fourtie Townes yielded themselves quickly vnto the *Romans*; twentie were deliuered vp by Treason; and fixe only staid to be wonne by force. These things done, *Laetius* returned home to *Rome*: carrying with him about foure thousand men from *Agrigentum*; that were a companie of out-laws, bankrupts, and banished men, accustomed to liue by spoile of others, in these trouble some times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exercise their occupation against the *Bruttians*; a thessell kinde of people, that were enemies vnto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, hee was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where hee liued in good account; accompanying the two *Scipios* in their iourne against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as is said) very especiall seruice. So by this enterprize of *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might haue bene employed in *Italy*: leauing yet vnto the *Romans*, in the end of this warre, the entire possession of this land; which they wanted when it beganne.

## ¶ XVI.

How the warre passed betweene the *Romans* and *Hanniball* in *Italy*, from the taking of *Capua* to the great victorie at *Metellus*.

Shortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Metellus* came to *Rome*: where, for his good seruices done in the land of *Sicily*, hee had granted vnto him the honour of the lesser Triumphe, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumphe was denied him: because hee had not finished the warre, but was faine to leaue his Armie behinde him in the Province. Hee staid not long in *Rome*, before hee was againe chosen Consul toger her with

with *M. Valerius Laetius*, who succeeded him in the government of *Sicill*, and was, at the time of his election, making warre against King *Philip in Greece*. Great complaint was made against the Consul *Marcellus*, by the *Syraculians*, for that which he had done unto them: they alleging their great friendship to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their Citie did neuer willingly breake the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome*, than to all good men that liued in *Syracuse*. The Consul, on the other side, reckoned vpon the labours and dangers wherunto they had put him: willing them to become themselves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their necessitie; and not vnto the *Romans* whom they had kept out. Thus each part having some good matter to allege, the Senate made such an end of the controuersie, as best agreed with the benefit of their owne Commonwealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the bootie that he had taken, nor making the *Syraculians* free from their subiection, but comforting them, with gentle wordes, and hopefull promises, as hath beene shewed before. The two new Consuls, *Marcellus* and *Laetius*, were appointed to make warre, as their lots should fall out; the one in *Italie*, the other in *Sicill*. The Isle of *Sicill*, fell vnto *Marcellus*: which Prouince he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syraculians* (whose cause had not as yet beene heard in the Senate) might not seeme hindered by feare, from uttering their grieuances freely. Afterwards, when his businesse with them was dispatched, hee gently vnderooke the patronage of them; which remained long in his Familie, to the great benefit of their Countie in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicill*, whose doings there haue bene already rehearsed: but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with pressing of Souldiers to the warre; and most of all, with getting Mariners for their Nauie. They were all of the poorer sort, that vied to be employed in Sea-seruices; especially in rowing. They could not liue without present wages: neither was there monie enough in the Treasurie to giue them pay: Wherefore, it was ordained, that they should be set out at the expence of priuate men; who, in this necessitie of the state, were driuen to sustaine all publike charges. Hereat the People murmured: and were ready to fall into sedition; had not the Consuls deferred the matter vnto further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a case of such extremities. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already endured so much, as well it could vnder-goe; and somewhat more, than could with honesty haue been imposed vpon it. Neuertheless it was impossible to maintaine the warre against the *Carthaginians*, or to keepe the *Macedonian* out of *Italie*, without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That, since the common Treasurie was so empty, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden vpon them. At last the Consuls beganne to say, That no perswasions would be so effectuall with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, like it was, that the People also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That every one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasurie, all the monie that he had; and that no Senator should keepe any vessell of gold, or plate whatsoeuer; excepting one salt-seller, and a boule wherewith to make their offerings vnto the Gods: as also a Ring for himselfe, with such other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as euery one did vse, and those of as small value as might be. This aduice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded; and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonalty refuse to doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publike necessitie could no otherwise be holpen, euery one was contented, that his priuate estate should runne the same fortune with the Common-wealth; which if it suffered wreck, in vaine could any particular man

man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper subsistence. This magnanimitie delerued well that greatnesse of Empire, wherof it was the foundation.

Coniunct order being thus taken for an Armie and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the Citie against *Hannibal*; and *Laetius* toward *Sicill*. The armie of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard seruice: neither did his *Carthaginians* seeme to remember him, and thinke vpon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his *Italian* friends, was much weakened, by the losse of *Capua*: which gaue them cause to looke vnto themselves; as ill in his helpe there were little trust to be reposed, when they should stand in neede. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedie. Either he must thrust Garrison into all Townes that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his armie, that he should not be able to keepe the field: or else hee must leaue them to their owne fidelitie; which now beganne to wauer. At length his ieioultie grew so outrageous, that he sacked, and wasted, those places that he was vnable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himselfe, and make vnprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before he had least cause to doubt. The towne of *Salapia* yielded vnto *Marcellus*; and betraied vnto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horse, the best of all that serued vnder *Hannibal*; which was a greater losse, then the Towne it selfe. *Blasius* the author of this rebellion; could not bring his designe to effect; without getting the consent of one *Dalsus*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Dalsus* in priuate; and was by him accused vnto *Hannibal*. But when he was conuicted, and charged of Treason, he so stoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deuised out of meere malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not cease to presse his aduersarie anew, and vrge him from time to time, with such lively reasons; that hee who could not be belieued by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to winne the fauour of *Marcellus*. Presently after this, the Consul rooke by force, *Marenza* and *Meles*, Townes of the *Samnites*: wherein hee slew about three thousand of *Hannibal* his men.

*Hannibal* could not looke to all at once: but was faine to catch advantages, where he might get them; the *Romans* now being growne stronger in the field than hee. The best was, that his *Carthaginians*, hauing wearied themselves with ill speede in many pottie enterprises, and laid aside all this while the care of *Italie*, to follow businesse of farre lesse importance; had now at length resolved, to send presently the great supply, that had bene so long promised and expected. This if they had done in better season, *Rome* it selfe might haue bene stricken downe, the next year after that great blow recieued at *Canna*. But since that which is past cannot be amended: *Hannibal* must force himselfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mightie succour would come time enough. For *Masaniissa* was at *Carthage* with five thousand *Numidians*, ready to set saile for *Spaine*: whither when hee came, it was appointed, that *Asdrubal* should forthwith take his iourne into *Italie*; of which there had bene so long talke. These newes did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their best: the *Romans* to prevent the threatening mischiefe, and winne as much as they could vpon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his owne, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fuluius*, a Roman Pretor, lay neare vnto *Herranca* to get the Towne by practise. It was not long, since, neare vnto the same place, another *Cn. Fuluius* had lost his armie. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; and came to *Herranca* ere *Fuluius* heard newes of his approach. As soone as he came, he offered battle to the Roman Pretor: who accepted it with more haste than good speede. The

Roman

Roman Legions made good resistance awhile, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* horse. Then fell they to rowts; and great slaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himselfe, with twelve *Tribunes* or *Centurions*, were loit: of the common souldiers that were slaine, the number is vncertaine; some reporting fiftie, others thirtee thousand. The Towne of *Herdonia*, because it was at point to haue yielded vnto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire; and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemy, carried away the multitude; whom he bestowed among the *Thurians* and *Adelpinians*. The Consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote vnto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of a good cheare; for that he would shortly slay the enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* space; and ouer-taking him at *Nunifiro* in the countrey of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battaile: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted vntill night; and ended, by reason of the darknesse, with vncertaine victorie. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venusia* they met, and had many skirmishes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* remoued often, and fought to bring the enemy within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet aduenture nothing, but by open day-light and vpon faire ground.

Thus passed the time away, vntill *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius*, considering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that year to besiege *Tarentum*: which if he could winne, ike it was, that scarce one good Citie would afterwards remaine true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, to whom was continued the command of those Legions that served vnder him the year before) to presse the *Carthaginian* so hard, as he might haue no leisure to helpe *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge; for hee thought no *Roman* fitter than himselfe, to deale with *Hannibal* in open field. Hee followed him therefore to *Cannusium*, and thence from place to place: desiring cuer to come to battaile, but vpon equal termes. The *Carthaginian* had not minde to hazard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemy with skirmish; as being desirous to keepe his Armie strong vntill the coming of *Aldubal*. Yet could he not auoide the importunite of *Marcellus*; nor brooke the indignitie of being daily braued. He therefore bade his men to be lustie, and to beat soundly this hot-spirited *Roman* Captaine, that would neuer suffer them to be at quiet; vntill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battaile: wherein *Hannibal* had the victorie; tooke sixe Ensignes; and slue of the *Romans* almost three thousand, among which were some of make. *Marcellus* was so impatient of this dishonour, that he rated his men, as Pefants, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the *Roman* Legions, which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumvented by any stratagem. With these, and many other the like wordes, which they were ashamed to heare, he did so vex them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their Generall; they besought him to pardon them, and leadeth them forth once againe to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies foremost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victorie; wherein the newes might be at *Rome*, before the report of their shamefull ouerthrow. *Hannibal* was angrie, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was redie to fight againe, since all other motives continued the same, and his men had been heartned by the late victorie. But the *Romans* were tired vp with desire of reuenge, and of repairing their honour, which affections gaue a sharpe edge vnto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were growne dull, and wearie by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victorie, as redie to molest them as before. In this second battaile *Marcellus* got the victorie: which hee purchased at so

deare

deare a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cause to vaunt; the second night. For if eight thousand of the *Carthaginians* were slaine, and three thousand of the *Roman* side, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than vnto to recompence the late receiued ouerthrow: especially since the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing *Hannibal*; who dislodged by night. Neuertheless it sufficed, that *Fabius* the Consul hereby got leisure, to follow his businesse at *Tarentum* without any disturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Consul, about the same time, tooke in many of the *Thurians*, *Lucans*, and *Adelpinians*, that willingly yielded themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Townes: whom *Fulvius* entertained in louing sort; gently rebuking them for their errors past, without punishing those that had been authors, or bulie doers in the rebellion. Tharabble of *Sicilian* theues, which *Laonius* had lately brought from *Agaturna*, was then also set on worke to besiege *Cabulus*, a towne of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted; that might serue to duert *Hannibal*, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

*Q. Fabius* the Consul, having taken *Mahdoris* a Towne of the *Salentines*, late downe before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carrie it, either by assault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Towne a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, vnder a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in loue with a *Tarentine* wench; whose brother serued vnder *Fabius*. Hereof, hee gaue notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* side; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her louer was. But her brother made the Consul acquainted with these newes: and said, that if the *Brutian* were farre in loue, he might perhaps be wonne, by intreatie of his Mistres, to doe what these would haue him. The Consul hearing this: and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his souldier to conuey himselfe into the Towne as a fugitive; and trie what good might be done. It fell out, according to his desire. The souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captaine: and partly by his owne persuasions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his sister; wanne him to betray the Towne to the *Romans*. When they had agreed vpon the businesse, and resolved how to order it; the same souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him, in which part that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conueniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gaue an alarme to the Citie; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captaines in the Towne, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himselfe, with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the *Romans* to get vp, and brake open the next gate; whereto the Armie was let in. The *Tarentines*, and *Carthaginian* souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market-place: but (as hapneth in like cases, where the maine confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democrates*, and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, vsed now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*. *Carthale*, who commanded the Garrison within the Towne, offered himselfe prisoner: hoping to be well vsed, because of hospitalitie that had passed betwene his Father and the Consul. But he was slaine by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword: in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutians*, was thought to haue bene made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seeme to haue wonne the Towne by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glorie which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treasure, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities that were in the Citie, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and

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being told of some Idolls, that seemed worthe to be carried away, being very goodly peeces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, let vs leave vnto the *Tarentines* their angie Gods.

*Hannibal* being gotten cleare from *Marcellus*, fell vpon those that besieged *Canusina*. They fled at his coming; but he was so neare, that they were faine to be take them to a Hill, which seru'd to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a litle while, and then they yielded. When this businesse was done, he halted away to relieue *Tarentum*. But when hee came within fife miles of the Citie, he had newes that it was lost. This grieved him; yet he said no more than this: *The Romans haue also their Hannibals*; wee haue lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seeme to turne back amafed, or in any feare of the victorious Consuls, he incamped a few daies together, so neare as he was vnto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, he thought himselfe how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chiefe of the *Metapontines* to write vnto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These letters were sent by two young men of the same Citie: who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote back by them vnto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure, made readie his ambushes for the warie *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were giuen; or whether in deede (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Romans*; the iourne to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed againe: but being apprehended, and threatened with torture, they discouered all.

This yeare was happy to the *Romans*, in all their warres: for they got euerie where; saue only at *Canusina*; where they lost a companie of such lewd fellows, that it may seeme good fortune, to haue so bene rid of them. But their common povertie, and disabilitie to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirteen *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italie*: of which, twelue refused to contribute any longer to the warres. For it was considered; that the Legion and those vnhappie Companies, that had bene beaten vnder the one and the other *Caesar*, were transported into *Sicily*; where they liued, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon vpon the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeares together they had bene exhausted with leues of men, and impositions of monie: in euerie which yeares, they had receiued some notable ouerthrow. In this case the least that they could feare; or rather the best which they could hope; was, to fall into the hands of the Enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe with in awhile, that they should be all consumed: since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townes; and the old ones neuer did returne. Such talke was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicily*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Townes, to the number of twelue, That they should boldly denie vnto the *Romans*, their farther helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope; as long as *Hannibal* liued. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these townes make such declaration, and protest their disabilitie of giuing any farther helpe; they were much amafed. They willed the Embassadors to returne home, and bring a better answer: forasmuch as this, was none other than reason: they bade them to consider, that their people were not *Campanians*, or *Tarentines*, but the offspring of the *Romans*; and no lesse partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not serue: the Embassadors continuing to protest, that they

they had already done what they could; and that they had remayning, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eighteen Colonies did not imitate these twelue; but shewed themselves willing to vndergoe whatsoever should be layed vpon them, without shrinking vnder the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls; that the Embassadors of those faithfull Colonies, were brought vnto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good seruices, this their present loue vnto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly bestowed vpon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelue Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best, neither to retaine them in the Citie, nor yet to dismisle them, nor to take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their owne consideration of their ill deserting.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelue People would haue wrought, in those that were so willing to helpe the State, if *Asdrubal* had bene then coming into *Italie*. For then must the *Romans* haue betaken themselves wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subiects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italie*, with hopefull and fortunate success. Neuertheless, they were faine to open their most priuie treasure; and thence take out the golde, that had bene layed vp to serue them in cases of greatesse extremitie. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was deliuered to *Fabius*, the Consul, to set him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest, was sent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Armie; and to prouide, that *Asdrubal* might not passe from thence into *Italie*. It is like that *Fabius* did not spend all his money; finding such easie success at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the iourney of *Asdrubal*, neither the money sent into *Spain*, nor any victories wonne by *Scipio* could suffice. Neuertheless it fell out happily for the People of *Rome*, that this yeare, and the next, were spent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at lesse warning they could haue bene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amisse to note, That since the *Romans*, being in so great necessitie of money, were driuen to furnish the Armie in *Spain*, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left: it must needs be, that either the bootie taken in new *Carthage*, was farre lesse then fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet wonne it: howsoeuer *Liue* rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soone after his arruall.

*M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *T. Quintius Crispinus*, were chosen Consuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In their yeare it was, that *Asdrubal* tooke his iourney out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italie* vntill the yeare following. After the great battaile at *Canna*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Cuma* and *Naples*, in seeking to make himselfe Master of a good haven, for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turne his principall care to the Easterne parts of *Italie*; where he made readie a faire entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had bene readie to come. But since this hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of *Asdrubal* was (though farre later than had bene expedient) readie to arriue: he began to deale with the people of *Hetruria*, through whose Countries his brother was to passe, that therein hee might make a partie against the *Romans*. The losse of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Townes, might haue terrified all other of the *Italian* Townes, from hearkning to any sollicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the povertie of the *Romans*, and the wearines of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Armie coming, than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italie*; did embolden many of the *Hetrurians*, especially the *Arretines*, to take such counsell as they thought most expedient for themselves; without regard of their fidelitie to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senat, hearing the rumour of their conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consul into *Hetruria*: whose coming did so terrifie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the yeare following they were

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devising how to breake out: as contrariwise the *Roman* Propretors; partly by terror of severe judgements and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills; and tooke many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong warre vpon *Hannibal* without more temporizing; perswading themselves, that in battaile they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Towne: as *Falvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Loeri*; one of the best Cities which the *Carthaginians* then held in *Italia*: and brought thither all sorts of engines; sending for a fleet out of *Sicily* to helpe him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieue the Citie: the same of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprize, and retire vnto his Colleague, that lay at *Venusia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Consuls daily offered battaile. This great man of Warre had no neede to stand vpon his reputation: which was already so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed vnto feare; but rather deemed as part of his wisdom. He enterained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, and fought to take them at some advantage, reseruing his owne numbers as full as he could, vnto a time of greater employment. In this lingering manner of Warre, *Marcellus* tooke no pleasure; but sought to compell the Enemy to battaile, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded againe to assaile the Towne of *Loeri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he beganne, to trifle away the time at *Venusia*. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to goe by Land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behinde him. He laid an ambush in the way, betwene *Tarentum* and *Loeri*, wherinto the *Romans* fell: and hauing lost about three thousand of their companie, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprize, and save their owne liues within *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal*, to waste their Army by little and little: which to doe, he neglected *Hannibal*. There lay betwene him and them an Hillock, ouer-grown with wood, that seemed fit to couer a number of men: who lying there vnder cover, might fall vpon such, as should straggle from the *Roman* campe; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*: whom he willed to keepe themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this peece of ground, the Consuls thought it fit to remoue their campe: *Marcellus* thinking that he neuer lay neare enough vnto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode, to view the place, accompanied with the sonne of *Marcellus*, a few Colonells, and other principall men; and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinell gaue warning of their approach to his fellows; who discovered not themselves, vntill they had surrounded the Consuls and their traine. The Consuls, as necessity compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their campe that was neare at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ranne away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weak assistance of no more than fortie horse-men, that were of the Colonie of *Fregelle*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls; and did what they could to haue brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken through with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then beganne euery one to shift for himselfe, and escape as they might. *Crispinus* the other Consul, had his death wound, being stricken with two Darts; and yong *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their campe. The rest of the Colonells and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundells of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slain or taken. To the dead bodie of the Consul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gaue honourable Funerall; according to the custome of those times: and bestowing

bestowing his ashes in a silver pot, covered it with a crowne of gold; and so sent them to yong *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himselfe, how that the signet Ring of *Marcellus*, was fallen into the custodie of *Hannibal*; who might vie it, to his owne purposes, ere that which had hapned were well knowne abroad. Wherefore he lent word vnto all the Townes about; that his Colleague was slain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wiling them in that regard, to giue no credit vnto any letters therewithall signed. This prouidence of *Crispinus*, was not more than requisite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Messenger arrived there from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and sealed with the capite Ring: whereof the contents were, That it was his purpose to come the same night vnto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such employment as hee should thinke needfull. The device was plaine: and no lesse plaine was the reuengefull minde, which he bare against that Citie; because of his braue *Numidian* companies, that had therein bene betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themselves, how to take their Enemy in his owne snare. They sent back the Messenger which was a *Roman* fugitiue; without letting him perceiue any signe of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readinesse, for the entertainment of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of *Roman* fugitiues, armed *Roman* like, leading the way. These all talking Latin together, called vnto the Watch, and bade open the gates; for the Consul was there. The gate was opened, faire and leisurely, and the Port-cullis drawne vp no higher than needes it must be, to let them enter. But when fixe hundred of them were gotten in, downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to haue taken others, were taken themselves; being laied at on all hands by the *Salapians*; that quickly made an end with them.

*Hannibal* being thus ouer reached with this stratagem, hasted away to *Loeri*; whereunto *Cincius* the Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, did lay hard siege. The first appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vauccurors, made the *Romans*, in all confus'd haste, runne to their ships: leauing all their engines, and whatsoever was in their campe, to the enemies disposition.

The *Roman* Senate, hearing of these accidents, sent vnto *Crispinus* the suruiuing Consul, and requested him to name a Dictator: that might take charge of the Commonwealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other businesse; whereunto himselfe was disabled by his hurts. Hee did so: and soone after died. Then was it thought needfull, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two *Roman* Armies, lay lo neare vnto the Enemy, without any General. Especially it was desired, that election should be made of such men, as were not only valient, but well aduised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Darcers, *M. Marcellus*, by looting himselfe so strangely, had giuen them a faire warning, not to commit their Armie vnto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Consulship, *C. Claudius Nero* was the most eminent. Hee was of great Nobilitie, a good Souldier, and one, whose many seruices in this present warre, did forcibly commend vnto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the allay of a more staid wit. The *Fathers* therefore endeuoured to ioyne vnto him in the Consulship *M. Linius*: one that had borne the same Office, long before. This *M. Linius* had bene Consul with *L. Aemilius Paulus*, in the yeare foregoing the beginning of this warre. After their Consulship, wherein they did so good seruice, they had both of them been called into iudgement by the People: and this *Linius* condemned, *Aemilius* hardly escaping. Though it hath bene once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it againe: how it pleased God, to vpbraid the vnthankfull *Romans*, with the malicious iudgement, giuen by their multitude vpon honorable men. For in the battaile of *Cannae*, it was apparant, what lamentable

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effects, the memorie of their iniustice wrought: when *L. Æmilius* rather chofe to yield to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the great overthrow, that euer fell vpon the State of *Rome*, than by resisting the pernicious courtes of *Tullius Tarre*, to cast himselfe anew vpon the danger of the popular furie. As for *M. Linius*, he is euen now readie, and will so continue, to tell the People of their faults in a diuers manner. Eight yeares together after his condemnation had beene absent out of the Citie, and liued in his Countrie Grange; vexing himselfe with the indignitie of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Launius*, being Consuls two or three yeares agoe, had brought him into *Rome*: where he liued in discontented fort, as might appeare, both by his carelesse in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire and beard; which in that age were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Censors, to poll his haire, and come into the Senate: where he vied to sit silent, and signifie his assent or dislike to what was propofed; either in short formall wordes, or in passing from side to side, when the house was diuided. At length it hapned, that in some buisinesse weightily concerning one that was his kinsman, he stood vp, and made a set speech: whereby he drew all the *Fathers* to attention; and bade them inquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had bene. The Senate was much altered since he had let it; many braue men were lost; new ones were chosen; such as rather crued to fill vp the number, than to answer to the dignitie of the place: and they that were left of ancient standing, had euen spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore, all beganne to say; that it was great pittie, so worthie and able a man, as this *Linius*, had bene all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Common-wealth stood in great neede, yet had not vied, in this dangerous warre. Now seeing that the Consuls ought, one of them, to be chosen a *Patrician*, the other, of necessitie a *Plebeian*: and since, neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Launius*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joynted with *Clauius Nero*: euery one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Linius*. But *Linius* would not endure to heare of this. He said it was vnreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen Ruler of the Citie. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phrases hee resisted their desires: till by perswasions, and examples rehearfed, of such as had patiently digested injuries done by the People, and repaid good for euill; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which *Themistocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: resembling himselfe to a Plane tree, the branches and boughes whereof men breake in faire weather; but raine vnder it for shelter in a storme. Such vnthankfulnesse, to well-deseruing men, is not rarely found in the outrageous multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much vnlike, of *Philip* the second King of *Spain* in dealing with the Duke of *Alca*. For although he had committed the Duke to prison, vpon some small offence conceived, without all regard of his former deserts: yet when his intended conquest of *Portugal*, required the seruice of a man, more then ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer vpon the scanning of late displeasures; but employed the same Duke, whom he had newly disgraced. Thus is wilddome often taught by necessity.

It was a dangerous yeare toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Linius* were chosen Consuls. *Asdrubal* was alreadie come into *France*, and waited only, to haue the waies of the *Alpes* thawed by warme weather, for his passage into *Italie*. The *Romans* vied at this time the seruice of three and twentie Legions: and wanted not employment, for many more, if they had knowne how to leue and maintaine them. Of these which they had, foure serued in *Spain*, two in *Sicily*, and two in *Sardinia*: the rest were so disposed, in severall parts of *Italie*, where neede seemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Consuls. But the Consuls were men of execution,

execution: and would not be tied to the punctuall obseruance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Linius* would not stirre out of *Rome*, against so mightie a power as followed *Asdrubal*; vntill hee had first obtained, that hee might carrie with him as many as could well be spared from other employments; and chofe, or the most of them, chosen Companies: It was true, that two Legions, appointed to serue vnder *Lucius Porcius* a Pretor of that yeare, among the *Cisalpine Gauls*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Linius*; to whom the warre against *Asdrubal* was allotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the *Salentines*, neare vnto *Tarentum*, vnder another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Armie; that was sent against *Hannibal*. Neuertheless the Consuls, by the especial instance of *Linius*, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne discretion. For newes came, that *Asdrubal* was alreadie passing the *Alpes*; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Countrie about *Genua*, with their Neighbour people, were in readinesse to joyne with him; and *L. Porcius* sent word, that he would adventure no further, than hee safely might. When all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the Citie, each, his seuerall way. The People of *Rome* were now quite otherwise affected, than they had bene, when *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take vpon them, to direct their Generalls; or bid them dispatch, and winne the victorie betimes: but rather they stood in feare; least all diligence, wilddome, and valour, should proue too little. For since few yeares had passed, wherein some one of their Generalls had not bene slaine; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present Consuls were delected, or put to the worst; the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith joyne, and make short worke with the other: it seemed a greater happinesse than could be expected, that each of them should returne home Victor; and come off with honour, from such mightie opposition, as he was like to finde. With extreme difficultie had *Rome* held vp her head, euer since the battaile of *Cannae*: though it were so, that *Hannibal* alone, with little helpe from *Carthage*, had continued the warre in *Italie*. But there was now arrived another sonne of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his present Expedition, had seemed, a man of more sufficiencie than *Hannibal* himselfe. For, whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, ouer great Rivers, and Mountaines, that were thought vnpassable, *Hannibal* had lost a great part of his Armie: this *Asdrubal*, in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people that he found in the way, descended from the *Alpes* like a rowling Snow ball, farre greater than he came ouer the *Pyrenees* at his first setting out of *Spain*. These considerations and the like, of which feare presented many vnto them; caused the People of *Rome*, to wait vpon their Consuls out of the Towne; like a penitente traine of Mourners: thinking vpon *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*, vpon whom in the like fort they had giuen attendance the last yeare, but saw neither of them returne aliuie, from a lesse dangerous warre. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gaue his accustomed aduise to *M. Linius*, that he should abstaine from giuing, or taking battaile, vntill hee well vnderstood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a froward answer, and said, That he would fight the very first day: for that he thought it long, till he should either recover his honour by victorie; or by seeing the overthrow of his owne vnjust Citizens, satisfie himselfe with the joy of a great, though not an honest, reuenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Asdrubal* receiued in *Spain*, by *Scipio*, a little before hee tooke his iourne into *Italie*, such mention hath alreadie bene made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian *Linius*. Yet I thinke it not amiss to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his historie, concerning that accident. *Asdrubal* had wrestled with many difficulties in *Spain*; by reason of those Caprains that were sent from the Citie of *Carthage* to joyne with him in the administration of that Province: they being, as it may seeme, of the *Hannibalic* faction; which is to say, thus farre forth Traitors, that they preferred the ad-

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Polyb. lib. 1. 10.  
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namage of their owne tide, before the good of their Commonwealt. In what particulars they wronged this worthy sonne of *Amilcar*, and how they hindered his courtes vnder taken, it can not be knowne: since of those bookes, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters; there are vs remaining, only a few broken peeces. But by the pightfull dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicili* with *Antinice*, a better man of warre than himselfe, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Iland: we may conceiue, that against the brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needfull, by these malicious Partitions of *Hanno*, to vse the violent opposition of more carnell malice. Neuertheless, *Asdrubal* was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently such indignities, as *Antinice* could not long digest. His journey into *Italie* being resolved vpon: he lay with part of the Armie at *Betulia*, not farre from the mines of *Iliuer*; whence he was to furnish his Expedition. Thither came *Scipio*: and draue him out of his Campe, though he were strongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captaines could, or would, come to his assistance. The ouerthrow seemes not to haue bene so great, as it mult haue bene supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appears, that *Asdrubal* dealt like a prouident man: and seeing that his Campe was likely to bee forced, sent away all his monie, with his Elephants before him: but staied behinde himselfe to sustaine the *Roman*s awhile, vntill his carriages might bee out of danger. Herein he had his desire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troops together: and retired in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him, and so passed ouer *Tagus*. Then taking vnto him the forces assigned for his Expedition, he marched away toward the *Pyrenes*: leauing the care of *Spaine* vnto his brother *Asago*, and to *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gefeo*: that thought himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. Faine would *Scipio* haue stopp'd him on his journey, by sending to defend against him the ordinarie way of the Mountaines. But whether *Asdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had set to keepe the *Pyrenes* (as the defence of hard passages commonly sorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voiage by any such impediment. Comming into *Gaul*, and following the steps of his brother *Hannibal*: hee found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his monie, that no passages were defended against him, nor any fort of resistance made; but he, and his Armie, well entertained, and their numbers much increased, by accesse of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice: for that hee was driuen to Winter in their Countrie; whilst that the passages of the *Alpes* were closed vp with Ice and Snow. The Mountaines likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his journey ouer the *Alpes*; were easily wonne to take part with *Asdrubal*, when he traualled through their Countrie. For these poore men, at the first comming of *Hannibal*, were verily perswaded, that it was his purpose to robbe them of their cattails; and to make spoile of that little wealth, which they had painefully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in proccesse of time, they were better informed. Therefore vnderstanding, that there were two mightie Cities, farre disioyned asunder, which made warre vpon each other, by Land, and Sea; and that the *Alpes* did only lie in their way: they gladly condescended, to take their part in the fortune of the Inuaders. The like affection, vpon greater cause, was afterward found in the *Cisalpine Gauls*. The *Ligurians* also joyned with *Asdrubal*: and so would the *Heretians* haue done; if he had arrived in their Countrie. There was no other *Roman* Armie neare, than *L. Porcius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set vpon *Placentia* *Roman* Colonie: in hope to make his comming the more terrible; by the destruction of that Towne. But thereloe lost a great deale of time, and finally was driuen to quit the enterprise: by vnder taking which, he gaue the *Roman* Consuls leisure, to make readie for him; and caused his brother *Hannibal* (who vpon the first bruit of *Asdrubal* his so timely, and easily passing the *Alpes*, was about to leaue his wintering camps, and goe forth to meet with him) to sit still awhile, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haste,

C. Claudius

C. Claudius Nero the *Roman* Consul, made what speede hee could, to meet with *Hannibal*, and stop him from ioyning with his brother. He had about forrie thousand foot, and five hundred horse: with which he daily offered battalle to the *Carthaginian*; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was once driuen to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentinis* and *Apulians*, into the Countrie of the *Brutians*; there to entreafe his forces; which were otherwise too weak for the iournie intended. Afterward comming to *Grumentum*, a Towne of the *Lucani*; he there fought vnprosperously with Nero the Consul. Neuertheless he got off, and marched away to *Venusia*. But Nero followed him; and had there againe the better of him. Wherefore hee was driuen to returne to *Hydruntum*: where ioyning with *Hanno*, that had made readie a good Armie; hee assisted againe to make way by force to his brother. So he passed onward, and came againe to *Penusa*, hauing Nero still at his heeles. Thence went he ouer the *Riuier* *Uisula* to *Casunum*, where he sate downe, not farre from the place in which he had obtained, his most memorable victorie. There also did Nero sit downe by him: and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps vnto *Hannibal*, who knew the Countrie very well, that his brother might, with little impediment, ouercome the way to *Casunum*: where if he could once againe deale with both the Consuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victorie, as once he had gotten in the same open Countrie. If this had so fallen out; *Rome* would haue bene vndone for euer. But the *Carthaginians* should not haue heeded to with any second victorie, in the naked Champps about *Canna*; if such an artifice, as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*, when hee was in his full strength; and the *Roman*s not able to keepe the field. Wherefore this worthy Generall had good reason afterward to say, that *Hannibal* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beat him out of *Italie*; which else by power of the *Romans* could haue done.

Whilst Nero waited vpon the *Carthaginians*, and thought hee should be hindered from meeting with the Armie that was comming to their succour, he was notwithstanding of *Asdrubal* his approach; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gaue notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could be made by the Consul. Of these newes *Claudius Nero* was nothing ioyfull. For if *Hannibal* could once be ioyned as head, vnto that great bodie of an Armie, which *Asdrubal* brought with him: it was most apparant, that howeouer the fortune of *Rome* should befall, for the present, any great calamitie; yet the very continuance of so long a warre at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithfull *Associates*, to shift vnder the burden; as twelue of the thirtie *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore hee resolved, that it were better to make any desperate adventure, than to suffer the conjunction of two such malevolent Planets: whose pestilence in influence, if not on the spot daie, yet within few yeares, was like to worke most lamentable effects. It seemed apparant, that his Colleague was vnable to stay the progresse of *Asdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readinesse that could doe seruice in such a needfull case; excepting those, that were already employed vnder the two Consuls. Here, vpon hee concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himselfe to his owne charge, which was the warre against *Hannibal*: but rather that it belonned him, to helpe where more necessitie required; and to carrie part of his forces vnto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* brethren, was farre more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth; it seemed the best way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was of the leesse importance. Sixe thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore tooke, that were the very choice of his Armie: and making these as if he would only step aside, to doe some small peece of seruice neare at hand; away hee posted as fast as hee could, to assist

assist his fellow Consul. His Messengers ranne before him, to giue warning to all Townes by which he was to passe, that they should be readie to meet him, with vi-  
 tuallis, and all other necessaries for his Armie. *Linus* the other Consul, at that time,  
 lay incamped, neare vnto *Sena Gallica*; and *Asdrubal* within halfe a mile of him. In  
 fixe daies *Nero* had finished his iourne thither; and when he drew neare, sent Mes-  
 sengers before him, to giue notice of his coming. *Linie* thought it fittest that hee  
 should stay in some place of couert vntill darke night, and then enter secretly into  
 the campe: least the Enemy, perceiving this access of strength, should accordingly  
 frame his counsailes. This was done: and a token giuen, that the Colonells, Cap-  
 taines, and all Souldiers, aswell horse as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him;  
 should bee lodged and entertained by men of their owne sort. Their Companie  
 was somewhat increased by Voluntaries that joyned with them on the way. Neuer-  
 thelesse, it was not needfull, that the Quarter which receiued them, should bee en-  
 larged; since they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day  
 they held a Counsaile of warre: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for  
 these new-arrived Companies, to refresh themselves a few daies after their wearie  
 iourne, before they should be drawne forth to battaile. But against this, *Nero* was  
 very earnest: and besought his Colleague, to make vse of him out of hand; that he  
 might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere *Hannibal* should haue notice of his  
 absence. The souldiers also of *Nero*, were full of spirit; perceiving that the honour  
 of the victorie was like to be theirs: inasmuch as the battaile would not haue beene  
 undertaken, without their coming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counsaile  
 brake vp, that the signe of battaile should be hung out; which was com-  
 monly a purple coate ouer the Generalls paulion.

*Asdrubal* was no lesse willing than the *Romans* to come to battaile: hauing long  
 desired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in  
 order, and was riding before the head of his Armie, to behold the Enemies counte-  
 nance: it seemed to him, that they were more than they had beene; and some of  
 their armes and horses, looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long  
 iourne. Hereupon, he beganne to with-draw his Armie back into the Campe: and  
 gaue order, that if no prisoners could bee taken, by whom he might bee certified of  
 the truth; yet should there good obseruation be made, whether the enemies campe  
 were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their  
 forces to be increased. The campe, as hath bene said, was not extended: but the  
 trumpet, that sounded once in the quarter of *L. Porcius* the Pretor, did now,  
 contrary to former custome, found twice in the quarter of *Linus* the Consul. Here-  
 at *Asdrubal* greatly mused: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders; held  
 this for a sure token, that the other Consul, was there arrived. How this might be,  
 if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good case, he was not able to coniecture: but thought  
 it the best way, to goe secretly to worke; till he might be better informed. Vpon  
 confidence in his owne forces, he had not cared hitherto, how neare hee lay to the  
*Romans*: nor troubled himselfe perhaps with ouer-strongly fortifying his owne  
 Campe. Yet when hee now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out beside his ex-  
 pectation: he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remoue a little  
 further off. So hee dislodged secretly by night: intending to get ouer the River  
*Metaurus*; whereby to keepe himselfe as long as he could, from necessitie of battaile.  
 But whether it were so, that his guides did steale away from him in the darke, so that  
 he could not finde the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too hea-  
 uie, and hindered his speede: farre hee had not gone, ere the Consul *Nero* was at his  
 heeles with all the *Roman* horse, and staid him from passing any further. Soone af-  
 ter came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Consul followed anon  
 with all the Legions; in good order, and readie for battaile. *Asdrubal*, seeing him-  
 selfe ouer-taken with necessitie to fight; omitted no care and circumspection. His  
*Gauls*, in whom hee reposed least confidence, hee placed in his left wing vpon a Hill,  
 which

which the Enemy should not, without much difficultie, be able to climbe: in the  
 right wing hee stood himselfe, with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* bee-  
 placed in the midst; and his Elephants, hee bestowed in the front of his battaile. On  
 the *Roman* side, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing; *Linus* of the left; and *Por-  
 cius* of the battaile. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well vnderstood, how much de-  
 pended vpon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of safetie there was vnto  
 the vanquished. Only the *Romans* herein seemed to haue had the better in conceipt,  
 and opinion; That they were to fight with men desirous to haue fled from them.  
 And, according to this presumption, came *Linus* the Consul with a proud brauerie,  
 to giue charge on the *Africans*: by whom he was so sharply entertained, that the vi-  
 ctorie seemed very doubtfull. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were stout souldiers; and  
 well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* also were a  
 hardie Nation, and not accustomed to giue ground; which they needed the lesse,  
 or were able now to doe, being placed in the midst. *Linus* therefore, and *Porcius*, found  
 strong opposition: and with great slaughter on both sides, preuailed little or no-  
 thing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants,  
 that brake their first ranks; and put them in such disorder, as the *Roman* Ensignes  
 were driuen to fall back. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vaine a-  
 gainst a steepe Hill, was vnable to come to blowes with the *Gauls*; that stood op-  
 posite vnto him, but out of danger. This made *Asdrubal* the more confident; who  
 seeing his owne left wing safe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression  
 on the other side, vpon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero*, perceiving that the place  
 wherein he stood, was such as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were  
 ended; tooke a part of his forces, and led them round behinde the forces of *Porcius*  
 and *Linus*: which hauing compassed, he fell vpon *Asdrubal*, and charged him in the  
 flanke. Here beganne the victorie to be manifest on the *Roman* side. For *Nero*, find-  
 ing none to resist him in front, ranne all along the depth of *Asdrubal* his battaile:  
 and falling vpon the skirts thereof, disordered the Enemies, and put all to rowt. Of  
 the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on euery side, the greatest part  
 was slaine. The *Ligurians* and *Gauls* escaped as they could; and saved themselves  
 by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken alive: the rest were slaine;  
 some by the Enemies weapons; others by their owne guides that rode them. For  
 when any of them, being fore wounded, beganne to wexe unruly, and rush back  
 vpon their owne battailes following them: the guide had in readinesse a Mallet, and  
 a Chizzell, wherewith he gaue them a stroke betweene the eares, in the ioynt of the  
 neck, next vnto the head; wherewith hee killed the beast vpon the suddaine. This  
 speedie way of preventing such harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to  
 doe to the squadrons following them; is said to haue bene the deuice of *Asdrubal*  
 himselfe; who died in this battaile.

Great commendations are giuen to *Asdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Linie*.  
 He is said at all times to haue shewed himselfe worthe of *Amilcar* his father, and  
*Hannibal* his brother; to haue striven with great patience, against many difficulties,  
 whereinto he fell by the means of those Captaines, that were sent from *Carthage*  
 into *Spain*; to haue performed in this last battaile all duties of a worthe Generall;  
 and finally when hee saw the losse irreparable, to haue ridden manfully into the  
 thickest of his Enemies; where fighting brauely, hee was slaine. Of the number  
 that died with him in this battaile, the report of *Linie*, and of *Polybius*, doe very  
 much disagree. For *Linie* saith, that the *Carthaginians* had no lesse an ourthrow,  
 than was that, which they gaue to the *Romans* at *Cannae*; that fixe tie thousand of  
 them were slaine, fixe thousand and foure hundred taken prisoners; and aboue four  
 thousand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had captiues with them, deliuered, and set at  
 libertie. He saith also, that of the *Romans* and their Associates there were slaine eight  
 thousand: and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kindes;  
 but in gold and siluer. Concerning the bootie; *Polybius* hath no mention of it.  
 Likely

Likely it is to haue beene as rich as *Linie* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well furnished with monie. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battaile of *Metaurus*, a paralel vnto that of *Cannae*) reports no more than about ten thousand of the *Carthaginians* died, and two thousand of the *Romans*; to haue beene slaine. The number of the prisoners he doeth not mention; but only saith, That some of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all the rest died in the battaile. Whereby it may seeme, that they were all *Barbarians*; forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their Countrey, aboue their liues.

The joy of this victorie, was no lesse in *Rome*, than had beene the feare of the enemy. For euer since it was knowne in what fort *Nero* had left his Armie; the whole *Citie* was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the *Consul* should make such a great adventure, as thus to put the one halfe of all the *Roman* forces, vnto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chauce to haue notice of this his departure; and either pursue him, or set vpon the Armie that staid behinde, much weakened, and without a Generall? Thus did they talke; yet referring their censure vnto the successe; with libertie to approve or condemn, according to the issue. In the meane while the People filled the Market-places; the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counsaile, waiting still readie at hand vpon the *Magistrates*; as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would require euerie ones helpe. In briefe, they were all so full of melancholie, that when first newes of the victorie came, there were not many that would beleue it. Afterwards when Messengers arrived from the *Consuls*, with Letters containing all that had passed: there was not only great and joyfull concourse of all sorts of men vnto the Temple, but the very face of the *Citie* was altered; and men from thenceforth beganne to follow their priuate businesse; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborne to doe) and attending their owne affaires in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were alreadye driuen out of *Italie*.

*Nero* returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*; and producing his *African* prisoners bound; sent two of them loose to giue *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners, might haue serued well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of this misadventure, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*; especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and faire different manner, had giuen buriall to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea to all the *Roman* Generalls, whose carcases fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howsoever the People of *Carthage*, wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their loue vnto the Commonweale; yet in dealing with Enemies, they were farre more ciuill, and lesse prone to the insolencie of reuenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that hee hoped much more by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deepe impression of feare into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, That he forgot himselfe, being ouer-joyed with the greatnesse of his prosperitie. For it was the battaile of *Metaurus* that weighed downe the balance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune; which being then at the lowell ebbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* hauing lost in this vnhappie fight (besides that worthe Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in *Italie*; with-drew himselfe into the Countrey of the *Brutians*; and thither hee caused all the *Lucans* that were of his partie to remoue; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend so many places as he held at the present, because they lay too farre asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesse compass in the vtmost corner of *Italie*; it being a Countrey of much fastnesse, and the people exceedingly deuoted to his seruice. In this businesse *Nero* gaue him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, hauing all his forces vnited; or because it is

likely

likely that this remoue of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Sommer, when their harvest was gathered in; at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. At *Linus* the other *Consul* carried among the *Cisalpine Gauls*; vntill the end of Sommer; there to set things in such order as he thought requisite: which done, hee wrote vnto the Senate, that there was no more neede of him and his Armie in that Prouince; but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, hee desired leaue to returne home; and that he might bring his Armie with him. The Senate well vnderstood his meaning: which was to haue the honour of a triumph, as he well deserved. But forasmuch as it was well knowne, what interest *Nero* had in the late victorie: order was giuen, that not only *Linus* with his Armie should come home; but likewise *Nero*; though leauing his Armie behinde him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof *Linus* made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Prouince, and vpon his day of command, the victorie was gotten; his Armie also being present at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horse back, and without such attendance, was the more extolled both by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victorie was in a manner wholly ascribed vnto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Plautus*, and *Q. Caelius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generalls, the due acknowledgement of their good seruice. For they were commended vnto the People, as men worthe to be chosen *Consuls*; and *Consuls* they were chosen for the yeare following. But nothing was done by them, worthe of memorie, in their *Consulship*. Neither indeede from this yeare, which was the thirteenth of the present warre, vntill the eighteenth yeare wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italie*; save only the taking of *Lecri* from the *Carthaginians* by surpris. For *Hannibal* wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little minde to prouoke him; but thought it well that hee was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him; that though all about him went to ruine; yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold himselfe vpright. And surely very notable are the commendations giuen vnto him by *Polybius*; whom *Linus* therein follows: That making warre vpon a People, of all other the most warlike, hee obtained so many victories by his owne good conduct: and that leading an Armie, compounded of so many sundrie Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greekes*; which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; hee held them all in such good order, that they neuer fell to sedition among themselves, or against their Generall. But that which *Linus* addes hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That hee sustained his Armie, without helpe from other places, from this time forward, vpon the hungry soile of the *Brutians*: which, when it was best manured in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatnesse of reward and bootie: since, after the death of *Asdrubal*, he made no inuasion vpon the wealthier parts of *Italie*; but held himselfe still among the poore *Brutians*. Where we must leaue him vntill he be drawne into *Africa* by *Scipio*; whose doings will henceforth entertaine, and leade vs, vnto the end of this Warre.

## §. XVII.

How P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO the Roman, made entire conquest of Spaine.

## ¶. I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by SCIPIO from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.

**M**AGO, and ASDRUBAL the sonne of Gisco, tooke vpon them the charge of Spaine, when ASDRUBAL the sonne of AMILCAR departed thence into Italie. These agreed together, that MAGO should make a voiage to the Balears; there to leuie a supply of men: and ASDRUBAL with-draw himselfe into Lusitania (which is now Portugal) whither the Romans had ill meanes to follow, being altogether vnacquainted in those parts. MAGO had soone ended his businesse, and returned into Spaine: where hee met with one HANNO (the same perhaps that had lately bene employed in Sicily) who brought new forces out of Africk, and came to succede in place of ASDRUBAL the Barchine. It is not vnlike that Spaine was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things needfull from Carthage; when that sonne of AMILCAR, whose authoritie had bene greatest, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old HANNO approue it selfe, against that noble race of Warriors; when it should appeare, that things did prosper much the better by being left vnto the handling of other men. Whether it were vpon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home, or whether vpon confidence in the forces that he brought over: HANNO tooke the field, and led MAGO with him; as purposing afresh to set vpon the Romans. So he entred into the Countrie of the Celtiberians, not very farre from new Carthage: where, by monie, and other persuasions, he leuied aboue nine thousand men.

P. SCIPIO in the meane while contained himselfe in the Easterne parts of Spaine: attentue, as it may seeme, to the proceedings of ASDRUBAL the sonne of AMILCAR; against whom, he is reported by some Writers to haue sent part of his forces into Italie, to the assistance of C. CLAUDIUS NERO, and M. LELIUS the Consuls. But hearing of the leuie made by HANNO and MAGO, among the Celtiberians: hee sent M. SYLLANUS the Propretor, with ten thousand foot and six hundred horse. SYLLANUS got intelligence, by some fugitiue Celtiberians, who became his guides, that their Countreimen encamped apart from the Carthaginians in great disorder: as men fearing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neare to these Celtiberians: and falling vpon them on the suddaine, gaue them such an overthrow, that HANNO and MAGO comming to their succour, in head of heartening and reinforcing them, became partakers of the losse. MAGO saved himselfe, with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand: and in ten daies journey brought them safe to ASDRUBAL. The rest of the Africans were either slaine or taken: among whom, HANNO had the ill luck to be taken prisoner; though he kept himselfe out of the fight vntill all was lost. As for the Celtiberians, they knew better how to make shift; and saved most of themselves by running into the woods.

It could no other wise bee, but that SCIPIO was much troubled with the danger wherein Italie stood, by the comming thither of ASDRUBAL. Ten thousand foot and eighteene hundred horse hee did therefore send out of Spaine (as it is reported by some Authors) to the defence of his owne Countrie: or was perhaps about to send them; and thereupon remained at new Carthage, inentue to the necessity and successe of his Countreimen at home. But when had word of the great victorie at METABURN, which fell out long before the end of this Sommer, then might hee well ad-  
uenture,

uenture, to take in hand the entire conquest of Spaine; which must needs be much alienated from the Carthaginians, by the report of such an overthrow. The Spanish Soldiers that serued vnder HANNIBAL, and those that had bene sent over into Africk; were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Countrie was held obnoxious to the Carthaginians. But when it was noised abroad, That all which had followed ASDRUBAL into Italie, were fallen into the hands of the Romans; and that HANNIBAL with his Armie, was closed vp in a streight, whence hee could not get out: then did it greatly behoue the Spaniards to conforme themselves vnto the will of the Victors. That it was the successe of things in Italie, which gaue such confidence vnto SCIPIO; it is the more probable, because hee tooke not this great enterprize in hand, vntill the Sommer, was almost spent. ASDRUBAL therefore vied the benefit of the season; and by disposing his Armie into many Garrisons hindered the Enemye, from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the yeare, caused SCIPIO to returne backe: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother L. SCIPIO tooke by assault the Towne of ORITAGO.

Against the next yeares danger, ASDRUBAL prepared a great Armie: and syled nor coast, nor traualle, in strengthening himselfe, for the trial of his last fortune in Spaine. With seuentie thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and two and thirtie Elephants, he tooke the field: which number I beleue that hee could hardly haue raised, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from Italie. SCIPIO thought his Roman Legions too weak to encounter with such a multitude. Wherefore hee judged it needfull to vse the helpe of his Spanish friends. But the death of his Father and Vnde, that were cast away by the treason of such fickle Auxiliaries; made him on the other side very doubtful, of relying vpon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest neede. Yet since one GELCHER, that was Lord of eight and twentie Townes, had promised him the last Winter, to raise three thousand foot, and six hundred horse for his seruice: hee resolved to make vse of those, and some few others; that might helpe to make a shew; and yet not bee able to doe great harme, if they would reuolt. So with sixe and fortie thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he fought out the Enemye; neare to whom hee encamped. At his first comming, MAGO and MASINIUS fell vpon him; with hope to take him vnprepared, whilest hee was making his lodgings. But hee liued certaine troups of horse in covert: which breaking vpon them vnexpected; caused them to fill off. They made at first an orderly retreat: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly betooke themselves to plaine flight. After this encounter, which added some courage to the Romans, and abated the presumption of the Carthaginians: there were daily skirmishes betweene the horse, and light armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. ASDRUBAL drew forth his Armie, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did SCIPIO, each of them to shew that hee durst fight; yet not proceeding any further. Thus they continued many daies: ASDRUBAL being still the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that in the evening, with-drew himselfe into his Trenches. The Spanish Auxiliaries, were placed on both sides in the wings; the Carthaginians were in the midle, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the Roman Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at farre distance, many daies together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same forme; and be matched on each part, with the Enemyes, long before defended. But SCIPIO, when hee purposed indeede to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and withall, came forth earlier then he had bene wont. Hee caused his men, and horses, to be well fed betimes in the morning before day: and then sent forth his horse and light armature, to traine out the Carthaginians with their bellies empty: vying here in the same trick, whereby he might remember, that HANNIBAL had beaten his father in the battaile of Trebia. His Roman Legions he bestowed in the wings; his Spaniards,

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in the battaile. *Asdrubal* sent forth his horse in all haste, to entertaine the *Romans*; whilst he himselfe arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, vpon which he incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better: since being over-pressed on either side, they had a safe retreat vnto their foot; and one troupe seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: because his men, hauing well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the Enemy. But about noone, he caused his wings to aduance a good pace; leaving their battaile of *Spaniards* rare behind them; that came on leisurely, according to direction. The *Spanish* Mercenaries that stood in *Asdrubal*'s wings, were no way comparable, save only in number, to the *Latin* and *Roman* Souldiers, that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, leued in haste; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the same time, by the *Roman* *Pedites*, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheel about for the same purpose: they were sorely pressed; and with much difficultie made resistance. The *Carthaginians* would haue succoured them; but that they durst not stirre out of their places, because of the *Spanish* battaile which was coming against them; though it were as yet farre off. Thus the best part of *Asdrubal*'s Armie stood idle; vntill the wings were broken. For, had he adu ventured to meet with the *Spaniards*; he must haue cutt himselfe into the open space that lay before him betweene the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he should haue found himselfe inclosed in such sort, as was the Consul *Paulus* at the battaile of *Cannæ*. Wherefore hee did only employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harme to his Enemies; than to his Friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides: but ranne, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In procelle of the fight: the *Romans*, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured luttie; when the others beganne to faint with trauell and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiuing their aduantage, they followed it the more hotly: and gaue not ouer, till they had forst the enemy to change his pace and runne from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to haue made an orderly retreat; and afterward againe, to haue caused his men turne head, at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not suffer the victorie to be so extorted from them: neither was it easie to put fresh courage into the vanquished; led by the obdurate passion of Rare which hearkens to no perswasion. The Campe of *Asdrubal* had that day bene taken; if a storme of raie, which fell violently on the suddaine, and bred some superstition in the *Romans*, had not caused them to giue ouer.

The same night, *Asdrubal* gaue no rest to his men: but caused them, hurgie, and ouer-laboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherein hee feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could hee haue in the strength of his Trenches; when he had lost the hearts of his *Spanish* Souldiers. One *Attianus*, that was Lord of the *Turdani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his Subjects: many followed this example; and soone after, two strong Townes were yielded vnto *Scipio*, and the Garrisons betrayed. It seemes that the peruerse fortune of this battaile, whereupon *Asdrubal* had set his rest, bred in the *Spaniards* a disposition, to beleue the more easily those reports which they heard from *Italie*. For henceforward, they neuer did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal*, perceiving this, with-drew himselfe, and marched away, faster than an ordinarie pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning; and ouertaking the *Carthaginians* with his horse, caused them so often to make hand; that they were at length attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here beganne a cruell slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, save only seuen thousand, that with *Asdrubal* himselfe recovered a very strong peece of ground, which they fortified in haste.

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This place he made shift awhile to defend: but wanting there necessities to sustaine himselfe long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to make shift for one; and stealing from his Companie by night away to the Sea-side, that was not farre thence; hee tooke shipping, and set saile for *Gades*. When *Scipio* vnderstood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone: he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse to besedge their Campe (which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Masaniassa* staid in it) whilst he with the rest of the Armie did what was needfull in the Countrie abroad. It was not long, ere *Mago* and *Masaniassa* followed *Asdrubal* to *Gades*; and their Armie dispersed it selfe; some flying ouer to the *Romans*; other taking what way they liked. So vpon all the Continent of *Spaine*, there were only three Townes left, *Iliturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Aslapa*, that made countenance of warre against the *Romans*: of which only *Castulo* had in it a *Carthaginian* Garrison; consisting of such as had saved themselves by flight, in the late ouerthrows. Hereby it seemes, that the report of those *Hilitorians* was ill grounded, who said, that *Castulo* yielded long since vnto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* tooke a wife in that Citie. For this was one of the last three Townes that held out, on the *Carthaginian* side. *Iliturgi* had sometimes bene indelible to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their deuotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipios*, following tooo earnestly the *Carthaginian* fortune; it not only rebelled; but with great cruetie betrayed, and flue, the poore men that escaped thither from the ouerthrows. *Aslapa* was a Towne, that had still adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worse, had driuen by spoile of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not vntill the next year) *Scipio* went against these, and tooke himselfe *Iliturgi* and *Castulo*; *Iliturgi* by assault, and with a general slaughter of the Inhabitants; *Castulo*, by treason of one *Cerdubellus*. *Aslapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: whereinto was throwne all the gold, and silver, with whatsoever else was precious; the women and children standing by it vnder a foreguard; that should kill and burne them if the *Romans* got into the Towne. This prouision being made: all the Inhabitants that could beare armes, rushed forth desperately: and fell vpon the *Roman* campe, where striving beyond their power, they were euerie one slaine. Then was the Towne forth-with set on fire, by those that had taken charge to do it: and many of the *Romans* consumed with the flame; whilst they rushed ouer-hastily to catch the gold, and silver, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

*Asdrubal*, being beaten into the Island of *Gades*, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with seuen Gallies; leaving *Mago* behinde him, to wait vpon occasion, if any should be offered. Hee visited in his way home, *Syphax* King of the *Masassili*, a people of the *Numidians*; hoping to winne him to the friendship of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his euill Angel, in the Kings Port: who, landing at the same time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio*, hauing driuen the *Carthaginians* out of *Spaine*, did forth-with bethinke himselfe, how to finish the warre; by putting them to the like distresse in *Affrike*. Hercunto it seemed, that the helpe of *Syphax* would be much auailable: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and sustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might easily be moued to seeke reuenge. He had also bene beholding to *P.* and *Cn.* *Scipio*, that sent him ouer a Capitaine into *Affike*; who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Vpon these reasons the *Numidian* King *Embassadours* to *Rome*, and made league with the Citie, in a time of great contentitie. So that hereby *P.* *Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the warre, which he intended in *Affike*; vpon the friendship of this ill Neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cause he sent ouer *C. Lelius* his Embassadour, to deale with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italie*, and had nothing now at all to

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doe in *Spaine*; easily perswaded the King to take part with those that had the better, and were without question his better friends. Only *Syphax* requested, that the *Roman* Generall should visit him in person, to conclude the League; by which hee was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treatie. Here to *Scipio* condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not farre distant from *Spaine*, well worthe of the adventure. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he tooke Sea: and arrived in the Kings Port, at the same time, with *Ajdrabal*. This would have beene very dangerous to him, had hee beene disliked by his Enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven, they forbore to make offer vpon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; seeing at one time, two such Captaines of two most powerfull Cities, came to desire his friendship. Hee would have brought them to treat of peace: but the *Roman* excused himselfe, by want of such commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into couenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

## †. II.

Funerall games held by *Scipio*. A duell betwene two Spanish Princes.  
A digression, concerning Duells.

*Scipio* returning into *Spaine*, and resting that winter, tooke vengeance the next year, vpon those of *Miturgi*, *Casulo*, and *Assapa*, as hath bene said before. The Conquest of the Countrie being then in a manner at an end: hee performed at new *Carthage*, with great solemnitie, some Vowes that he had made; and honoured the memorie of his Father, and Vncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at sharpe, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull, that he should trouble himselfe with preparing flaures for that spectacle, to hazard their liues, as was vied in the Citie of *Rome*: for there were enough, that either offered themselves as voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes; to giue proofe in single combat, of the valour that was in their severall Countreies. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to referre the decision of their Controversies, to triall of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were, *Curbis*, and *Orfus*, Colco-germans: that contended for the principalltie of a Towne called *Ibes*. *Corbus* was the elder, and the elder brothers sonne: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house; after the manner of our *Irish* *Tamhrie*. But the father of *Orfus* stood lately seized of the Principalltie: which though himselfe received by the death of his elder brother; yet this his sonne would not let it goe back; but claimed to hold it as heire vnto his father, and old enough to rule. Faine would *Scipio* haue compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred, had already laboured in vaine, to take vp that quarrell; and that neither God, nor Man, but only *Mars*, their God of battaile, should be Vmpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, easily vanquished the foole-hardie of the younger.

Such combats haue bene very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of *Troy*, by *Thesens*, *Heroules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two at the Warre of *Troy*, the one betwene *Paris* and *Meneleus*; the other, betwene *Hector* and *Aias*. Neither want there examples of them among the *Ibbernes*; whereof that betwene *David* and *Goliath*; and others performed by some of *David*s Worthies, against those that challenged them; are greatly celebrated. Vnto the same kinde appertaines the fight, betwene twelue of the Tribe of *Juda*, and as many of the *Bemamites*. The *Romans* had

had many of them: whereof that was principall, in which they ventured their Dominion vpon the heads of three brethren the *Horatys*, against the three brethren *Curiatys* that were *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and shortly after, of *Valerius Catullinus* with two Champions of the *Gauls*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of little importance, as hauing only reference to brauerie. In *England* there was a great combat fought, betwene *Edmond Ironside* and *Cannus the Dane*, for no lesse than the Kingdome. The vse of them was very frequent in the Saxon-times; almost vpon every occasion, great or small. In the reign of *Edmarth* the third, who sustained the pactie of *Montfort* against the *Earle of Blouys*, contending for the Duchie

of *Britaine*; there was a fight, for honour of the Nations, betwene thirtie of the *Britans*, and thirtie *English*: two of which *English*, were *Chawlerie* a braue Captaine; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the French warres, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *English*, *French*, and *Italian* Histories. Most of them haue bene combats of brauerie, and of *gaye* discourse, as the French terme it; for honor of severall Nations; for loue of Mitcellies; or whatsoever else gaue occasion vnto men, desirous to set out them selves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats, which are, either vpon accusation for life; or vpon triall of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kinde, was that, of which wee spake euen now, betwene *Corbus* and *Orfus*; Vnto these (methinkes) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat vpon Wager; such as were that betwene *David* and *Goliath*; or that betwene the *Horatys* and *Curiatys*; in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one ouer the other, is aduentured vpon the head of Champions. Vpon an accusation for life; there was a combat appointed betwene the Lord *Henric of Beulinbrooke* Duke of *Hereford*, and *Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*. There was a combat performed by Sir *John Ashley* and one *Cattrington*: whom *Ashley* charged with treason; and proved it vpon him, by being victorious. The like was fought betwene *Robert of Montfort* and *Henric of Essex*. The like also, betwene a *Nauarra* and one *Welch* of *Grimby*, whom the *Nauarra* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that hee had belied him; and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our triall by battaile doe determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had bene due to the offender, if the accusation had bene proved; I cannot affirme. But we euenly where finde, That if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customes of *Normandie*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of Places (offences punished by death) bee ouercome, He shall suffer the paines appointed for those crimes. In combats for triall of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but hee may trie it by his Champion; as did *Paramor* and *Lowe*, or offered to doe, in the

raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*. And in this case, he that is beaten, or yeeldeth, loseth only his caule, not his life. Neither are the combats, vpon accusation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are those of brauerie; but in *compe close*, that is, within railes. Now this triall by combat was so ordinarie in *France*, before the time of *St. Lewes*, and *Philip the faire* his grand-child, as eueny Lord of Fee, Ecclesiastical or Temporal, had power to grant it within his owne Iurisdiction. And it seemeth that the French Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the *Memorialls of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken vp, each of the parties should pay two shillings sixe pence; but if it were performed, then should the partie vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelue shillings. And vpon this custome grew the French Prouerbe, which they vse when any man hath had an hard or vnjust judgement; saying, That hee was tried by the Law of *Loray*, or *Berne*; oule batta paye l'amende, where he that is beaten giues the recompence. Of these frequent trials by battaile, that great learned man *Ysa. Bishop of Chartres*, did often complain, and

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A. 11. Ric. 2d.

A. 3. Ric. 2d.

A. 9. Henr. 2d.

\* *Silvianus de Louisa Vedat*  
Duelli tract. 2.  
de iur. 2.



judge it, which can destroy it; except you will misse those Artes honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, seeing the Lawes of this Land haue appointed the Hang-man to second the Conquerour; and the Lawes of God appointed the Death to second the conquered dying in malice; I say that he is both bafe, and a fool, that accepts of any Card to accompany. To this perchance it will be answered, That the Kings of England; and other Christian Kinges; haue seldome taken any such advantage ouer men of quality; who vpon euery termes haue slaine their priuate enemies. It is true, that as enemies of trouble and combustion they haue not often done it; so did our Noble men and Gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, sue vnto the King; to appeale themselves by battaile and publique combat. For as they durst not to break the Law; so did they disdain to submit themselves to the shameful reuenge thereof; the same reuenge (because it detesteth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cut-purse or other Theeues. Nay let it be granted that a pardon bee procured for such offenders; Yet is not the Manslayer freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the partie grieved notwithstanding; that is, to require iustice by Grand Assize, or by battaile, vpon his appeale, which (saith Sir Thomas Smith) is not denied; and he further saith (for I vie his owne wordes) That if the Defendant (to win the Manslayer) be convinced either by Great Assize or by Battaille, vpon that appeale, the Manslayer shall die, notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So honourable (saith the same learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to iustice, and to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble men and Gentlemen shall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, taking the first either in wordes or blowes, shall lay on such an infinite and insufferable hurt. I saye therefore, that the Court will easily give satisfaction in both. And if we hold it no dishonour to submit our selues for the recouerie of our Debts, Goods, and Lands; and for all things else, by which the liues of our selues, our wives, and children, are sustained; to the Iudges of the Law; because it may bee seelid; to take by violence such that which is our owne; why should we submit our selues to the Iudges of honour in case of honour, because to recover our reputation by force, may be murder? But yet againe it may be objected, That the best of honour ought to be more fearefull vnto vs, than either the losse of our goods, of our lands, of our liues, and I say so too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeede, and that which ought to bee so deare vnto vs, other than a kinde of historic, or some following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficultie or danger, and vnder-taken for the publike good? In these he that is imploied and trusted, if he faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affliction, it is true that he looeth his honor. But the acting of a priuate combat, for a priuate respect, and most commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of vertue, because it is contrary to the law of God, and of all Christian Kinges; neither is it difficult, because euen and equal in persons and armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrary; because the losse or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Common-wealth.

Now that a Marshall of England hath power to give euery mans fame and reputation, as fame as reputation may sustaine iniurie by wordes, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent vs of any ill wordes that we haue giuen, and to confess that we haue done him wrong to whom we haue giuen them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For hee that giues ill wordes in choller, and suddenly denies them, or repents himselfe of them vpon aduicement; hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeede not to be giuen butto those that are ferule, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall appeare by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman Monsieur du Plessis, that was stricken in France not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was giuen him by a iudgement of the Constable and Marshalls of France, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gaue iudgement,

See Thomas Smith in his Com. wealth of Engl.

ment, M. de Plessis was set in a chaire vnder the degrees where the Constable and Marshalls sat: the Baron, who had giuen him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a sword with the point towards himselfe, and in his left hand the like cudgell or battinado, wherewith he had stricken M. de Plessis; both which weapons he deliuered into Plessis hands, submitting himselfe to such reuenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshalls hauing formerly left it to the will of Plessis to vie his owne discretion in the reuenge of his owne wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himselfe, as one before hand in point of honour, who struck M. de Plessis, like a Russian comming behinde him, and (hauing aduantage of companie, and his horses readie) shifted himselfe away on the suddaine, but being afterward taken, was taught to repent himselfe in this shamefull manner; Or whether Monsieur de Plessis (of whose valour no man doubted) had not farre iusser cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure haue beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him; let any wise man iudge. To this if it be said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission; that his repentance was enforced and not voluntarie; and therefore no disgrace vnto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Theefe, when he is brought to the Gallows to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no disgrace in respect of the force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our finnes to God) makes all repentance shamefull; because all forced repentance is inflicted vpon vs for somewhat vnworthie of a Gentleman and of an honest man. Nay voluntarie repentance is selfe, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weaknesse. Certainly, as wise men, and valiant men, doe rather deride pettie iniuries or suddaine iniuries, that are not offered from malice forethought, then reuenge them: so men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly suspect their owne valour; and rather desire, that thereby the world should beluee them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knowes himselfe indeede to be a valiant man, scornes to hunt after the opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshalls of France haue, hath also a Marshall of England, or his Deputies; by whose iudgement, in all disputes of honour, euery mans reputation may be preferred; we may therefore as well submit our selues to the Iudges of honour in all disputes of honour, as we doe submit our selues in all controuersies of liuelihood and life to the Iudges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Chaucerie in England, in France, and elsewhere; was no lesse charitable than politike. For the blood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth honie-bees, as that of Bulls doth, which ling by the fingers or the face: but it produceth that monstrous Beast, Reuenge, which hath hung to death, and eaten vp of severall Nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatening the wrath of God vpon supreme Governours, than the permission.

His Majestie therefore (which Henrie the fourth of France also endeoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deede in Scotland, which the most renowned of all his Predecessours could neuer doe: in beating downe, and extinguishing, that hereditarie prosecution of malice, called the deadly feud; a conquest, which shall giue him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power, for euer more. And we haue cause to hope, that his royall care shall be no lesse happie in preventing the like mischief, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and braue, yet outrageous vanitie of Duellists.

Vnto this that I haue spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthe of reproofe and vengeance proportionally, more or lesse, in their severall degrees. There is much difference betweene Lies of necessitie vpon breach of promise, or complementall lies; and such

Eccle 11.

Eccle 31. v. 16.  
Pro. 10. 31.Luk. 5. cap. 11.  
& cap. 11.

such pernicious lies, as proceed from feare and cowardize, or are uttered by false witnesses: the former sort, being excusable by weaknesse or leuitie; the latter, being altogether detestable. No lesse, if not more, difference there is, betwene killing of a man in open field, with euen weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile, dolo or perfidias*; though our Lawes doe not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his owne priuiledge, commandeth, that the *guilefull murderer* bee drawne by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is euery *guilefull murder* performed by the sword, nor by ouert violence: but there is a *guilefull murder* also, by poisoning; and by the pen, or by practise. For such distinction is found, betwene committing *presumptuously* vpon a man, to *slay him with guile*; and *lying in wait for blood*, *primarily for the innocent*, without a cause, vpon hope of spoile, after such manner as the net is spread before the eyes of the birds. Francis the first, *Queene Marie of England*, and the Kings Majestie now reigning, haue giuen notable testimonie of their iustice, vpon three Noble men, who committed *guilefull murder*. Of the first kinde, King Francis vpon the Lord of Talar: who being (saith the French Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & supporte de plusieurs grandes alliances, who being of high and ancient lineage, and supported by diuers great alliances*; of which the Cardinal of Belay (in especiall fauour with the King) was one, was notwithstanding deliuered ouer into the handes of the Hang-man. *Queene Marie*, vpon a noble man of her owne Religion, and in many other respects very deare vnto her. *His Majestie*, vpon a Baron of Scotland; whose house was no lesse ancient and faithfull, than himselfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing *guilefully* by poison, and of punishment following such wicked Artificians; euery Age hath had too many examples. Of *guilefull killing* by the pen (that I may not speake of any *English* Judge) the Authour of the *French Recherches* giues vs two notable instances: the one of *des Eshars*, who (saith Pasquiere) *fit mourir Montaigu grand Maistre de France, pour contenter l'opinion de celui dont il estoit lors idolatre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & estranglé*; Who caused Montaigu great Master of France to die, to content his minde (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Eshars worshipped as his Idol: but God permitted, that he himselfe was soone after hanged and strangled. The other was of the Great Francis the first, vpon his Chancellor Poyet: who, to satisfie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admirall Chabot, a man most nobly defended, and of great seruice. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of loue grows old, and weares out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, hee charged him with some offences which hee had formerly committed. The Admirall, presuming vpon the great good seruice which hee had done the King in Piemont, and in the defence of *Marsailles* against the Emperour; gaue the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publike triall. Hereupon the King (it being easie to prouoke an ill disposition) gaue commission to the Chancellor, as President, and other Iudges, vpon an information of the Kings Advocate, to question the Admiralls life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience, (which is rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with some of the Iudges with so great cunning; with others, with so sharpe threats; and with the rest, with so faire promises; as, albeit nothing could be proued against the Admirall, wortbie of the Kings displeasure; yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Libertie; though not able to proueaile against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating fallshood in fo great a Magistrate) other than his owne degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Bellegon certe!* (saith Pasquiere) *à tout iuge pour demeurer tousiours enioy, & ne laisser fléchir sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imagination fautive, qui pour son deieu se submerge; A faire lesson to all Iudges, to dwell alwaies in themselves, and not to suffer their consciences to float vpon the waves of Imaginarie fauour, which in the end ouerwhelmes them.* And as for the Admirall: though it might haue bene answered

## ¶ III.

The last Acts of Scipio in Spain. His returne to Rome where he is chosen Consul.

THE last businesse that troubled Scipio in Spain, grew by the rebellion of the People, and mutinie of his Souldiers. He fell dangerously sick, in such sort, that the humor of his death ranne currans throughout Spain. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, pettie Kings, that had forsaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed Scipio awhile before, to take armes against the *Romans*. They were vainly perswaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driuen out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all Spain. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatnesse of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present advantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they rashly fell vpon the *Messinians* and *Sedetanians*, Confederates of the *Romans*; and waited their Countre. Part of the *Roman* Armie lying at *Suero*, in stead of making head against the Rebels, grew to be afflicted with the like distemper. They had not reaped such profit of their *Roman* conquests, as might satisfie their desires; or as they thought ealie to bee gotten, if they might betheir owne Caruers. Wherefore, when the death of Scipio was reported: they thought, that the time serued very well, to enrich themselves with spoile of the Countre. Many outrages they committed; and which was greatest of all, driving away their Colonells, that should haue bridled their furie; they chose out of their owne number two base fellows, *Albin* *Colenus*, and *Arrius* *Pobor*, to their Commanders. These tooke vpon them all the Ensignes of Proconsuls, or *Proprætores*; as if this their election had bene like to that, wherein *Lucius Martius* was chosen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two Scipios. But while they were devising, what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of themselves; in a time of such combustion, as was expected; there arriued more certaine news, that Scipio was both aliue, and in good health. There came also new Colonells, sent vnto them from their Generall; who mildly rebuking their want of consideration, and seeming to bee glad that they had no further ouer-shot themselves; led them to *Carthagen*, there to receive their pay. Before their coming, Scipio had refused to doe exemplarie iustice on the principal offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in feare, of what they had defruded. Therefore hee caused *Syllanus* to make readie the Companies which lay before in the Towne, as it were to make an Expedition against *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*. He caused *Albin* and *Arrius* with some thirtie other of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings. He called the Muriners to assembly; and hauing them vnarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his Companies, prepared for the purpose; hee bitterly inueighed against them all, as Traitors. This done; *Albin*, and *Arrius*, with the other prisoners, were haled to the stake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the *Roman* custome toward such offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew; and received euery man his pay when hee was fworne.

*Mandonius*, and *Indibilis* continued in armes; notwithstanding that they had certaine word of Scipio his life and health. Well they could haue bene contented to be quiet: but by the seueritie vsed to the *Roman* Souldiers; they stood in feare, as

being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder measure. *Scipio* went against them; and found them in a Valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Armie, in the entrance thereof hee fought with them: and sending *Laelius* with all his horseto fetch a compalle about the Hills, and charge them in reare, he ouerthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this no hope remaying, to preferue themselves and their estates, otherwise than by making submission. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly crauing pardon, both for himselfe, and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his request: yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves lesse free Princes, then they formerly had beene.

Afterward *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Masunissa*; who secretly promised to doe him all seruice, if the People of *Rome* would send him to make Warre in *Africk*. Vnto *Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*; that letting all care of *Spaine* alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into *Italie*; and there wage an Armie of *Gauls*, and *Ligurians*, to joyne with *Hannibal*. For this purpose, was monie sent vnto him from *Carthage*; and he himselfe laid hold vpon all that he could finde in the Towne of *Gades*; without sparing either private men, the common treasure, or the Temples. In his voiage thence, hee landed at *Carthage*: hoping to haue taken it by surpris. But hee failed in the attempt; and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned back to repose himselfe awhile at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and spoile that hee had made at his taking leaue of them, would not suffer him to enter againe into their Citie. By this hee foresaw, that it would not bee long ere they became *Roman*. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Towne, to complaine of this vncourteous dealing, hee alured their Magistrates forth vnto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voiage, bidding *Spaine* farewell for euer.

The Isteand Citie of *Gades*, was yeelded to the *Romans*, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliuer vp the Prouince, to those that were sent from *Rome* to succcede him therein: and himselfe with ten ships returned home. At his comming to *Rome* he made suite for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet bene granted vnto no Proconsul; excepting to such, as receiued that dignitie after a Consullship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse: the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by general voice of the Citie *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul, and *P. Licinius Crassus* joyned with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the *Romans*; might not, by the custome of those times, goe farre from the Citie; as being to hinder the matters of their superstition: though *Cesar*, and others, who in ages following held the same Office; were slayed by no such religious impediment, from being farre, and long absent. Hereby it came to passe, that *Scipio* desiring to haue the Warre transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to loose that honourable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the diuision of Prouinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment so farre off.

§. XVIII.

§. XVIII.

*Scipio* obtaines leave to make warre in *Africk*. His preparations. Of *Masunissa* who joyned with *Scipio*. The victories against *Asdrubal* and *Syrphax*.

**R**V. *Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, entering into their Consullship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* should bee allowed, to bestow part of the monie which he had brought out of *Spaine* into the treasure; vpon the setting forth of solemne plates, that he had vowed to make, whilest he was busied in his *Spanish* warres. This helped well to reuiue the memorie of his victories already gotten; and to giue hope vnto the People of greater victories in the warre, which he intended to make in *Africk*. To the same purpose, did the *Spanish* embassages auail much in the Senate, especially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions, highly and deferuently; saying, That they were the most happie of all their Countie men, since they being present, had seene him chosen Consul, and should carrie home such joyfull newes. The *Saguntine* Embassadors, were louingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to *Rome*, though costly it were both to them, and to the *Romans*, had well defrured. Neuertheless, when *Scipio* proposed, that *Africk* might be decreed vnto him for his Prouince: there wanted not many, euen of the principall men, that vehemently gainesaid him. Of these was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chiefe: who seemes to haue been troubled with that diffidence; which too often causeth men renowned for long approved vertue, to looke asquint vpon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kinde. Hee alleged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul: whereof the chiefe were, That the treasure was unable to sustaine the charges of a warre in *Africk*; and that it was extremely perillous to hazard so great forces, where they could not at pleasure be recalled, vnto the defence of *Italy* itselfe, if neede required. Hereunto he added many wordes concerning the danger wherein *Italy* stood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Masunissa* his brother, that was arming the *Liguians*: as also concerning the honour of the Consul; which would (he said) be greater in setting *Italy* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harme to *Africk*. Neither did hee forget, both to eulcate the *Spanish* warres, as of lesse moment than the intended voiage against *Carthage*; nor withall to lay great blame vpon *Scipio*, for hauing suffered *Asdrubal* to passe into *Italy*: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, least the like might happen againe; and that a new Armie, notwithstanding the good successe of *Scipio* (if it hapned to be good) might be sent from *Carthage*, to the vtter endangering of *Rome*, whilst the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the maine point which hee vrged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that yeare a Prouince: which the Consul neuertheless propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other side, insisted vpon this one point; That it was better to make an offensiuus, than a defensiuus warre: especially against such as the *Carthaginians*; who being ill prouided of able men at home, did furnish themselves by helpe of monie, with leues made abroad. As for the care of *Italy*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague, would bee as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promising to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his owne home; and taxing as civilly as he could, the enuie of *Fabius*, which withstood such a gallant enterprize; hee proposed the matter againe vnto the Senate. Much altercation there was about the manner of his proceeding: forasmuch as it was noised abroad, that if hee could not bring the Senate to his minde, he would carrie it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who reſented in this honorable man a little spice of that arrogancie, which in following ages, grew to be much hotter in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, *Scipio* referred himselfe wholly vnto the Senates

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good will and pleasure; whereby hee obtained thus much, That the life of *Scipio* might be appointed vnto him for his Prouince; with leaue to passe ouer into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of monie, and no great liking to his voiage, made the *Roman* Senate haue little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the warre, by him intended vpon *Africke*. Here withall it fell out, that *Atago*, comming on the suddaine from the *Baleares* to *Genoa*, and winning the Towne, bred a feare of no lesse terrible inuasion vpon *Italia*, than that which *Asdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeede raise any great Armie of the *Ligurians*; for that he found them distracted with ciuill warres. T herefore he was driuen to make choice of his partie; and to helpe those whom hee thought fit: 10  
telt for his turne, against the others. This troublesome businesse, though it occupied more of his time, than he could willingly haue spared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the vntreadie *Gauls* readie to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the *Romans*, that vnder Proconsuls, and Pretors, lay readie to be employed where need should require; were directed vnto the borders of *Lombardie*, and *Liguria*, there to make head against *Atago*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet, either comming to his aide from *Carthage*, or by him sent thither (the report is vncertaine) laden with the bootie that hee had taken; fell into the hands of the *Roman* Pretor, that gouerned in *Sardinia*. This did much disa- 20  
ble him: and though after a while, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with store of monie, heartning him in his proceedings; yet some impediments which he found, and that fatall voiage of *Scipio* into *Africk*, disturbed all; and made him bee recalled home.

Against *Hannibal*, was nothing done this yeare. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Historians haue bene pleased to take notice. Only it is said, that he spent the sommer by the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, where hee raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, grauen in *Punike*, and *Greeke* letters. Such account of winnings past, is commonly in Gamblers that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission, and carelesse; in those that are vpon the looting hand, a cause both of the fame for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A great pestilence infecting both the *Carthaginians*, and the *Roman* Campe, is said to haue bene the occasion of this yeares idleness: which fell not out much amisse for the Citie of *Rome*; that was maru- 30  
lously empowdered by this warre; and had already tried the vtmost way to destroy the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieve the present needfull, it was well thought vpon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many yeares since confiscated) should bee sold, or let out: in which bargain, that the Citie might receiue no losse; the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, vnto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other monie, none was giuen to *Scipio*. Neither was hee allowed to make preise of Souldiers for his *African* voya; neither did hee ouer-much labour to obtaine it. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is vially found in Councils of estate; that the bulie, or obstinate heads of a few, doe car- 40  
rie all the rest. And many times, men make a surrender of their owne iudgements, to the wisdom that hath gotten it selfe a name, by giuing happie direction in troubles for estate. Therefore, hee that respects himselfe vpon the aduice of many, shall often finde him selfe decieved: the counsaile of those many being vniuersally directed by the emper of a few, that ouer-sway the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature sorted well with the businesse, 50  
that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Vnto him therefore *Q. Fabius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne old in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well aduise, and deliberate, yet could well

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apprehend) embraced the needfull resolution of *Scipio*: in such sort, that besides his *Roman* forces, he had from diuers parts of *Italia* about seuen thousand Voluntaries. He had also prouision from the seuerall Townes; Corne, Iron, Canuas for sailes, Axes, Bedde-hooks, Hand-mills, and the like implements. Firre for building of ships, many thousands of Targets, Helms, and Spears of all kinds: euery place furnishing him with that commoditie, which it beitt could afford. Vnto this willingness of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compasse of five and fortie daies, he had both feld his Timber; built, and lanchd, twentie 10  
*Triemes*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; wherewith hee transported his Armie into *Sicily*. In *Sicily* he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had serued at *Canna*: which were old Souldiers, and (as hee himselfe well knew) not guiltie of the ouerthrow; for which they had long vnder-gone a heauie censure. They had serued vnder *Marcellus*, and *Launius*; at the taking of many Citie, and strong peeces: in which regard, they were like to bee of good vse to him in *Africk*; where would bee store of such employment. For increasing the number of his horse, hee pressed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthie yong men, and such as loued well their ease. These he afterward discharged from the Warre, highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they should deliuer their Horle and Armes, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen; which hee brought ouer with him for the purpose. Whilste hee 20  
was prouiding, to haue things in a readinesse for *Africk*; the banished *Locrians* that followed the *Roman* side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recouer their Citie. Some handicrafts men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadells of *Locri* (for there were two in the Towne) being taken prisoners by the *Romans*, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomd, and rewarded. *Scipio* being aduertised of this, gaue order to haue the attempt made by night: which happily succeded; and that Citadell was surpris- 30  
ed. The other Citadell was strongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison: which sent to *Hannibal* for aide. The *Romans* in like sort, fearing least their owne paucitie, should make them too weake for *Hannibal*, craued helpe of the Consul *Scipio*. The Townesmen, were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the coming of *Scipio* caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the *Carthaginian* Garrison to abandon the other Citadell. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Lo- 40  
crians* vnto the *Roman* Senate; not only against those of the Garrison, but much more against *Pleminius* the Captaine, who gaue bad example; and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other Villanies; the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctitie, was spoiled by these barbarous Theeues. The *Locrians* therefore aduised the Senate, to make present a- 50  
mends to the Goddesse for this sacriledge: saying, that the like had neuer been committed, without notorious vengeance by her taken vpon the Authors. The Senate gaue good eare to this complaint; comforted the *Locrians*, and redressed their injuries done vnto them; sent for *Pleminius*, with other principall offenders, whom they callt into prison, and vied according to their deserts: as also they restored vnto *Proserpina* her monie twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame vpon *Scipio*, that had placed such a man in *Locri*, and had not carefully hearkned to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to runne on in these his wicked courses. By the sharp inuestiue that *Fabius* made, others tooke courage to speake what they pleased: as well against the demeanor of *Scipio* as against 60  
the dilolucence of his Armie; which lay, as they said, idle in *Sicily*, neither mindfull of any seruice toward, nor fit for it if neede should require. Finally, things were so liuely vied, that ten Legates were sent ouer into *Sicily*, together with the Pretor appointed for that Iland; two of the *Tribunes*, and one of the *Aediles*; who should examine these matters; and either cause the General to returne into *Italia*, or con- 70  
tinue

tinue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was: they found him so well prepared against *Carthage*, as that they haltned him on his journey; and gave him high commendations at their returne.

*Scipio* had already employed *Lelius* in *Africa*; rather to make discovery, than to worke any other great effect of warre. He tooke a great bootie: and struck no little terror into the *Carthaginians*; who law their affaires to bee vpon termes of change. But the greatest fruit of his journey was, that speaking with *Masanissa*, he well informed himse of the state of *Africa*; and knew what was to be expected of those two Kings, that had promised to ioyne with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Masanissa*'s revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made vnder hand with the *Romans*: *Linie* doth professe, that there was no such euident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancie, in following times, must helpe to proue, that this his change was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an Historian farre inferior to *Linie*, both in Worth and Time) giues one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessarie truth. Only the doubt is, How it could any way come to passe, that the knowledge of such a matter should haue escaped the diligence of *Linie*, if it had bene true: vntill wee should beleue, that he willfully forbore to heare of a Tragedie; the sorrow whereof would cause men to thinke amisse of *Scipio*. Howsoever it was, thus *Appian* tells it; and many circumstances of things doe confirme it. *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, had a faire daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Masanissa* loued. *Masanissa*, being brought vp at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Asdrubal* to be his sonne-in-law. When the virgin was betrothed vnto him, he went into *Spain*, and there did great seruice. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Asdrubal*'s daughter to be a matter of State; and belloved her vpon *Syphax*; without standing to acquaint her father or *Masanissa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mightie Prince; and for that the indignitie of the repulse, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Masanissa* was aduertised: and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but that some notice was taken of it: which would haue cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conueighed himselfe home to his fathers Kingdome. Thus farre forth we may beleue *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Only it seemes, that howsoeuer *Sophonisba* the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the *Carthaginians* vnto *Syphax*: yet since this their courtie proceeded from feare, He thought it wisdom to conuincue and increafe the same in their feare, by making faire promises to the *Romans*, vntill *Asdrubal* had sent for his daughter from *Carthage*, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the warre it selfe, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Linie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appeares by the broken peeces of this works remaining) *Linie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed vnto his reports.

*Masanissa* was the sonne of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whose father dying, the Crowne descended, by order of the Countie, vnto *Leptis*, the brother, not vnto *Masanissa* the sonne. But this Vncle of *Masanissa* shortly died: and his elder sonne, who tooke possession of the Kingdome, was vanquished, and slaine in battaile by a *Rabel* that made himselfe Protector ouer the younger which was a child. The Traitor fortified himselfe against *Masanissa*, whose returne hee feared; by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not serue: He and his Pupill, were dispossessed of their Estates by *Masanissa*; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloved for the memorie of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reason should haue bene glad, that *Masanissa*, who had done them notable seruice, was thus confirmed in his Estate: had they not bene guiltie of the iniurie by them done vnto him; whilst his Vncle or Cousin reigned, and hee seemed vnlike to stand them in any stead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his owne malice towards his Cousin, warred

Lin. l. 8.

\* Appian. Alex. ad. de Bell. Punic.

Lin. lib. 29.

warred vpon him; and ouer-charging him with numbers, draue him out of his Kingdome. Neuertheless *Masanissa* still retayned the hearts of his people: and thereby remayned strong enough, to infect both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in distresse, by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the lesser *Syria*, betweene the borders of the *Carthaginians* and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the coming of the *Romans*: yet so, as he made long roades ouer all the Countie, euen as farre as to *Hippo*; and when *Lelius* arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him, to hasten on *Scipio* to the inuasion of *Africa*.

But *Syphax* in whose great aide and succour was repofed more hope of good success, than could be expected from the good will of poore *Masanissa*, sent an Embassage into *Sicily* about the same time, which was little pleasing vnto *Scipio*. He excluded himselfe of his promise lately made: and signified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That hee could not choofe but fight for the defence of *Africa*, wherein he was borne and reigned; and for defence of his beloved wifes Countie, if it were inuaded. Neuertheless he promised to remaine a Neuter; so long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held warre abroad, farre enough from *Africa*, as hitherto they had done. This message haltned *Scipio* in his Expedition, much more than any perswasion could haue done. For the promised assistance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterprise; in procuring both the assent of the Senate, and the forwardnesse of many Adventurers. Left therefore the failing of this hope, should worke too great a change in common opinion; He thought it the best way, to present all discourse, and set the warre vnderaken immediately on foot. The Embassadors he dismissed in all haste, with letters to their King: wherein hee willed him to consider, that what he had promised he had also sworne; and therefore should doe well to make it good. Hauing sent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together, and bade them make readie for the voiage; which he intended no longer to deferre. For, said he, *Masanissa* hath bene with *Lelius*: and *Syphax* hath newly sent to me; greatly wondering vpon what I should thus stay; and saying, that they will prouide for themselves, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquisition, that might else haue bene made concerning the message of these Embassadors; whose followers had bene seene walking vp and downe *Syracuse*. And lest any thing should afterwards breake out, that might hinder the businesse, *Scipio* immediately sent about his fleet vnto *Lilybæum*: and requesting by letters *M. Pœponius*, that was Pretor in *Sicily*, to meet him there; halft thither with his Armie. At *Lilybæum* he agreed with the Pretor, about the diuision of the Legions betweene them; which to leaue behind for defence of the Iland; and which to carrie with him into *Africa*. What numbers hee transported, it is not certaine: some Historians reckoning only ten thousand foot, and two and twentie hundred horse; others increasing them to five and thirtie thousand, horse and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needlesse to set them downe: since they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither he, when he tooke his voiage into *Spain*, nor others vpon like occasions, haue omitted; they being also word for word set downe by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Linie*, and fitted them to a Prince of tooke age.

This Roman Armie landed in *Africa*, neare vnto a Fore-land then called the faire *Promontorie*: which how farre it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compass, I cannot precisely affirme, because it is vncertaine, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercure*. And lay to the North-east of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apello*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by West. The coming of *Masanissa* vnto *Scipio* at his first arriuall, helpes to confirme the opinion of *Islander*: who thinks the faire *Promontorie* to haue bene the same, that was also called *Mercures Cape*, since with little difficultie *Masanissa* might come

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thither from the lesser *Syria*, whereabout was his common abiding. But forasmuch as without any memorable impediment, soone after his arrival, *Scipio* encamped before *Vicia*, that flood Westward from *Carthage* beyond the River *Bygradus*: it may rather seeme, that hee landed within the Promontorie of *Apello*, whence the way to *Vicia* was not long. This is also strongly proued; for that out of *Carthage* were sent, the next day, five hundred horse to trouble him in his disembarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masaniissa*, that routed about the Countrie with a troupe of horse, to finde out the *Romans*, though they landed farre from the place to the which hee usually resorted, like as before he had met with *Lilius* at *Hippo* that was farther off; as it would haue bene for *Scipio*, with his Armie and Carriages, to ouercome the trouble of a long Iourne, and fetch a great compasse to *Vicia* by Land; when he might haue disembarked nearer vnto it. Neuertheless it may passe as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to *Emperia*, a plentifull Region about the lesser *Syria*; since he gaue charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from *Lilybeum*, to shape their course for that coast. The Countrie thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustenance of an Armie: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well prouided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masaniissa* had signified vnto *Lilius*, when he spake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howsoever they made braue promises, would not come strong enough to fight at head. But when hee saw their fleet and Armie to be such, as not only crued to invade the Land of *Carthage*, but threatened a conquest of the Citie, and whole Estate: then might hee better aduise them to set saile for *Vicia*, and make warre vpon the Enemies at their owne doores.

The *Carthaginians* had at that time neither any Capitaine of great worth at home, nor better Armie than of raw Souldiers; that were leui'd, or to bee leui'd in haste. *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, the same that had lately bene chased out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their best man of warre. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellows, of whose faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobilitie, together with the affinitie of King *Syphax*, made him passable. He was at that present with the King his sonne-in-law, working him (no doubt) against the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage*, both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Inuasion: entreating the one of them to giue assistance; and commanding the other to make his repaire vnto the Citie, where he was chosen Generall. But ere these could be read, *Scipio* had beaten the troupe of *Carthaginian* horse, that were sent out of the Citie to disturbe his landing; and slaine *Hanno* a yong Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Towne of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, besides other bootie, hee tooke eight thousand prisoners; all which he conueighed aboard his Hulkes or ships of burden, and sent them back laden into *Sicily*. Hee tooke likewise a Towne called *Salera*; which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with foure thousand *Namidian* horse: whose seruice being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places; made *Scipio* to percieve the vnskilfulnesse of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Masaniissa* before him: who rode vp to the gates; and, by making a Brauado, trained out the improuident *Hanno* so farre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victorie was easily gotten; and *Hanno* either taken, or slaine. With those that fled, the *Romans* entred pell-mell into the Towne; which presently they made their owne. Thence went *Scipio* to *Vicia*, a Citie of great importance. \* of which mention hath bene formerly made; and late downe before it. Fortie daies hee spent about it: assailing it both by Land and Sea, and vying all his engines of batterie whereof hee had plentie; yet was in no likelihood of preuailing. And now the Sommer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to chooe a place, and fortifie his Winter-campe; which must bee well stored against the yeare following. Whilst thus necessitie vrged him to leaue *Vicia*: and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprize, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gaue him the honour

\* Lib. 5. cap. 2.  
§. 3.

of a faire pretence to leaue the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a Leuie of thirte thousand foot, and three thousand horse; yet adventured not with this ill-trained Armie to draw neare vnto the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him vnto *Carthage* fiftie thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: which joyning vnto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched brauely toward *Scipio*; who thereby tooke occasion to dislodge. He chose for his Winter-campe the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Naue. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontorie, joyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men he belloyed vpon lower ground, on the other shore: in the bottome of the Creeke he mored his ships; and there hee quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged vnto the fleet. The whole Campe he strongly fortified; and so attended the season of the yeare, when it should serue him againe to fight. Of cattail and other bootie *Masaniissa* had brought in great store; by driving the Countrie, before the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corne also he had gotten some: and great store was sent him from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Likewise apparrell for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to serue turne; for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his bootie, as he could belt passe; especially with Captiues, to bee sold for slauces. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neare vnto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romans*; either for that they wanted the secure institution, which the *Romans* vied in discipline of Warre; or for that they presumed vpon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without adon.

When Spring drew neare, *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the *Namidian* King, if perhaps he might bee wonne by persuasions to forsake the *Carthaginians*. It was considered, that those *Barbarians* were naturally vnconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had giuen prooffe before this of his much leuie. It might therefore be hoped, That hauing wearied himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe: and being peraduenture no lesse wearie with fatigue of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this warre: Hee might bee moued with a little entreatie, to with-draw himselfe home into his kingdome, and rest a *Neuter*. But it is not vniuely, that such a friend as this King, had bene highly enteruined and honored in the Citie of *Carthage*, which was neare at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had bene invited, to make a step thither and repose himselfe awhile: his wife Queene *Sophaniska* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. How looser it were, *Syphax* did only make an overture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like sort should quietly depart out of *Africa*; and so make an end of the Warre, wherewith now both *Africa* and *Europe* were disquieted. Vnto this would not *Scipio* at the first giue eare; yet being pressed earnestly by many messagers from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadors: He beganne to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was giuen to vnderstand by those whom he had sent vnto the King, That the Enemies had their Campes without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cabins, and couered with boughes: and that the *Namidians*, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, vsed couerings of Mats and Reedes; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaues: vnder which they lay carelesly without their Trenches. Vpon this aduertisement hee bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to set their campson fire; and thereby giue them a notable ouerthrow. Without helpe of some such stratageme, Hee foresaw that it would be a worke of great difficultie for him, to proceede in his warres when time should serue. It was a plaine open Countrie wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great aduantage of him in number, especially in horse, which, vpon such ground, could not be resisted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought

vpon

upon the matter; the more needfull he found it for himselfe, to make some sudden attempt vpon their Campe. To this end hee sent many Embassadors, vnder pretence of treating about the Peace, but indeede of purpose to discouer all that might concerne the intended surprisall. With these Embassadors he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers disguised like slaues; that wandering (as it were) idly vp and downe the Campe, might obserue the waies and entrances, with whatsoever else was needfull. When hee had leerned as much as hee desired: vpon the sudden hee sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, forasmuch as he could not gett the consent of his Councell of warre, without whole approbation, all that himselfe could doe was no more, than the good will of one man. This hee did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his designe in execution. The Truce being thus cut off: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very peniue; as hauing lately perswaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better: they beganne to deuise, by what arte they might draw *Scipio* out of his campe, and prouoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe; they hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refusal of peace, as did *M. Attilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches: what else remained than to besiege him? that which themselves were well able to doe by Land; and the *Carthaginians* there should doe by Sea, that was making readie for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselves: recompencing in concept the losse of their hopes past, with that of victorie to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that, consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger; but continued in the same negligence, which was growne vpon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, hee was not idle: but made preparation out of hand; as it were to doe somewhat against *Vtica*. Two thousand Souldiers hee had made readie; and appointed to take the same peece of ground, whercon hee lay against *Vtica* before. This hee did, partly to keepe secret that which hee had in hand; lest being suspected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to haue notice of it; partly to hinder those of *Vtica* from setting vpon the few, that hee purposed to leaue behinde him in his campe. He cauled his men that night to suppe well and betimes; that they might be readie for the iourne. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit, vnto the defence of his Campe; all the rest of his Armie he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him seuen miles and an halfe: whom he purposed to vndertake himselfe with the one halfe of his armie; the other halfe he committed vnto *Lilius* and *Masaniissa*, whom hee sent before him to set vpon the Campe of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might seeme to haue taken hold by casualty vpon the *Numidians*, that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the campe of *Asdrubal*, it would be suspected as the doing of enemies; and giue *Syphax* warning to looke vnto himselfe. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched faire vnd softly; that *Lilius* and *Masaniissa*, who had a longer iourne, and were to fetch a compasse about for feare of being discouered, might haue time to get before him, and doe their feat. It was about two or three of the clock in the morning, when the campe of *Syphax* beganne to blaze: which not only the *Numidians*, but their King himselfe, imputed vnto casualty; as thinking themselves safe enough from Enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interposed betweene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, some, starting halfe asleepe; and others, that had litten vp late at drinking; ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But such was the tumult, that they neither could rightly vnderstand in what case they were; nor giue remedie to the mischance, as it was supposed. Many were smothered, and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the sudden mischance, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped

the fire, fell vpon the Enemies sword, which was readie to receiue them. Especially *Masaniissa*, that best knew the Countrey, did great execution vpon them; hauing laid all the waies, by which he foresaw that they would seeke to escape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pitifull mischance: so that some ranne out to helpe the poore *Numidians*; carrying only what would serue to quench the fire. Others ranne vp to the Rampart: where, in case of any danger towards themselves, they stood beholding the greatnesse of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would haue it. Hee therefore lost no time: but setting vpon those that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed some, and pursued the rest backe into their campe; which in a little while hee made to burne as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not stand to make resistance, but shifted only for himselfe, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If *Tianthal*, or any of the *Barbantine* faction, had bene taken in such a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would haue judged him worthie to be crucified. It would then haue been said, That with lesse than one halfe of thirtie thousand men, hee might at least haue giuen some bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling these fires, had he not bene only carefull how to saue his owne carefull head. Neuertheless *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to haue bene true, That if *Asdrubal*, or any of those about him, would haue striuen to shew valour, when the camp was on fire: He should not thereby haue done any manner of good; because of the tumult and consernation. I shall not neede to tell what a fearful thing it was, to heare the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruell flame that consumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirmes) none that hath bene is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands very few did escape; which accompanied *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in their funeral waies of flight. Besides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the *Numidians*, that saved themselves in the darke: but they were not many; as after shall appeare. Surely it must needes haue bene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away; and what numbers escaped in the darke of night. Wherefore *Liuitius*, who in the rest of this Relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may seeme to haue followed some lesse worthie Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in casting vp the summe. For hee reckons only two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to haue escaped; fortie thousand to haue perished by sword or fire; and about fixe thousand to haue bene taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre short of fourescore and thirteene thousand, which were in these two Campes.

*Asdrubal*, putting himselfe into the next Towne that was very strongly fortified; thought thereto finde the *Romans* worke, vntill the *Carthaginians* at good leisure might repaire their Armie. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and five hundred horse: which he thought sufficient to defend the Towne; if the Townsmen would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeeld. Vnto this disputation, hee well foresaw that the arriual of *Scipio* would soone giue an end. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold vpon him, and seeke the Victors fauour by deliuering him vp; hee shrunke away betimes, and made all haste to *Carthage*. As for the Towne, which hee left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his first coming: and thereby preserved it selfe from all manner of losse. The two next Townes adioyning would needes be valiant, and make countenance of warre: but by their strength not being answerable, they were soone taken by *Scipio*; who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This done, hee returned to the siege of *Vtica*.

The *Carthaginians* were sore troubled, as they had good reason; when, in stead of either Peace or Victorie, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of such a lamentable

lamentable overthrow. Necessitie enforced them to make haste prouision for the future: but how to do it, few of them saw any means. Some gaue aduice to craue peace of *Scipio*: others, to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italie*; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithstanding the losse of this Armie, they might well defend themselves against the *Romans*, by raising new forces: especially, if *Syphax* would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, That they should bend all their care this way: leuying in all haste another Armie; and sending Embassadors to deale with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Towne called *Abba*, not passing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the same their intimate Commander, *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, was imploied to make new leuies of men: and *Queene Sophonisba* went forth with Embassadors to her husband *Syphax*; who hauing gathered together as many as he could, of his subjects that had escaped from the late slaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne Kingdome. *Sophonisba* laboured so with her husband, that at length shee wonne him to her owne desire. And it fell out at the same time, that foure thousand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought out to serue in *Africa*. Of these were made such braue reports; as if their courage, and the armes which they vsed, were not to be questioned. Euen the multitude within *Carthage* beleued these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, since in one Age, the whole Countrey of *Spain* had bene twice conquered, first by the *Carthaginians* themselves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* these tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embassadors helped with a lie; saying, that there were comen ten thousand of these terrible *Spaniards*. Vpon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirte daies they made vp an Armie consisting well-near of thirte thousand men; reckoning the *Spaniards*, and *Syphax* with his *Numidians*, in the number. So they encamped in a Region called the great fields, about fife daies iourne from *Vtica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Vtica* thither, to visit them: leauing behinde him his impediments, with some part of his Armie; to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three daies, after the meeting of both Armies, passed away in skirmish; without any great thing done. It had now bene time for *Asdrubal*, to follow the example of the *Roman Fabius*; and seeke to weare out the Enemy by delays. But either (which is likely) hee was a farre worse Commander; or else it was not in his power, to giue such direction as best pleased himselfe. The fourth day the Armies met in battaile: wherein the *Romans* were marshalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner; hauing their *Italian* horle in the right wing; and *Malians* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary side, *Asdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; and the *Spaniards*, the Battaille. The victorie was gotten without many blowes: for the vntrained followers of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, could not sustaine the first charge of the *Italians*, or of *Malians*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, euen till they were all in a manner slaine: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercie, since they were thus come out to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise deserued of them; than vpon any likelihood or conceit of victorie. This their obstinacie was beneficiall vnto those that fled; for that it hindered the *Romans* from making any great pursuit. Hereby *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* escaped: *Asdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home, to his owne Kingdome: whether his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

*Scipio*, hauing thus gotten the maistrie of the field, tooke counsaile about the prosecution of the Warre. It was resolved vpon as the best course, That hee himselfe, with part of the Armie, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Malians*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lelias*, with some of the *Roman* Legions, should follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take rest within his owne Kingdome, where easily else he might repair his forces, and put them to new trouble. This aduice it seemes that *Malians* gaue: who knew best the qualitie of the *Numidians*; and

and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victorie. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his owne Kingdome, vsurped by *Syphax*: which to accomplish, it no lesse concerned the *Romans* at the present, than it did himselfe. According to this order concluded, *Lelias* was sent away with *Malians*: and *Scipio* staid behinde; carrying the warre from Towne to Towne. Many places yielded for feare: many were taken by force: and all the subjects of *Carthage* wauered in their fidelitie; as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those vnreasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had laid vpon them, for maintenance of the warre in *Spain* and *Italie*. What to doe in this case the *Carthaginians* could hardly resolve. Fortune was their Enemy: they had lost their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durst they make bold to trouble their owne subjects with any violent exaction of men or monie; who neuertheless of their owne free will were likely to giue little helpe. Very much it grieved them, to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italie*: yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Armie; it was decreed, that Embassadors should bee forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gaue aduice, to set out a fleet against that of *Scipio*; that rode before *Vtica*, weakly manned, and easie to be taken, whilst *Scipio* himselfe was buied in the Inland Countreies. Some were of opinion, That it should be their principall care, to fortifie by all means the Citie of *Carthage*: vpon the safetie whereof they said that all depended; adding, that whilst they were true, and at vnite among themselves, they might well enough subtiltie, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doublelesse) would present them. These counsailes were not rejected: but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning defence of the Citie, and for the attempt vpon the *Roman* fleet at *Vtica*. Neuertheless it was considered, that hereby they should only protract the warre: without any way aduancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victorie; no, though it should fall out, that all the ships at *Vtica* might bee taken or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, that hee should immediately come ouer into *Africa*, as the last refuge of *Carthage*. The Councell was no sooner broken vp, than all the Senators betooke themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: some, to fortification of the Towne: some, to make readie the Fleet; and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarke themselves for *Italie*. In this their trepidation *Scipio* comes to *Tunes*, a Citie in those daies very strong and standing in respect almost of euery part of *Carthage*. This place or rather some defensible peece adioyning, He easily tooke; the Garrison forsaking it, and running away, as soone as he drew near. But whilst hee was about there to incampe, and fortifie himselfe against the Citie: He might perceiue the *Carthaginian* fleet setting forth, and making towards *Vtica*: What this meant, he readily conceived: and stood in great feare, lest his owne ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea fight (as being heavily laden with engines of batterie, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most conuenient for assaulting the Towne) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that speciall seruice. Wherefore hee hastied away towards *Vtica*, to assist with his presence in this needfull case. It fell out well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great bootie which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not hee now made great expedition, hee should haue come too late. Neither could heeindeede haue bene there in due time; if the *Carthaginians* had vsed such diligence, as was conuenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Vtica*, they tarried awhile to make a brauado; presenting themselves in order of battaile, as if the *Romans* would haue put forth to Sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent: He thought it would be sufficient, if he could preserue his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their brauerie at Sea: it should little auail the *Carthaginians*; if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole Estate by Land. Wherefore he tooke his ships of burden; and, fastning them together with cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold bridge ouer the

the Channell of the Hauen; whereon he placed a thousand of his choice men, with store of Darts and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces he left, whereas his Frigots, and other small Vessells, might runne out and back againe vpon any advantage or neede; but these he couered with planks; vling the matts and yards of his ships in stead of rafters, to joyne all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it selfe not be torne asunder. Scarce was this worke finished; when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Hauen. The fight betwene them and the *Romans*, that were in the Hulkes, was rather like to the assailing of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood vpon the bridge, had sure looting, and threw their weapons downwards with their whole strength and violence, which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and vnsteadie, could not doe. But the *Roman* Frigots and long Boats, aduancing forth from behinde the Bridge, were greatly ouerborne by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small losse which followed. They that stood vpon the Bridge were neither able to relieue them: nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for feare of hurting these their friends, that were entangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hookes, hanging at Iron chaines. These they threw vpon the matts and yards which served as Arches to joyne the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all asunder; in such fort that one ship followed another, and all the first ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to saue themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next ranke of ships, that lay behinde them vntouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselves any further in this laborious worke: but hauing haled away fixe ships of burden, and towed them out of the Hauen, returned home to *Carthage*. Their well-come was greater than their victorie: because among so many grievous losses, only this exploit had succeeded well; though it were of small importance.

Whilest things thus passed about *Cuthages*, *Lalius* and *Masanissa*, in their iourne against *Syphax*, found as good success as could be desired. The fame of the victories already gotten, restored *Masanissa* to his Kingdome, without further contention: the *Masafyls* his subjects, joyfully receiving him; and forsaking the Vsurper. But here they staied not: neither indeede would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. Hee had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and, therefore being solicited by *Africulus* and *Sophoniba*, hee prepared againe for warre. But beside the infatigation of his beloued wife; the losse of the *Masafyls* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Lalius* and *Masanissa*, to giue him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no lesse vnwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance: but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in possession; bee the title vnto some part neuer to vnquit. Hereunto alludes the fable of the yong Kite: which thought that shee had vomited vp her owne guts; when it was only the garbage of some other fowle, that shee had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the yong Kite, beleued the Kingdome of the *Masafyls* to be part of his entrailes: *Lalius* and *Masanissa* will shortly giue him somwhat, that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come fo farre. It concerned the *Romans* to dispossesse (if it might be) that King: whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had bene conuerted into strong enmitie; as also to set in his place another, who might doe them such good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done vnto the *Carthaginians*. How easily this might be effected, *Masanissa* knew well: as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries; wherein, euen to this day, though there be many strong Townes, yet the fortune of a battaile is enough, to translate the Kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*: who came against them with no lesse an Armie, than his former, and marshalled in the *Roman* order; according to the skill, which he had learned of the *Roman* Centurion,

Centurion, long agoe sent vnto him out of *Spain* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though hee could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight courageously. They were a rabble of all sorts, gathered vp in halt: and few of them had seene the warre before. Encamping neare vnto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly that some small Troupes of Horse on both sides, encountered one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: so that at length *Syphax*, vnwilling to dishearten his men by taking any foile at their first meeting with the Enemie, came vp with all his Horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith ouercharged *Masanissa*, whose numbers were farre lesse. But whilest he was prosecuting his hope of victorie; some *Roman* Squadrons of Foot came against him through their owne Troupes of Horse; which fell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their Battaille standing now more firme, than a little before; *Syphax* was vnable, though hee laboured much in vaine, to make them giue ground. *Masanissa* likewise, and his Troupes, grew confident vpon this assistance: and charging afresh the Enemie, that could not make way forward, caused him to giue back. Herewithall the Legions came in fight: which terrified the Numidian Horse, that they beganne presently to disband. Faine would *Syphax* haue stayed them from flight; and to that end made head in person against the *Romans* with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leaue him. But it fell out vnhappily, that he was cast from his Horse, which received a wound; and so taken prisoner. Of others that were slaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they forsooke the place, and fled: and that their King, vpon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Masanissa* old *Lalius*, that his victorie should make an end of the Numidian war, if presently they halted away to *Cirta* the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome; whither hee himselfe desired to be sent before with the Horse, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lalius* agreed. *Masanissa* coming to *Cirta*, before any newes of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chiefe of the Citie to parlee: wherein by many faire promises and threats, but especially by shewing vnto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed so far that the gates were forthwith opened vnto him; and euery one strove to get his fauour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, Queene *Sophoniba* yielded her selfe into his hands: and vehemently besought him, that the might not be deliuered vp vnto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beutie, so commended her suit, that *Masanissa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promise, married her himselfe that very day: thereby to prevent *Lalius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwise of her, since she was his wife. But *Lalius*, when he came thither, took the matter haينously; so that at first he would haue haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and haue sent her vnto *Scipio*. But being ouer-entreated by *Masanissa*, hee suffered the matter to rest awhile as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio*'s discretion: to whom he sent away *Syphax* and other Captiues immediately; following shortly after himselfe with *Masanissa*, when they had done what was needefull in the Kingdome.

At the coming of *Syphax* there was great ioy in the *Roman* Campe: the mightie Armies which he had lately brought into the field: and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Africulus*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together fought his friendship: with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune; ministering to euery one a large argument of discourte. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moued him, not only to forsake the *Roman* friendship, but to make warre vpon you, vnprovoked. He briefly answered, That his wife had moued him so to doe: calling her a Furie, and a pestilent creature: and saying, That *Masanissa* was no wifer than himselfe; since he had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courtes. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and

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stood in great doubt, lest this perillous woman should deprive him of *Masaniſſa*, as shee had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Masaniſſa* and *Lilius* came vnto him: both of whom together he louingly welcommed; and highly commended in publicke, for their notable seruice in this Expedition. Then taking *Masaniſſa* apart, hee brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him vnderstand, that the *Romans* had titte to her head; and that shee was a mischieuous enemye of theirs. Wherefore hee entreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memorie of his great seruices already done; (for which he should be highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence vpon little reason. *Masaniſſa* blushed, and wept: and finally promised to be gouerned by *Scipio*; whom he neuertheless entreated, to thinke vpon his faith giuen to *Sophonisba*, that she should not be deliuered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his own Tent, where, after some time spent in agonie, he called vnto him a seruant of his, that had the custodie of his poison (which Princes then vsed to haue in readines, against all mischances that might make them unwilling to liue); and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it vnto her with this message, That gladly he would haue had her to liue with him as his wife: but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yeild thereto, he sent her a cup, that should preserue her from falling aliae into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her selfe.

At the receipt of this Message and Present, shee onely said, That if her Husband had no better token to send vnto his new wife, shee must accept of this; adding, That shee might haue died more honourably, if shee had not wedded so late. Iy before her Funerall. And herewithall shee boldly dranke off the poison. Thus *Lilius* reports it. But *Appian* varies from this: and lets it downe agreeably to that which hath bene spoken before, concerning the precontract betwene *Masaniſſa* and *Sophonisba*. Hee saith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadors from *Cirta* met with *Lilius* and *Masaniſſa* vpon their way thither, yielding vp their Citie, and the Kings Palace; and that *Sophonisba*, for her owne priuate, sent messengers to excuse her marriage with *Syphax*; as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power shee was. *Masaniſſa* readily admitted this excuse, and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in persuasion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*: he fell out about her with *Masaniſſa* at his returne; and challenged her, as a part of the bootie belonging to the *Romans*. *Masaniſſa* said, shee was his owne wife, and vnto him betrothed many yeeres before. But *Scipio* would not heare of this: or if it were true; yet he said it was no reason, that *Masaniſſa* should keepe her in possession as long as it was disputable, vnto whom shee might appertaine. Wherefore hee willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claime vnto her; wherein hee should haue no wrong. Herewithall hee sent to fetch her away: and *Masaniſſa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliuer her; but making her acquainted with the necessity, gaue vnto her a cup of poison, wherewith shee ended her life, before they came that should haue apprehended her. So hee shewed vnto the *Romans* her dead bodie; which hee royally entred. The sudden violence of *Masaniſſa* his loue, and the ready consent of *Sophonisba* to marrie with him: added not so much credit vnto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other evidence: cause (which *Lilius* notes) of the sudden falling out betwene him and the *Carthaginians*; vnder whom hee had bin trained vp, & don them great seruice. Howsoever it were: *Scipio*, hearing of this tragical accident, sent for *Masaniſſa*, and comforted him as well as hee could; lest his melancholie should lead him to some inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashnesse, he brought him forth in presence of the Armie: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly hee had deserved of the Citie of *Rome*, hee proclaimed him King; and gaue vnto

to him a Crowne of gold, with other royall ornaments. This was indeed the ready way, to diuert his thoughts from the sadde remembrance of that which was past, vnto the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that beganne to smile vpon him.

This was the first time that the *Romans* tooke vpon them to create or proclaim a King. Which honour though *Masaniſſa* well deserved: yet would not the Title haue redounded vnto his great benefit; neither should hee haue bene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their meanes recovered possession of his Countie, together with the greatest part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It seemes not unlike, that hee had remained a Neuter in these warres, and sustained himselfe with his Troupe of Horſe, in such sort as hee did before the coming of the *Romans*; hee might neuertheless haue recovered his proper inheritance, by the loue of his owne subjects, without other helpe, when *Syphax* had once or twice bene vanquished. As for the enlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than hee deserved: neither were the *Romans* then in case, to make a conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they haue witheld a fitter opportunitie, than of such a man, vpon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, and passable withall among the *Numidians*, as being (for the *Masaniſſa* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberaltie of the *Romans*, was noyed abroad as verie glorious; and the *Romans* themselves, in a politicke sort of grauitie, tooke highly vpon them; as if euen their saluting him by the name of King, had bene a matter of great consequence. Hee thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mightie in times following, encroaching vpon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all vpon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Permina* the sonne of *Syphax* (of whom wee shall shortly speake more) which hold some peece of his Fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the *Romans*, and promising by all meanes to deserue their loue, requested therewithall, that they would call him King. But though it were so, that neuer any before him had made this a matter of suit: yet the *Roman* Senate was punctilious herein; and answered very grauely, That it was not their custome to giue the honour of that appellation, saue onely vnto such Kings, as had greatly deserved of their Citie. Thus they made it a matter of State: and in proceſſe of time grew so proud of this their imaginarie prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit vnto Kings, that no way depended vpon them, the salutation by *that name*; though it were not accompanied with any other fauour or profit thence redounding.

### ¶ XIX.

The Carthaginians desire Truce: and breake it.

He *Carthaginians* were extremely dismaied, when they heard of the great calamitie that was befalling their good friend *Syphax*; and vnderstood that *Masaniſſa*, their mortall enemy, had got possession of his Kingdome. To increase their feare, *Scipio* returned againe to *Tunes* in view of their Citie; where hee made an end of that Fortification, which hee had begunne at his last being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth vnto him thirtie Embassadors, Princes of the Citie, which were their Priue Councell, to make suit for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not onely prostrate themselves on the ground; but killed the feet of him, and of those that late in Councell with him.

After that to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed

*Lib. 3. c. 11.*

*Cass. Com. lib. 1.*

*Excerpt. d. Pa. lib. 1. c. 11.*

*lib. 3. c. 11.*

felld themselves to haue vniuſly broken the Peace betwene them and Rome; and to haue deſerued whatſoeuer puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe the Romans to inflict vpon them. Yet they humbly beſought Scipio and the reſt, that, in common regard of thoſe miſfortunes, whereat all men are ſubiect, they would ſhew mercie vnto the Citie of Carthage, and let it remaine, as a Monument of their clemencie; which, by the follie of her Citizens, had now twice deſerued to be ouerthrowne. Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame vpon Hannibal: who without their appointment had begunne the warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appeares, that theſe Embaſſadors were not Barbares: but rather, that they were Romans and the choice of his companie, who had now their long deſired worke in hand, of ſuing vnto the Romans for peace. Whatſoeuer they did, it muſt needs be that they were moſt insolent men our thoſe that were ſubiect vnto their power: for they would not haue made ſuch adoration vnto the Romans, in their owne neceſſitie; vnleſſe they themſelues had expected the like, where they had the aduantage.

It was not vnknowne to Scipio, or to his aſſiſtants, in what poore caſe the Citie of Rome then was; and how vnable to deſraie the charges of continuing the warre. Neither were the Carthaginians, notwithstanding the loſſe of ſo many Armies, in ſuch ill caſe, as the Romans themſelues had very lately been. For they had monie enough, where-with to wage more men: they had a Citie ſarre ſtronger than Rome; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the Roman reſolution: and therefore diſtricted the walls of Carthage; though Ptolemaea weaker Citie, had all this while held out againſt Scipio, and could not yet be forced by him and his Armie, though ſo often victorious in the field. Scipio therefore accepted their ſubmiſſion, and told them that though he came into Africk, to make a Conqueſt, and not a Peace: yet hauing the Conqueſt as it were in his hand, hee would not denie to grant them the Peace, which they deſired, for thereby ſhould all Nations vnderſtand, that the people of Rome did follow the rule of iuſtice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The conditions which he impoſed vpon them, were theſe: That they ſhould render vp vnto him all priſoners that they had taken, together with all Renegadoes and fugitive ſlaues: That they ſhould withdraw their Armies out of Italie and Gaule: That they ſhould not meddle in Spaine, nor yet in any Iland between Italie & Africk: That they ſhould deliuer vp all their ſhips of warre, ſauie twentie; and that they ſhould pay a great ſumme of monie, with certaine hundred thouſand bulſels of Wheat and Barlie. To conſider of theſe Articles, hee gaue them three dayes: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce: that they might ſend Embaſſadors vnto the Roman Senate.

This done, Maſaniſſa was diſmiſſed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the warre had beene alreadie at an end. Syphax was a little before ſent with Lelius vnto Rome: where the fame of theſe victories filled men with ioy; and gaue hope, that the long endured miſeries would be ſhortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were ſet open, and an holy day appointed for thankſgiving and ſupplication to their Gods. Lelius was accompanied with Embaſſadors from King Maſaniſſa: who gratulating the happie ſucceſſe of the Romans in their African Warre, and giuing thanks vnto the Senate for the benefits done by Scipio vnto their Maſter, made request for the Numidians, ſuch as were now his ſubiects and priſoners in Rome, that they might be beſtowen vnto him; who by rendering them to libertie, ſhould doe an act verie pleaſurable that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The Roman Senate would not beehide with Maſaniſſa in complement: but ſhewing themſelues to be highly pleaſed with all that Scipio had done, and ſhould doe for him; they called him King againe; releaſed his Numidians that were captiues: and ſent him two purple Callocks, that had each of them one gold button; with ſuch other Preſents, as in time of their pouerty might ſerue to reſtiſie their good will.

will. Scarcely were theſe and Lelius gone from Rome; when the newes came, that Embaſſadors from Carthage were arrived to deſire peace. Theſe Embaſſadors were not admitted into the Citie, but were lodged without: vntill Lelius being ſent for, came backe from Africa, to be preſent when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience giuen them in the Temple of Bellona; that ſtood in the ſuburbs. The errand of theſe Embaſſadors, was Peace: but the meaning of them and of their Citie, was onely to winne time, and get reſpite from warre; vntill Hannibal and Mege ſhould come out of Italie, either to chace the Romans out of Africk, or to obtain peace for Carthage, by terror of their great names and Armies, vpon more ealie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle diſcourſe of the League, that was concluded betweene them and Lucatius Catulus, at the end of the former warre. This League they ſaid, all things well conſidered, did ſtill remaine in force: neither had there ſince beene any warre at all, betwene the people of Rome and the Carthaginians. For it was onely Hannibal, that, without any leaue from Carthage, had of his owne head beſieged and razed the Towne of Saguntum: and after that aduentured in like fort, without Commiſſion, to paſſe the Alpes, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of Italie. This being ſo: their Meſſage was none other, than to deſire, that the League before ſpoken of, made in the time of Catulus, might hereafter ſtand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cauſe to wonder at this tale, hearing theſe Embaſſadors make (as it were) a jelt of a warre, that had beene ſo terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many queſtions, concerning that Peace made by Lucatius, and other paſſages following betwene the two Cities. But they excuſed themſelues by their age: (for they were all young men) and ſaid, that thoſe things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, that all was but collusion, and that they fought no other than to gainne time; vntill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were ſent home in companie of Lelius; without any conſultation at all of peace; and, in effect, without anſwere. This notwithstanding, we finde in Polybius, that the Senate receiuing aduertiment from Scipio, of that which had paſſed betwene him and the Carthaginians in this Treatie of peace, approoued the conditions by him propounded; and gaue him licence thereupon, to proceede vnto conſultation. This may with good reaſon be believed: ſince it was not vnknowne, that if the warre continued, all theſe goodly hopes muſt reſt vpon the moſt vn certaine iſſue of one battaile betwene Hannibal and Scipio: wherein if fortune ſhould be averse to them, their forces in Africk were no better than quite loſt.

Matters thus hanging in ſuſpenſe, before the Carthaginian Embaſſadors came backe from Rome: a Fleet out of Sicily, wherein were two hundred ſhips of burden, and thirtie Gallies, being bound for Africk to victualle the Roman Campe, was overtaken by ſoule weather at Sea; and hardly eſcaping wracke, was diſperſed, and driven aground in diuers parts of the Bay of Carthage, euen in view, and vnder command of the Citie. There was at that time, as we finde in Appian, and may gather out of Polybius, a great dearth of victuals in Carthage: which cauſed the people to crie out vpon their Magiſtrates, that they ſhould not let ſuch a bootie eſcape them; ſaying, that the danger of famine was greater and worſe, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were ſo that hunger vrged them, or that they yielded to their owne greedie deſires: the multitude in Carthage vnderſtood (as it ſeemes) that all this diſcourſe of peace in hand, was no better than meere mockerie; and therefore cared not for obſervation of particular points, when they meant deſire in the whole. It was for women and boyes, to be meddling in vprores: the clamours of the boyes being in ſuch tumults no leſſe violent, than of the men. Wherefore it is no maraile, if little regard were had of reaſon, or of honour, in any ſuch commotion. A Fleet was ſent vnder Aſdrubal, to gather vp the diſperſed Roman ſhips of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recouered the ſtation whereto their Campe adioyned) and

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Excerpt 2 Polyb.  
l. 15.App. de bello  
Punic.Excerpt 3 Polyb.  
l. 15.

bring them into *Carthage*: which was done. *Scipio* was heretofore much offended: not only for the loss, and for that the Towne was thereby releued; but for that by this breach of truce, he foresaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadors vnto them: both to require satisfaction for the iniurie done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gaue the *Carthaginians* to vnderstand, That Letters were come from *Rome* vnto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the peace, vpon those conditions which hee had propounded. But (said they) we hold it strange, that yee, who so lately haue cast your selues to the ground before vs, and kissed our feet, after an vnusall manner of humilitie, confessing your selues to haue perfidiously broken the league that was betwene vs, and thereby to haue deserved such punishment as is due vnto rebels; should so soone forget what yee then uttered, and runne headlong againe into the same crimes, for which yee acknowledged your selues worthe to be destroyed, hauing only recourse vnto our mercie. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which yee repose in *Hannibal*, that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amisse, that yee should consider, how long he hath bene pent up in a corner of *Italie*, among the *Britains*; where he is in a manner besieged, and unable to stirre: so that yee are like to finde his helpe wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be supposed, that he were now in *Africke*, and ready to giue vs battaile; yet should it well agree with your wisdom, to doubt what might befall, remembering that he is man, and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were overcome, what refuge haue ye left vnto your selues against hereafter? What gods will yee either sweare by, to be beleued, or call vpon in your miserie? What wordes, and lamentable gesture will yee henceforth use, to moue compassion? Surely yee haue alreadie wasted all your forces of persuasion, and shall not againe deuiue vs, if yee refuse the grace, whereof at the present ye are capable. It is no maruell though the *Carthaginians* were angry, when they heard themselves vpbraid with the base demeanour of their Embassadors. For it was not the generall opinion of the Citie, that the Truce was broken by themselves: though it had pleased *Hanno*, or such as were of his Faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of submission; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all iustification of matters past. And indeed it seemed, that the *Roman* Embassadors were verie much delighted, in the rehearsal of that point which was yielded vnto them; as knowing that thereon depended the iustice of the quarrell. But the *Carthaginians* tooke this in so ill part, that hardly they could refrain from doing violence vnto the men, who had vsed vnto them such insolent speeches. Yet the furie of the multitude was in some sort appeased; eyther by *Hanno*, whom *Appian* (I know not why) calls *Hanno the great*, or by the verie reuerence, due vnto the place of those that had uttered such libellous words. So they were dismissed in friendly sort; though it were without answer to their Proposition. There were also two Gallies appointed for their safe Conuoy home; though with little intent of good vnto their persons. *Asdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men sailed from *Carthage* towards *Vicia*. Hee, whether onely desirous to please the Multitude, of whose disposition he was informed; or whether directed by publicke order, to cut off these Embassadors in their way homeward: lay waiting for them behind a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the Riuer *Bagradas*. Their Conuoy hauing brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wished them a good Voyage; and so tooke leaue of them, as if they had bene then in safetie; since the *Roman* Campe was euen in sight. The Embassadors tooke this in ill part: not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselves too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leaue them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Asdrubal* fell vpon them in such manner, as they might well discern his purpose, which was, to haue hemmed them. They rowed hard therefore; and being in a Quinquereme, that had more banks of Oares, than had any Gallie of *Asdrubal* they slipped away, and made him ouer-shoot himselfe. Yet he gaue them chase; and had well neare surprised them. But they discouered some

Roman

*Roman* Companies on the shore ouer against them, and therefore aduentured to run their vessell aground: whereby they laued their owne liues; though a great part of their companie were slaine, or hurt. This practise of the *Carthaginians* was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartened in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might be driuen to studie nothing else, than how to get the victorie, as hauing none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same feare, which had caused them to make such earnest suit for peace, would also haue caused them to be better aduised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatie: had they not bene giuen to vnderstand, that *Hannibal* was alreadie landed in *Africke*, in whom they reposed no final confidence; but verily perfwaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions, than were those that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

## §. XX.

In what sort *Hannibal* spent the time after the battaile of *Metaurus*. The doings of *Mago* in *Italie*. *Hannibal* and *Mago* called out of *Italie*.

How the *Romans* were diuersly affected by *Hannibal*.

*Romans* affected.

Ever since the losse of that battaile at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remained in the Countrey of the *Britains*; waiting for another supplie from *Carthage*. The *Roman* Consuls that succeeded vnto *Claudius* and *Linus*, by whom *Asdrubal* was overcome and slaine, were contented to bee quiet all their yeare. Neither did *Leinius* the Colleague of *Scipio* ought worthe of remembrance against *Hannibal*: being hindred by the pestilence that was in his Armie. *Sempronius* the Consul who followed *Leinius*, and *Cn. Ser-*

*apilius Cæpio*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earnestly bent to haue done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitlesse. In some skirmishes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in some, the worse: and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preferre his Armie, than to keepe those places that were weak.

The *Romans* had at this time so manie great pieces of worke in hand, that their chiefe enemy was become, not the chiefe part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent vpon *Africke*, wherein they were at no final charges to maintain the Armie, which (as was hoped) should bring the warre to a short and happie conclusion. They stood neuertheless in much feare of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who

tooke exceeding paine among the *Ligurians* and *Gauls* to raise an Armie, wherewith to kindle anew the warre in *Italie*, that beganne to waxe cold. *Mago* solicited also the *Hætrurians*; and found them so ready to stirre in his behalfe, that if he could haue entred their Countrey strong, it might haue proued no lesse needfull for *Scipio* to return home out of *Africke*, than shortly it was for *Hannibal*, to make speed vnto the defence of *Carthage*. These dangers caused the *Romans* to employ one of their Consuls, or Proconsuls, with an Armie, among the *Hætrurians*; another among the *Gauls*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: forasmuch as it was vncertaine, vpon which side *Mago* would breake out. Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to ouercharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*, when things were in some readines for his setting forwards, he met in the Countrey of the *Insabrians*, which is about *Adrian*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconsul, and *P. Quintilius Varus* one of the Pretors. With these he fought a battaile, wherein though his vertue shewed it selfe worthe of his father and brethren; yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubt-

full

full in such sort that the *Roman* Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor, taking vnto him all the *Roman* Horle, thought to haue shaken the Enemies to peeces. T he Legions at the same time gaue a loud shout and strained themselves hardy as if at that brunt the victorie should haue beene carried before them. But *Mago* opposed his Elephants to the Horle: the seruice of those beafts being fitter for such vic, than against the Squadrons of Foot. T he figure, sent, and braying of those Elephants, did so affright the Horle, that they started aside, and were scattered ouer the field; their Riders being vnable to mannaue them. Herby the *Numidians* got aduantage vpon them: whose manner of fight was more auailable against those that were loose, than against the Troups that were close and thick. T hen fel the Elephants vpon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a thowre of darts, and killed foure of them; causing all the rest to giue backe. T his notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. T he Proconsul therefore brought vp those forces, which he had kept vnto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these *Mago* employed some of his *Gauls*, whom hee had in readinesse for the like occasion. But these *Gauls* discharged their parts very ill. They were soone beaten off; and recoiled so hastily, that they brought feare vpon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his men began to shrink, hee put himselfe in the head of his Armie; and held them to well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retreat, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length hee receiued a greivous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after hee dyed. Hee was taken vp, and carried out of danger by some of his owne men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, prouided euery one for himselfe: So the *Romans* obtained victorie, notwithstanding great cost; as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the losse of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Armie, besides those that dyed of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides diuers Colonells, Captaines, and Gentlemen of mark; that fell in this hote peece of seruice. Neyther were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. Howeuer it were, this victorie would haue much imported for the assurance of *Italy*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer haue permitted these valiant sones of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with drawing himselfe (by calic iourneys, because of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embassadors from *Carthage* attending him: who gaue him to vnderstand the pleasure of their Cite, which was, T hat both hee and *Hannibal* should presently repaire home with all their forces; not slaying any longer to thinke vpon the conquest of *Italy*, since *Carthage* it selfe was ready to bee lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and embarked shortly his Armies; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homeward.

About the same time *Hannibal* receiued the like command from *Carthage* to returne into *Africa*. He heard it with great patience; gnawing his teeth, and growning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were ready to burst out, whilst the Embassadors were deliuering their errand. When their message was done, hee told them, T hat this was yet plain dealing. For, said he, They that now directly bid me come home, haue long agoe done their best to hale me out of *Italy*; though more closely and crookedly they went to worke, by stopping the supply, that should haue enabled me to mannaue the Warre here. *Scipio* therefore shall not need to bragge, that hee hath done me home by the beel: it is *Hannibal*, that hath wrought this wile feat, and overwhelmed the House of the *Numidians*, for lacke of other means to doe it, with the wine of *Carthage*. Hee had before prepared a Fleete in readinesse, doubting that, which after came to passe: wherein hee embarked, besides his owne men, as many of the *Italians*, as were content to be partners of his fortune. Many there were that shrunke backe from him, and refused to doe seruice in this Expedition: of whom such as hee could take

take he slew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, which had been held an inuolable Sanctuarie vnto that day. Hee was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of *Italy* no lesse passionate, than men are wont to bee, when they leaue their owne Countreies to goe into exile. Hee looked backe vnto the shore: accusing both gods and men; and cursing his owne dulnesse, in that hee had not led his Armie from *Canna*, hote and blouded as it was, directly vnto the wals of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit hee quitted the possession of *Italy*; wherein hee had liued almost halfe his time.

If it could haue beene foretold vnto the *Romans*, in the first beginning of this war, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertaine the newes of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italy*: they would (I thinke) lesse earnestly haue pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him ouer thither. When sure aduertisement was brought vnto the Cite, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Armie: an Holiday was appointed for thanksgiving vnto their gods; & extraordinary great sacrifices publickly made, for joy of such happie tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remaine the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal*, at his comming into *Africa*, would finde *P. Scipio* other manner of worke, than hee had beene troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Countreie, than euer he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. The remoue of the warre from their owne doores, and the conceit of that victorie for which they hoped; was enough to make them presume further, than at other times they would haue done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embassadors brought vnto them a great masse of Golde and Siluer, together with some Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain*: onely the *Carthaginian* prisoners were accepted; the treasure was rendred backe vnto the *Saguntines* that had surprised it. Vpon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies, that had beene borrowed at time of inore necessity from priuate men. Hence also proceeded the seuer chastisement, laid vpon those twelve Colonies, that for want of cyther of meynes, or of good will, had refused to giue aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced to giue double the number of Foot to that which they had beene wont to set out for the warres, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the vertie most of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* growne (though their wealth were not as yet successe to the greatness of their spirit) vpon the good successe of the Battaille at *Metaurus*; and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding; when they considered more nearly of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Armie, wherewith *Italy* had beene few dayes since discharged, was landed safe in *Africa*: they began to reuolue a thousand fearefull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who did about the same time) would be found a true Prophet. For be-  
 40 thinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* no specialite of such great worth, as might promise the like successe against another manner of General; followed by other manner of men, than were cyther of those two. The *Numidian* King had beene wont to bring into the field a rascaill multitude of halfe scullions, that were good for nothing; being himselfe a fit Captaine for such souldiours. Likewise *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*, was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate; but otherwise one, that in the field was only good at fauing himselfe by a swift retreat. But now there came an Armie of men hardened from their child-hood with incredible patience, flished many hundred times in *Roman* blond,  
 50 and wearing the spoiles not onely of good souldiours, but of braue Captaines, by them slaine. Such talke vsed the people of *Rome*, saying, T hat *Scipio* was like to meet in battaille, with many that had slaine *Roman* Prætors, yea and Consuls, with their owne hands; with many, that had beene first in getting ouer the Trenches of seuerall *Roman* Campes, or in winning the tops of wals at the siege of Townes; briefly, that

that he should now bee opposed by an Armie, as good as had euer serued in warre, and following the dreadfull Name of *Hannibal*.

## §. XXI.

*HANNIBAL in Affricke prepares to fight with Scipio, treats with him about peace in vaines, loseth a battaile at Nadasgara, and perswades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.*



*HANNIBAL* disembarked his Armie at *Leptis*, almost an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercurie*, and somewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of *Italie*. Therefore it becomed him to land, as he did, somewhat farre from the Enemy; that he might furnish himselfe with this and the like needfull helpes, against the day of battaile. From *Leptis* he passed on to *Adrumetum*, and so along through the In-land Countrey; gathering friends vnto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to haue in those dayes the best Horses of kruice, that were to be found in *Affricke*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure vnto his partie: making him vnderstand, that if the *Romans* got the victorie, it should bee easie for *Masaniissa*, by their countenance and helpe to oppress both him, and as manie other of the neighbour Princes as hindred his prospect. This Argument, and the fame of him that vled it, prevailed with *Tychæus*; who shortly after brought vnto the *Carthaginian* two thousand Horse. *Appian* further addes, That *Mezetulus*, (the same who had made himselfe Protector ouer *Masaniissa* his Colens; and was Head of a Family, and aduerseto the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought vnto *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise that *Vermis* the sonne of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdome, began at the same time to assaile the places that yielded obedience to *Masaniissa*. This *Vermis*, as we finde in *Liuit*, came with more than sixteene thousand men (for he lost more than so manie) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of thoe preparations, which would haue made the victorie assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatnesse of his Aids: it offended them to thinke, that they had beene so base, as to make humble suit vnto the *Romans* for Peace; whilst they had such a braue Champion aloue, to maintain their cause by warre. But when they both thought themselves of their owne sufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimitie to endure them, appeared greater than indeede they were: then cried they out earnestly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, eyther good or bad. And to this purpose, they sent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. *Hannibal* made answer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but since hee was General of their forces, He thought it reasonable, that they should suffer him to doe as a General ought to doe; and to chioose his owne times. Neuerthelesse, to giue them satisfaction, Hee made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the *Carthaginians*: The violence, done to his Embassadours; and the newes of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Affricke*; made *Scipio* to vnderstand the resolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yeeld vnto any conditions vnprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore hee sent vnto *Masaniissa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out;

praying

praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other buisnesse a-part. Ten *Roman* Companies, of Horse and Foot together, *Masaniissa* had with him; that were lent vnto him by *Scipio*, to doe him seruice in the establishing and enlarging of his Kingdome. But he well vnderstood, that thoe and many more besides all his owne forces would little auail him; if *Hannibal* should driue the *Romans* out of *Affricke*. Wherefore taking such order as he could vpon the sudden, for the safety of his owne Kingdome; with foure thousand Horse, and sixethousand Foot, hee made all hast vnto *Leptis*.

Soone after the beginning of these new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embassadours that had been at *Rome*, returned backe vnder the conduct of *Laelius* and *Fulsius*: who brought them safe into the *Roman* Campe. There when they arrived, and vnderstood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaued themselves towards the *Roman* Embassadours: they made little doubt, how their owne heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion,

*M. Balbus* one of the late Embassadours that had beene in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Campe, laid hands vpon them, and detained them; sending word vnto his General, who was gone abroad to make warre in the Countrey, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their owne Coyne, for the iniurie by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to heare of this; and commanded *Balbus* to vse them with all possible courtesie, and send them safe home. By thus doing He brake the hearts of his Enemies; and caused them to acknowledge themselves, (which was a great victorie) farre lesse honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithstanding, He made more cruell warre vpon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to sacke, without hearking to any Composition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they tooke a Towne by assault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatsoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible; and the better to worke such impression in the mindes of thoe, with whom they had to doe, they vied oftentimes to kill the verie Dogges and other Beasts, that ranne about them in the streets, heuing their bodies asunder, as men delighted in shedding of blood. This being their practise at other times: it is likely, that now they committed no pece of crueltie; when they meant to giue proofe of their vehement indignation, and reuengefull mindes, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were so earnest in pressing *Hannibal* to fight.

*Hannibal* being encamped at *Zama*, sent forth his Scowts and Spies, to discover where the *Romans* lay; what they were doing; and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, and brought vnto *Scipio*: who in stead of trassing them vp, gaue them free leave to view his Campe at pleasure; appointing one to conduct them vp and downe, and shew them whatsoeuer they desired. This done, He gaue them libertie to depart; and sent them away safe vnto their General. *Liuit* vnderstanding this, admired the brauerie and courage of his Enemy: with whom on the sudden he grew desirous to haue an Enter-view, and personall conference; and signified so much vnto him, by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well; and returned answer, that Hee would meet him shortly in place conuenient. The next day *Masaniissa* came with his Armie: whom *Scipio* taking with him remoued vnto a Towne called *Nadasgara*, neare vnto which hee sat downe, in a place otherwise commodious, and close by a water that might opportunely serue his Campe. Thence he sent word vnto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did sitly serue, if He had ought to say to him. *Hannibal* thereupon remoued from *Zama*, and came within foure miles of the Enemy: where hee encamped well to his owne good liking in all things else; excepting that his men were driuen to take much paines, in fetching their water somewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a troupe of Horse,

Excerpt. i. Po.  
g. 26. 10.

Horfe, rode forth of their Campes, till they came vnto a peece of ground, which was before well searched, for feare of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off: and themselves, with each of them one Interpreter, encountered each other in the mid-way betwene their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then beganne the Carthaginian, saluting the Roman, to deliuer his minde to this effect: That it had bene better both for Carthage and for Rome, if they could haue limited and contained their ambition within the shores of *Africke*: and of *Italie*; for that the Countries of *Sicill* and of *Spaine*, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so manie Cities as had bene lost, and of so much blood as had bene shed, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not bee recalled: He said, That it was meet for them to confider, vnto what extreme dangers their owne Cities had bene exposed, by the greedie desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was euen time for them now at length, to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisdom hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition He affirmed that his owne yeares, and long trial of Fortune both good and euill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience might rather fixe his mind vpon vn certaine hopes, than vpon the contemplation of that mutabilitie, whereto all humane affaires are subiect. Yet (said He) mine owne example may peraduenture suffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that same *HANNIBAL*, who after my victorie at *Cannae* 10 *wanne the greatest part of Italie*: and denised with my selfe, what I should doe with your Citie of *Rome*; which I hoped verily to haue taken. Once I brought mine Armie to your walls, as thou hast since brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now see the change! I stand here entreating thee to grant vs peace. This may serue as a document of Fortunes infabilitie. I fought with thy Father, *SCIPIO*: He was the first of the Roman Generals, that euer met mee in the field. I did then little thinke; that the time would come, that I should haue such businesse, as now at the present, with his sonne. But this is euen one of Fortunes Pageants, wherof wee hath many. And thou maist haue experience of the like in thy selfe, who knowest how soone? Thinke vpon *M. ATTILIVS*. If hee would haue hearkened vnto such persuasions, as I now vs to thee he might haue returned home to *Rome*: an happy man. And so maist thou doe now, if any reasonable offer will giue thee satisfaction. How maist thou? Canst thou bee contented, that all *Spaine*, *Sicill*, *Sardinia*, and what soeuer islands are situate betwene *Italie* and *Africke*, be abandoned by the Carthaginians; for euer; and left vnto the Romans, to beare Dominion therein? Thou shalt haue cloie enough by effecting thus much: and the Romans may well be glad of such a bargain. As for vs: our owne quiet shall henceforth giue vs contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make vs faithfully observe the Peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazard thou must undergoe, for the obtaining of a verye little more, than that which thou maist haue without contention. It is now in thine owne power, to lay hold vpon good Fortune, if it please thee: stay but till to morrow night, and thou must take such fortune, as it shall please the gods. The issue of battaile is vn certaine, and many times beguileth expectation. Non and Steele we shall each of vs bring into the field: but of the victorie, neither of vs hath assurance. Let vs therefore without more a doe, make peace. And doe not telme, that some false-hearted Citizens of ours deale fraudulently of late in the like Treatie: It is *HANNIBAL* that now desire peace with thee, which I would neuer doe, if I thought it not expedient for my Countrey. And thinking it expedient, I will alwayes maintaine it: like as I haue maintaine vnto my power, as long as the gods did not enuie mee, the Warre by mee begunne. Hereunto *Scipio* made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in *Sicill* and in *Spaine*, which had moued the Romans to enter into this or the former Warre: but that the delence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Signatures*, their confederates, had caused them to put on those armes; which the gods by the final issue of the Warres had approued, and would approue to be most iust. As for the mutabilitie of Fortune: he said, that he was not thercof ignorant; and that with-  
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out any note of infolence, or ouer-weening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. For was it not plaine, that all those Countreies, with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed, were alreadye yonne from them by the Romans? If, said Hee, these Countreies had bene propounded whilst as yet ye detained some part of *Italie*; they might peraduenture not haue bene reiected. But as the case now standis, I see no reason, why I should remit vnto you any one peece of those my former demands; to which the Carthaginians haue yielded alreadie, and thought mee to deale graciously in being so moderate. Rather I say, that the injuries which they haue done me since, haue made them vnworthe of obtaining peace. I open so freely my termes. But I cannot blame thee, *HANNIBAL*, though thou wouldst be glad to make thy Citizens vnderstand, from how much of their burden they are by thy meane 10 eased. Only thou must thinke, that in like sort it consernes me in honour, not to let them bee garmers or sauers by the wrongs which they haue done of late. Thou knowest well, that besides these offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore vnto vs ranfome-free all prisoners that they haue of ours; to pay vs five thousand Talents; to deliuer vp their Gallies; and to deliuer hostages for assurance of faire dealing. And must they now be disgarded of all this, by their breach of Truce, then sitting of our Fleet, and their violating our Enuall sieges? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these injuries newly done: then wilt take aduise with my Counsel: what answer to give you; otherwise, you may euen prepare for warre, and blame your-  
10 *oune selues*, for that I haue denied you peace.

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiours prepare for a battaile, wherein should be decided the quarrell betwene *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at breake of day they issued into the field: a notable Match, and such as hath verye fewe bene found; whether we regard the Generals; their Armies: the two Cities that contended; or the great importance of the battaile at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing first the *Hastati*, diuided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance betweene them: Not farre behind these followed the *Principes*, likewise diuided; and so after them the *Triarii*. But herein 30 *Scipio* altered a little the ordinarie custome of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* opposite vnto the void spaces betweene the *Hastati*, that so the *Hastati*, as was vsuall, might fall backe betweene the *Principes*; but hee placed them directly one behind another, as it were in File. This Hee did becaufe of the Elephants; wherof *Hannibal* had many. For of those beastes the danger was lesse, whilst there was open way to let them through. Therefore hee tooke such order, that when they had passed through the spaces betweene the first Battalions, they should not come vpon the *Principes* in Front. Vnto his *Velites* or those of the light armature, that were to beginne the fight, Hee gaue direction, that when they found themselves ouer-charged, eyther by the Enemies, or (which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should runne backe through those lanes that were be-  
40 tweene the Maniples: and that those which were swift, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, untill they were got behind all their owne Armies; then by leaving roome enough vnto those that were wounded, or cast behind, to face them selues on the void ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third Battalies, without cloying by the way betwene the Maniples, which he desired tooke open. His Italian Horse he placed in the left wing vnder *C. Lelivs*. In the right wing was *Masaniassa* with his Numidians. He himselfe riding  
50 downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly: viling words not many, but verie forcible. He bade them remember what they had achieved, since their coming to that victorie in this warre, should make them Lords of all the World; for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whether they would fly. They were farr from home; yea and farr from their owne standing Campe: neyther was there any place in  
Cecelle Affrick,

*Africk*, that would giue them shelter; if they fell into the *Carthaginians* hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but Death or Victory: vnlesse they would liue like wretched slaues vnder most mercedlesse Enemies. In such necessity, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take resolution vnwonderable thereunto, haue neuer bene knowne to faile of getting victory.

*Hannibal* on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourscore, in front of his Battaille. Next behinde these, he made his Vanguard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, *Baleares*, and *Moorers*. Then followed his Battaille: which was of *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, more interested in the quarrell than were those Mercenaries; though not so good souldiers; but to helpe (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them four thousand *Macedonians*, lately sent from King *Philip*. More than the space of a furlong behinde these came his Rereward, consisting of those braue Souldiers which had serued him in his *Italian* warres; and were the onely men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to *Lelium*, in his own right wing he bestowed the *Carthaginian* Horse. *Tycheus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing against *Masaniissa*. He was indeede farre too weake for the Enemy in Horse, both in number and in goodnesse. For *Tycheus* and *Alectallus* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the four thousand of *Masaniissa*. The *Carthaginians* also were no more, nor none other than such as could be leuiued in the halfe of a few daies; and the remainder of those, that had of late bene often vanquished, and accustomed to flee. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authoritie, to make these his companions alight and serue on foot, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could haue done, was to lay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had *Terminus* the sonne of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few daies after, with sixteene thousand and upwards, the most of them Horse: the aduantage of number might haue serued wel to supplie all other defect. Yet since the Lords of *Carthage* would brooke no delay: *Hannibal* must be faine to comfort himselfe, with the hope that he reposed in his old *Italian* Souldiers; whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their feuerall conditions: promising vnto the Mercenaries bountifull rewards: threatening the *Carthaginians* with inescuttable seruitude, if they lost that day; but especially animating his old fellow-souldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. He bade them to looke vpon the Enemies; and make estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Armie which they had slaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, that it was one *P. Scipio*, euen the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to runne away. He told them, that these Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very worst of the *Roman* Souldiers; euen such, as for their dastardly flight out of sundrie battailes, could no longer be trusted to beare Armes in their owne Countreie. As for the rest: they were yong men, the sonnes of Cowards, and bred vp in the continuall feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slaine or chased. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, vpon whose vertue he meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day strue to make good their honour; and to purchase the fame of men *invincible*.

Such exhortations vfed the two Generalls before the fight. When they drew neare together: the *Numidian* Horsemen on both sides beganne to skirmish. The Trumpets, and other instruments of warre, founded to battaille: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to breake vpon the *Romans*. Of these Elephants (as they were alwayes an vncertaine kinde of helpe) those that stood neare vnto the point of the left wing, turned backe for feare: and ranne vpon their owne *Numidian* Horse; which they affrighted and disordered. *Masaniissa* espying this, gaue charge vpon the same *Numidians*; and not suffering them to re-allie themselves, draue them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoile of the *Roman* *Velites*, whom they

they followed into the spaces betweene the Maniples: but without any harme to the Battalions themselves; which gaue them open way, according as *Scipio* had well provided. Diuers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be gouerned: but ranne backe vpon the right point of their owne battaille, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they disordered the *Carthaginian* Horse which were in that wing: against whom they gaue to *Lelius* the same aduantage, that *Masaniissa* had against the *Numidians*; which he vfed in like sort. In the meane while, the Battels of foote aduanced, and drew neare together with a slow and stately pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast: at what time they gaue a shout, and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacitie, and in quicknesse, to haue the better of the *Romans*; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they tooke. But the Roman discipline after a while, preuailed against the boisterous violence of these vntrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell of the *Principes*, following somewhat neere after the *Hastati*, encouraged their fellows; and shewed themselves ready, if neede were, to relieue them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries received no manner of helpe or comfort from those that should haue seconded them. For the new-leiued *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they saw their hire' souldiers giue backe, did also themselves retire. This caused the *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, and the rest, to thinke themselves betrayed: whereupon they inclined vnto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battaille was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to giue way vnto the Mercenaries for their safe retreat; and yet withall forbore to make head against the enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation caused those that were at once chased by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellows, to turne their armes with an heedlesse furie against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten downe and slaine, through their owne indiscretion, by their owne Mercenaries. The Roman *Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a drong, had their hands so full of worke; that the *Principes* were faine to come vp vnto them, and helpe to ouer-bear this great medley of enemies; that were together by the cares among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindring one another, could neither fight, nor easily flee. Such of them as escaped, ran towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not stirre one foote, to helpe or save these Runne-awaies. He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his owne side, that would haue rushed vpon him: whom he thereby compelled to turne aside beyond his Battaille, and slue themselves in the open field. The ground, ouer which the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meete with *Hannibal*, was couered with such thicke heapes of dead bodies and weapons, and so slippery with blood: that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should be dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike Armie, which he saw before him, remayning yet entire, and without feare expecting him; He might be well assured to receiue a notable ouerthrow. He caused therefore the *Hastati* to make a stand there where they were, opposite vnto the maine battaille of the *Hannibalsians*. Then drawing vp his *Principes* and *Triarii*: He placed them, when they had ouercome the bad way, all in one front with the *Hastati*, and made of them his two Corners. This done, he aduanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than euer he had bene receiued in his life before. All the daies worke till now, seemed to haue bene onely a matter of pastime; in regard of the sharpe conflict, that was maintained betweene these notable souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged, by their hauing preuailed all the day before: They were also farre the more in number. But these old souldiers of *Hannibal* were firer; and (perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gaue backe one foote; but rather chose to die vpon the ground, whereon he stood. So that, at

Excerpt. 270.  
591. lib. 15.

after a long time, it was vncertaine which part had the worse: vnlesse it may seeme, that the *Romans* were beginning to shrinke; forasmuch as the returne of *Masaniissa* and *Lelius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to haue bene most happy, and in a needfull time. These vpon the fudden charged the *Hannibalsians* in Rere, and ouer-bearing them by meere violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this Battaille there dyed of the *Romans* fiftene hundred and vppwards: on the *Carthaginian* side, about twentie thousand, besides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sepater* Captaine of the *Academians*, was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Liuius* reports, by *Scipio* himselfe. But the Enemies were too strong for him in Horse: and being enioyned, as hee was, by the flate of *Carthage* to take battaile with such disadvantage, he could worke no maruels. He saued himselfe with a few Horse; and staid not in his iourne, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence was he sent for to *Carthage*, from which he had bene absent fixe and thirtie yeares. At his coming into the Senate He said plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians*, not knowing what other course to take, refused to send Embassadors againe; and trie the fauour of *Scipio*, whose armies they could not now resist.

*Scipio* hauing spoiled the Enemies Campe, returned lacke to *Vtica*: where hee found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fiftie Gallies and an hundred Shippes of burden. With this Fleet, and that which hee had before, Hee thought it best to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpose to terrifie the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed vnto *Cn. Ottavius*; whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then sending *Lelius* away to *Rome* with newes of the victorie, He set saile from *Vtica* towards *Carthage*. Hee was encountered on the way by ten Embassadors from the Citie: who bearing vp with the Admirall Gallie, beganne to vie the pittifull gesture of suppliants. But they receiued none other answer, than that they should meet him at *Tunes*, where He would giue them audience. So rowing along before the Citie: and viewing it more in brauerie, than with meaning to attempt it; He returned backe to *Vtica*, and called backe *Ottavius* thither, with whom in person Hee set forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their iourne thither, they heard the newes, that *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*, was coming with an Armie of more Horse than Foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Vermina* seemes to haue bene both carelesse of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defectiue in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Armie. Part of the *Roman* Foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not only beat him, but so compasse him in, that hee hardly escaped himselfe with a few; leauing fiftene thousand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelue hundred taken prisoners. If this good companie had bene with *Hannibal* at *Thalagara*, they should haue bene farre better conducted, and might well haue changed the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginian* lost, by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to bee doubted, that this victorie, thought were no great access vnto the former; yet serued well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater feare of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirtie Embassadors from *Carthage*: whose behaviour though it was more pittifull than it had bene before; yet procured it lesse commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Neuertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious worke it would proue, to besiege the mightie Citie of *Carthage*. And particularly *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honor of this warre, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands; and giuen to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Seruilus Capius* that Consul who had charge of the warre against *Hannibal*, at such time as he departed out of *Italie*: was bold to passe out into the Ile of *Sicill* (as it were in chace of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driuen away) with a purpose thence to haue proceeded into *Africke*, and taken from *Scipio* the Com-

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mand of the Armie there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restrain the ambition of this Consul *Seruilus*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suite for the same Prouince of *Africke*: and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire; yet hee needed would be going, procuring only leave of the Senate, that he being Consul might ioyne with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equall authoritie. But ere Hee could haue his Fleet and all things in a readinesse for the iourne, wherein no man cared to further him: Winter came on, and he was only tost at Sea with foule weather, first vpon the Coast of *He-truria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Consulship expired, and so he returned home a priuate man. Then came the joyfull newes to *Rome*, of the victorie obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the warre was now euen at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Consul so passionate, in desiring *Africke* for his Prouince, That he said he would suffer nothing to passe in the Senate, vntill he had first his wil. Much adoe there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at last it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio*; if the warre continued, *Scipio* should haue command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to giue the more fauourable answer vnto the *Carthaginian* Embassadors. Hee willed them to consider what they had deserued: and in regard thereof to thinke themselves wel dealt withall, in that he was contented to leaue vnto them their libertie and their own Lawes, without appointing any Governour ouer them, or Garrison to hold them in subiection; leauing also vnto them their possessions in *Africke*, such as they weare the beginning of this warre. As touching the rest hee was at a point, That, before hee cyther granted them Peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilst the late Treatie was in dependence. Hereunto if they would yeld, then required He That immediately they should deliuer vnto the *Romans* all Prisoners, Englishes, and *Romans*; that they had of theirs: likewise all their Gallies, excepting tenne; and all their Elephants: that they should make no warre at all thenceforth out of *Africke*, neither yet within *Africke*, without licence of the *Romans*: That the Countreys, Townes, gods whatsoeuer, belonging any wise vnto *MASANISSA* or to any of his Ancesters, which were in their possession, should bee all by them restored vnto him: That they should finde corne for the *Roman* Armie, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, vntill the Peace were fully concluded: That they should pay tenne thousand Talents of Silver, in the terme of fiftie yeares, by two hundred Talents a yeare; and that for obseruance of Conditions, they should giue an hundred hostages, such as *Scipio* would choose, being none of them vnder foureteene yeares of age, nor above thirtie.

With these conditions the Embassadors returned home, and reported them vnto the Citie. They were verie vnpleasing, and therefore one *Gisco* stood vp to speake against them: and exhorted the People, who gaue good attention, that they should not condescend vnto such intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this, and noting withall what fauourable audience was giuen to this vaine Oratour, by the vnquiet yet vnwarlike Multitude; was bold to pull him downe from his standing, by plaine force. Hereat all the people murmured; as if their common libertie were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captaine. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, rose vp and spake vnto them: saying, That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the Citie would allow; forasmuch as he had been thence absent euer since he was a Boy of nine yeares old, vntill he was now a man of fise and fortie. Hauing thus excused himselfe of the disorder, He discoursed vnto them concerning the Peace: and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themselves; had the demands of the Enemy bene yet more rigoros. Finally vpon good aduice, they resolved to yeld vnto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they payed out of hand fise and twentie thousand pound weight of Silver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them

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done to his Fleet and Embassadors. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths, in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall Hee gave injunction, that they should neither in the meane while send Embassadors any whither else, nor yet dismisse any Embassadors to them sent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanniball*, and they of his Faction, were become wile and honourable men, by the miseries wherinto *Carthage* was fallen through their malicious Counsailes. *Afrubal*, surnamed the *Kid*, a venerable man, and great friend of *Hanno*, was chiefe of the Embassages which they sent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in companie of *Scipio* his Embassadors, who related vnto the Senate and People thes joyfull newes. About the same time arrived at *Rome* Embassadors from *Philip* King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were faine to wait awhile for audience, till the election of new Consuls then in hand was finished, and order taken, for the Prouinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embassadors called into the Senate: who first answering vnto some points, wherein the *Romans* had lately signified vnto their King that they found themselves grieved; returned the blame vpon those *Greekes* themselves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *M. Anclius*: who being one of the three Ambassadors, that had lately bene sent from *Rome* vnto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellows; and there leuying men, made warre vpon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betwene him and the *Romans*. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countreimen, that had lately serued *Hanniball* for Pay, and being taken Prisoners in *Affrike* were kept in bond; by *Scipio*; might bee released, and deliuered vnto them. Vnto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharpe answer. He said, that the *Greekes* which were confederate with *Rome*, endured so many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was faine to stay behinde, to helpe them as hee might; which else were like to be brought vnder the Kings subiection. As for *Sopater*: He affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counsaile, and verie inward with him; one that serued not for monie, but carried monie with him, and foure thousand men, sent from the King to the aide of *Hanniball*. About these points when the *Macedonian* Embassadors could make vnto the Senate no good answer: they were willed to returne, and tell their Master. That warre hee sought, and warre hee should finde, if hee proceeded as he had begonne. For in two maine pointes He had broken the League, that was betwene him and the *Romans*: first, in that hee had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that hee had aided their Enemies against them with men and monie.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into *Greece* and the Eastern Countries, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embassadors in their solicitation of Peace. They appeared a verie reuerend companie, when they entred into the Senate: and *Afrubal* about the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the *Romans* from necessity of sending Embassadors to *Carthage*, vpon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the iustice of the quarrell had bene wholly on the *Romans* side; saying that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could hee not altogether excuse the Citie; that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsaile. But if *Hanno* and him selfe might haue had their wils: the *Carthaginians*, euen at the best of their Fortune, should haue granted the peace which they now desired. Herewithall hee commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no small argument of their valour; by which alwaies they had bene victorious. To the same effect *Afrubal* spake the rest of the Embassadors: all of them entreating to haue the Peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diuersitie of their stile. They had patience enough

enough to endure such reprooche of Perjury, as they themselves might haue laid vpon the *Romans*; if their diligence and fortune had bene such as the *Romans* was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would sweare to keepe the peace hereafter: *Afrubal* made answer; Euen by the same gods, that are so sweare vnto those that violate their Leagues.

Leuitus the Consul interposing the authoritie of his Office, would haue hindered the Senate from proceeding vnto conclusion of peace; for that hereby Hee was like to loose the honour, which he purposed to get by making warre in *Affrike*. But the matter was propounded vnto the people, in whom rested the Soueraigne Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly vnto pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio* with tenne Delegates sent vnto him from *Rome* of purpose, should make a League with the *Carthaginians*, vpon such Conditions as seemed best: which were none other, than the same which hee had already propounded. For this fauour, the *Carthaginian* Embassadors humbly thanked the Senate; and craued licence, that they might visite their Countreimen, which were prisoners in *Rome*; afterwards, that they might ranfome and carrie home with them some, that were their especiall friends; of whom they gaue in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadors would choose, should be sent ouer into *Affrike*, and be freely restored to libertie by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they tooke leaue, and returned home, in companie of the tenne Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to ioyne with *Scipio* in Commission.

At their comming into *Affrike*, the Peace was giuen, and accepted, without any controuersie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitiues, and Rencados, were deliuered vp to *Scipio*; likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* tooke more vengeance vpon the Rencados, than vpon the Fugitiues; and vpon those of the *Romans*, than vpon the *Latines* or other *Italians*. The *Latines* hee beheaded: the *Romans* hee crucified. About the first payment of their monie, the *Carthaginians* were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasurie could haue spared two hundred Talents for the present: yet since the pension was annuall, and to continue fiftie yeares; it was thought meet to lay the burden vpon the Citizens. At the collecting of the summe there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begun to pinch them; so as many euen of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise *Hanniball* could not refrain from laughter. For which when he was checked by *Afrubal* *Hadus* and tolde, That it wold of all becomed him to laugh, since he had bene the cause why all others did weep; Hee answered, That laughter did not alwaies proceed from ioy, but sometime from extremitie of indignation. Yet said Hee, My laughter is more reasonable, and lesse absurd, than your teares. For 40 yee should haue wept, when yee gave vp your Shippes and Elephants; and when yee bound your owne hands from the vse of Armes; without the good leaue of the *Romans* first obtained. This miserable condition keeps vs vnder, and holds vs in assured seruitude. But of these matters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little monie is wrung out of your private purses, yee haue thereof some sence. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein yee shall acknowledge, That it was the very least part of your miserie, for which yee haue shed these teares. Thus discoursed *Hanniball* vnto those, who tasting the bitter fruits of their owne malicious counsaile, repented when it was too late; and in stead of cursing their owne disorders, which had bred this grieuous discale, accused that Phylition, whose noble endeauours had bene employed in procuring the remedie.

So *Scipio* being to take leaue of *Affrike*, produced *Masaniassa*, and magnified him in presence of the Armie, with high commendations not vnderstanded. To him also hee assigned ouer those Townes of King *Siphax*, which the *Romans* at that present held; wherein, to say truth, hee gaue him but his due; and that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the loue of the *Romans*, and friendship of

*Scipio*,

*Scipio*, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the deservings of this Numidian King. About *Carthage* there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarked themselves for *Sicily*: where when they arrived at *Lipheum*, *Scipio* with some part of his Armie tooke his way home to *Rome* by land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His journey through *Italy* was no lesse glorious than any Triumph: all the people thronging out of the Townes and Villages, to doe him honour as he passed along. He entered the city in Triumph: neither was there euer before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with so great joy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*: though, in brauery of the pompe, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the Citie in this Triumph, and died soone after in prison: or whether he were dead a while before; it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be auowed, That it was a barbarous custome of the *Romans*, to insult ouer the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea though they were such, as had alwaies made faire and courteous war. But herof wee shall haue better example, ere the same Age passe. It was neither the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grievous warre past, whereof the *Romans* had bene in a manner without hope, that euer they should see *Italy* free. This made them looke cheerfully vpon the Author of so great a conuersion; and filled them with more ioy, than they would could moderate. Wherefore they gaue to *Scipio* the Title of the *African*: filling him by the name of that Province which he had subdued. This honourable kind of surname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was usurped by men of lesse desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated vnto themselves the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could haue made them like in vertue vnto *Scipio* the *African*.

Excerpta Polyb. l. 16.

## CHAP. IIII.

Of PHILIP the father of PERSEVS, King of Macedon; His first Acts and war with the Romans, by whom he was subdued.

§. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of war there. The beginning of many Princes, with great warres, at one time. The *Ætolians* ouerrun *Peloponnesus*. PHILIP and his Associates make war against the *Ætolians*. Alteration of the State in *Spuria*. The *Ætolians* invade *Macedon*, and are invaded at home by *P* 111. l. 17.

Plut. in vita Serapio.



THE great similitude found in worldly events, the limitation of matter hath bene assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined vnto a subject that is not vnbounded; the workes of Nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seeme to haue their whole dependence vpon the will of man, we are lesse to wonder, if we find lesse variety: since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious vnto human power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wils of sundry men are ouer-

ner-ruled, in manning the affaires of our daily life. It may be obserued in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the kingdome of the *Medes*, with two hundred thousand foote and three score thousand horse: but sayling in their intended conquest, they became subiect within a while themselves vnto the *Medes* and *Persians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell vpon the *Greekes* with such numbers of men, as might haue seemed resistlesse. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home, their Empire was neuer secure of the *Greekes*: who at all times of leasure from intestine war deuised vpon that conquest thereof, which finally they made vnder the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchodonosor* with his rough old souldiours, had vnderaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus* with his well trayned Armie, had made the attempt vpon *Greece*; the issue might, in humane reason, haue bene farre different. Yet would it then haue bene expedient for them, to employ the trauell and vertue of their men, rather than the greatnesse of their names, against those people; that were no lesse valiant, though lesse renowned, than their owne. For the menacing words vied by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the *Greekes* (in which kind it may bee, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Persians*) were not so auailable to victory, as to draw on reuenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in strength, suster as did the old *Lyon*, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Ass. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misse-vnderstanding the language of Fame; and despising the vertue that makes little noise, adventure to prouoke it against themselves; as if were not possible that their own glory should be soyld by any of lesse-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Eumenes*, had stumbled; *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* hath dasht his foot. Hee was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though molt of make, and a better souldiour than any other *Greekish* King, when he entered into war against the *Romans*. This war he vnderooke as it were for his mindes sake; hauing recieued no iniurie; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greekes* that seru'd vnder him, to preuaile so easily against the barbarous *Romans*, that they should only serue as a step to his further intended conquests, of *Sicily* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans*, by their victory against *Pyrrhus*, had found their owne vertue to be of richer metall, than was the more shining valour of the *Greekes*: then did all the brauery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants and whatsoeuer else had seru'd to make him terrible) serue onely to make the *Romans*, in time following, to thinke more highly of themselves. For since they had overcome the best Warriour in *Greece*, euen Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himselfe Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those vniuersall Provinces, which in compasse of twelue yeeres a Macedonian King of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more, than to bring to their owne deuotion, by some good meanes, the whole Country of *Greece*: all the rest, thus done, would follow of it selfe. How to deale with the *Greekes*, *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the first *Punicke* war was ended, which followed soone after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leasure to hearken after newes in *Greece*; and to entertaine any good occasion; that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwise very skillfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the *Libyan* Queene *Tewis* made at the same time cruell war vpon the *Greekes*: waiting their Country, and sacking their Townes, onely because they were unable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the *Romans* were desirous to enter; the Queene was not slow to giue them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war which they made with

\* The King of Spaine presented innumerable Naues, being beaten ouer of the British, insulted vs to those of Spaine: and hauing broken the greatest Fleet that euer the Spaniards gathered together; wee neuer made account of any of his preparations after that time.

e Lib. 5. lib. 2. 5. 7.

Her, was, in their owne opinion, a matter not vnworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the *Greekes*. But no such thing happened: though they sent Embassadors, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for the loue of *Greece* they had vndertaken this Illyrian war. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greekes* and *Romans*: which afterwards increased very hastily, through the indifferencie of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose busines with them being now the subiect of our story, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his first Actions.

It was like to proue a buisie time in the world, when, within the space of foure yeares, new Kings began to reigne in the most of all Countreies knowne; and three of them yong boyes, in three of the greatest kingdomes. This happened from the third yeere of the hundred thirtieth Olympiad, vnto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose roome succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called the great. *Ptolemie Philopator* succeeded in the Kingdome of *Egypt* vnto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, being sixteene or seuentene yeeres old, receiued the Kingdome of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achaens* and most of the *Greekes*; by the decease of his Vncle *Antigonus Dison*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedemon*, and the Countreies about Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then began his reigne in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himself King ouer the *Lacedemonians*, whose Common-wealth, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headlesse; and *Achaus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebel vnto him, occupied the Regions neare vnto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the state of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third yeeres of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open warre brake out betwixt *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Annibal* began his great Inuasion vpon *Italie*. Those troubles of the Westerne world, which were indeed the greatest, we haue already followed vnto an end. Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemie*, and the rest, we shal speake hereafter, when the *Romans* finde them out.

*Philip*, soone after the beginning of his reigne, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Achaens*, and many others his dependants. That Countrey, hauing freed it selfe by the helpe of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an calie subiection vnto *Cleomenes*: was now become no lesse obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should haue bene to the *Spartans*; and therewithall it lay open vnto the violence of the *Aetolians*, who despised euen the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. These *Aetolians* were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted to any other Art, than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell vpon the *Messenians*, that were their owne Clients, and (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the only good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their inuasion was no lesse vnexpected, then it was vnjust; whereby with greater ease they made spoile of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Achaens* were called by the *Messenians* to helpe: which they did the more willingly, because the *Aetolians*, passing without leaue through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harme they listed. Old *Aratus* could ill abide these *Aetolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the injuries, wherewith most vngratfully they had requited no small benefite done to them by the *Achaens*. He was therefore so hasty to fall vpon this their Armie, that he could hardly endure to stay a few daies vntill the time of his owne Office came; being chosen Pretor of the *Achaens* for the yeare following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himselfe a man fitter (as hath bene already noted of him) for any other seruice, than leading of an Armie. He suffered them to passe quietly along with their bootie, through a great part of the Countrey, wherein he might easily haue distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so neare, when they had recovered ground of aduantage, that they easily defeated all his Armie.

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So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the *Achaens*, they got hereby only the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacie. Shortly after, the *Aetolians* inuaded *Peloponnesus* againe; hauing no more to doe, than to passe ouer the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulfe of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Countrey of the *Eleans*. There ioynd with them in this their second Inuasion a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that condition imposed vpon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no ships of war vnto the Coast of *Greece*; made bold to seeke aduentures againe, and did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his kingdome, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell vpon the Ilands of the *Cyclades* in the *Aegean* Sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip* or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* vnder *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdaites*, hauing gotten what they could else where by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Aetolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater haucke in the Countrey now, than in their former Expedition; and returned home, without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made vnto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satisfie themselves with some speedy reuenge: there were that vrged to haue some grieuous punishment laid vpon the *Lacedemonians*: who were thought vnder-hand to haue fauoured the *Aetolians*, in meere despite of the *Achaens* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately bene subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedemonians* had bene so affected: and (which was worse) at the arriuall of *Philip*, they sue such friends of his, as hauing checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they wel commit themselves to iudgement: but entreated the King, that he would abstaine from comming to them with an Armie: since their towne was lately much disquieted with ciuill discord, which they hoped soone to appeale, and meant alwaies to remaine at his deuotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: nor for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly gouerned him) did misse vnderstand the *Lacedemonians*: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Achaens*, *Boeotians*, *Phocians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complying vpon the *Aetolians*: and desiring to haue war decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters vnto the *Aetolians*: requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could alludge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Rhium* for that purpose: whether it pleased him to come or send, hee should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to haue bene there at the day.

But when the *Aetolians* vnderstood this for certainty, they adourned the Councill vnto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, saue in the great Parliament of all *Aetolia*. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had desirued it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Pretor, that was Author of these inuasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the onely man, in a fort, vpon whom they must haue laied the blame of these actions, if they would haue shifted it from the publick.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*; where he prepared busily for the warre against the yeere following. He also assayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with faire words and promises: whom he easily won from the *Aetolian* side, so far much as the *Aetolians* had couened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Achaens*, who had first of all others proclaimed the war in their owne Countrey, sent vnto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, and *Lacedemonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, & to denounce war vnto the *Aetolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the euent. Hercunto they receiued

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duerle answers, according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The *Maccedonians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering vpon the *Ætolians*, of whom they stood in continuall danger; said, that they could not honestly refuse to follow their faithful meaning in that war, which was concluded by generall assent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were neuertheless more cunning and reserved: so that they stood vpon a needfull point; and desired to be held excused, vnill *Philip* (of whose menning they needed not to haue made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The *Maccedonians*, for whose cause the warre was vndertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Towne which the *Ætolians* held vpon their borders; and said, that they durst not be over-bold, vnill that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the *Lacedemonians*, the chiefs of them inuaded only how to manage that reason, for which their City had bene so largely pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadors of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three years together continued subiect, and thus their wils to the *Maccedonians*, expecting still when *Cleomenes* should returne out of *Ægypt* to raigne ouer them againe, and maintaine, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings; but were contented with the rule of *Ephors*. Of these there were some, that thought the publicke safety to consist, in holding their faith with the *Maccedonian* that had preferred them: And hereto they referred all their counsailes; being perhaps not a little moued with respect of the benefit, which might redound vnto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule ouer them. Others, and those the greater part, were fill deuising, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his returne; and therefore sought to ioyne with the *Ætolians*, which were the most likely to giue him strong assistance. The *Maccedonian* faction had the more authority, and durst more freely speak their mindes; but the contrary side was the more passionate, and spared not by murders, or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neither did it suffice, that about these times there came certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the glory and honour of *Sparta*, which these intended: fancying vnto themselves the glory of their Anceltors in such Ages past, as were not like to come againe. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the most able man to restore them vnto their greatnesse and lustre; which once he had in a manner performed: But since he was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deseruing vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would haue, and those of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without such helpe, they must continue little better than subiects vnto the *Maccedonian*, and far lesse by him respected, than were the *Achaïans*. Thus were they transported, by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to send an Embassie to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly vnto the people; whereof no one of the Citizens durst haue made himselfe the Author. Much disputation and hot there was, betweene those of the *Maccedonian* partie and these their opposites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; vnill by massacre or banishment of all, or the chiefs, that spake against the *Ætolians*, the diuerstie of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betweene the *Lacedemonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Maccedonians* or *Achaïans*; who had spared the Citie, when they might haue destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the choosing of the one King; that we may iustly wonder, how they grew so carelesse in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royall families they found *Agæopolis* the sonne of *Agæopolis* the son of King *Cleambrotus*: and him they admitted to reigne ouer them, as hire apparant to his Grandfather. This *Agæopolis* was a yong boy, standing in neede of a Guardian; and had an Vncle, his fathers brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet because the Law required, that the sonne, how yong soeuer, should haue his fathers

thers whole right and title: the *Lacedemonians*, though standing in neede of a man, were so punctuall in obseruation of the Law; that they made this childe their King, and appointed his Vncle *Cleomenes* to bee his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royall family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodnesse of his Claime, but made election of one *Lyseus*, who hauing no manner of title to the kingdom, bestowed vpon each of the *Ephors* a Talent, and thereby made himselfe be siled King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lyseus*, to gratifie his Partisans, and to approue his worth by Action, invaded the Countrey of the *Argues*: which lay open and vngarded, as in a time of peace. There hee did great spoile, and wanne diuers Townes; whereof two hee retained, and annexed vnto the State of *Lacedamon*. After such open hostilitie, the *Lacedemonians* declared themselves on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed warre against the *Achaïans*.

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwise, than the *Achaïans* and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gave vnertaine answer: the *Maccedonians* would not stirre: all the burden must lie vpon themselves and the poore *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by fauour of the *Eleans*, could inuade at pleasure, as they were like to doe; and by helpe of the *Lacedemonians*, could assaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, passing ouer the Bay of *Corinth*, surpris'd the Towne of *Ægira*: which if they could haue held, they should thereby grievously haue molested the *Achaïans*; for that it stood in the mid-way betweene *Ægium* and *Sigontum* two of their principall Cities, and gaue open way into the heart of all their Countrey. But *Ægira* was taken by surpris: so was it presently lost againe, through greedinesse of spoile, whilst they that should haue made it their first care to assure the place vnto themselves, by occupying the Cittadell and other peeces of strength, fell heedlessly to ran sack private houses, and thereby gaue the Citizens leaue to make head, by whom they were driuen with great slaughter backe vnto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Armeie landing among the *Eleans*, fell vpon the Westerne Coast of *Aschis*; wassing all the Territorie of the *Dymians* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achaïan* Confederacie. The *Dymians* and their neighbours made head against these Inuaders, but were so wel beaten that the enimie grew bolder with them than before. They sent for helpe vnto their Pretor, and to all the Townes of their Societie. In vaine. For the *Achaïans* hauing lately bene much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to doe little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercinaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his war, they had couetously withheld part of their due from those that seru'd them therein. So through this disability of the *Achaïans*, and insufficiency of their Pretor, the *Dymians*, with others, were driuen to withhold their contribution heretofore made for the publicke seruice, and to conuert the monie to their own defence. *Lyseus* also with his *Lacedemonians*, began to winne vpon the *Achaïans*; that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Achaïans*.

*Philip* came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Armeie was thus employed a fire off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirots* ioynd all their forces with him: and by such their willing readinesse, drew him to the seige of a Frontier peere, which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commoditie thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselves Masters of *Ambracia*. There he spent foure dayes, ere he could end the buisnes, which tended onely to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entered into the hart of *Ætolia* at his first coming, it was thought that the might haue made an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken vpon small Townes or Forts: and not seldome, that the importunitee of Associates, to haue their own desires fulfilled, conuert the preparations of great Kings to those vses for which they neuer were intended; thereby hindring the prosecution of their maine designs.

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delignes. Thus was our King *Henrie* the eight led aide, and quite out of his waie, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the siege of *Tournay*: at such time as the French King *Lewis* the twelfth, hearing that the strong Citie of *Tournay* was lost, and that of his Cavellerie, wherein rested his chiefe confidence, two thousand were beaten by the Earle of *Essex* with leuen hundred *Englishes*: was thinking to withdraw himselfe into *Brittaine*, in feare that *Henrie* would haue come to *Paris*.

The stay that *Philip* made at *Ambraeus*, did wondrously embolden the *Aetolians*: in such sort, as their Prætor *Scopas* aduentured to lead all their forces out of the Countrey, and therewith not onely to ouer runne *Theffalie*, but to make impression into *Macedon*. Hee ranne as fast as to *Dium*, a Citie of *Macedon* vpon the *Aegean* Sea: which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, Hee tooke, and razed to the ground. Hee spared neyther Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but ouerturned all: and among the rest, he threw downe the Statues that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countrey at his returne, forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be growne terrible, not onely (as before) vnto *Peloponnesus*, but euen to home in their owne Countrey, for their paines taken at *Dium*. *Philip* hauing dispatched his worke at *Ambraeus*, made a strong inuasion vpon *Aetolia*. Hee tooke *Phœtie*, *Atropolis*, *Gerrade*, *Teatinum*, *Elean*, and diuers other Townes and Castles of theirs: of which hee burnt some, and fortified others. Hee also beat the *Aetolians* in sundrie skirmishes, and waited all the Countrey ouer, without receiuing any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut ouer the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, and to doe the like spoile in the Countrey of the *Eleans*, whereto hee was vehemently sollicit by the *Achean* Embassidours: newes came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardaniens* were ready with a great Armie to fall vpon the Countrey. These *Dardaniens* were a barbarous people, diuided by Mount *Hemus* from the Northerne part of *Macedon*, and were accustomed to secke bootie in that wealthie Kingdome, when they found their owne times. Hauing therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a iourne into *Peloponnesus*: they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Countrey: as had bene their manner vpon the like aduantages. This made the King to dismisle the *Achean* Embassidours, (whom hee should haue accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them haue patience vntill another yeare. So Hee tooke his way home: and as he was passing out of *Aetranie* into *Epirus*, there came to him *Demetrius Phærius* with no more than one Ship, that was newly chased out of his Kingdome by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himselfe a friend to *Antigonus Doson*, in the warres of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his last Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was ready, at their first request, to take part with *Philip*. Captaines. These, or the like considerations, made him wel come vnto the *Macedonian* King: whose Counsailler hee was euer after. The *Dardaniens* hearing of the Kings returne, brake vp their Armie, and gaue ouer for the present their inuasion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that Sommer following the King rested at *Larissa* in *Theffalie*, whilst his people gathered in their Haruest. But the *Aetolians* rested not. They auenged themselves vpon the *Epirians*: whom for the harmes by them and *Philip* done in *Aetolia*, they requited with all extremities of warre, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of warre vntill another yeare was laid aside: *Philip* stole a iourne into *Peloponnesus*, with five thousand Foot, and about foure hundred Horse. As soone as hee was within *Cerintia*, He commanded the Gates to be shut, that no word might be carried forth of his arrival. He sent priuily for old *Achilles* to come thither vnto him: with whom hee tooke order, when, and in what places, he would haue the *Achean* Souldiours ready to meet him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrey, with some-

somewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horse; little thinking to meete with such opposition. Indeed they had little cause to feare: since the *Acheans* themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*: vntill they heard, that these two thousand *Eleans*, *Aetolians*, and their fellows, were by him surpris'd, and all made prisoners, or slaine. By this exploit which hee did at his first coming, *Philip* got verie much reputation: as likewise hee purchas'd both reputation and loue, by diuers actions immediately following. Hee wanne *Pisophis*, an exceeding strong Towne, in the borders of *Arcadia*; which the *Eleans* and *Aetolians* then held. Hee wanne it by assault at his first coming: wherein it much auailed him, that the Enemy, not beleueing that hee would undertake such a peece of worke at such an vnseasonable time of the yeare, was careless of providing euen such store of weapons, as might haue serued to defend it. The Towne was preferred by the King from sack, and giuen to the *Acheans*, of his owne meere motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to *Lasion*, which yielded for verie feare, hearing how easily hee had taken *Pisophis*. This Towne also he gaue to the *Acheans*. Thelike liberalitie he vsed towards others; that had ancient title vnto places by him recovered. Then fell he vpon the Countrey of *Elis*, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addic't to husbandrie, and liud abroad in Villages; euen such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So hee came to the Citie of *Olympia*: where hauing done sacrifice to *Iupiter*, hee slew his Captaines, and refreshed his Armie three dayes. Hee proceeded on to the spoile of thole, that had taken pleasure to share with the *Aetolians*, in the spoiles of their other-wise-defeating neighbours. Great abundance of Cattaille hee tooke, with great numbers of slaues, and much wealth of all sorts; such as could bee found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Townes whereto a great multitude of the Countrey-people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yielded for feare. Some preuented the labour of his iourne, by sending Embassadours to yeeld before hee came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wils, tooke courage to set themselves at libertie, by seeing the King so neare; to whose Patronage thenceforth they betooke themselves. And many places were spoiled by the *Aetolian* Captaines; because they distrustful their abilitie to hold them. So the King wanne more Townes in the Countrey, than the sharpnesse of Winter would suffer him to stay there dayes. Faine hee would haue fought with the *Aetolians*: but they made such hast from him, that hee could not ouertake them, vntill they had couered themselves within the Towne of *Saminus*, whereto they thought to haue bene safe. But *Philip* assaulted them therein so forcibly, that hee made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their liues and armes. Hauing performed so much in this Expedition, the King reposed himselfe a while in *Megalopolis*; and then removed to *Argos*, where he spent all the rest of the Winter.

Before the Kings arrival in *Peloponnesus*, the *Lacedemonians* with *Lycergus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatned to doe great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamitie that fell vpon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging ouer their owne heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home. This *Lycergus*, as hee had no other right to the Kingdome of *Sparta*, than that which hee could buy with monie: so hee was neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him; nor from those jealousies, with which *Ysurger* of conspiracies made against him; nor from those jealousies, with which *Ysurger* is commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royall blood, that pers was thinking himselfe to haue best right vnto the Kingdome, purposed to make way thereunto, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirme himselfe, by propounding vnto the Multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equall distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Common-wealth. Hee wanne to his partie some two hundred men; with whom hee fell vpon the *Ephori* as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to *Lycergus*

*curgus* his house: who perceiving the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should give account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto predisposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilst he was vining his best persuasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceived whereabout they went, and flitted presently away. So hee liued afterwards among the *Acheans* a banished man, and hated of his own people. As for *Lycargus*, he returned home: and suspecting thenceforth all those of *Heracles* his race, found means to driue out his fellow King yong *Agelipolis*; whereby he made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected, in such sort as once he should haue bene apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might haue bene defended; yet rather than to adventure himselfe into iudgement, he chose to flie for a time, and sojourne among his friends the *Ætolians*. His wel-knownne vehemencie in opposition to the *Macedonians*, had procured vnto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they beganne to consider the weaknesse of their owne furmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, Hee tooke better heed vnto himselfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they listed. By what actions hee got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that hee chased *Agelipolis* out of the City, I doe not certainly finde. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three usurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to bee placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the last of the three verie iustly deserved. Whatsoeuer hee was towards some priuate Citizens: in the war against *Philip*, He behaued himselfe as a prouident man, and careful of his Countries good.

## B. II.

How *Philip* was misseadvised by ill Counsaillers: Who afterwards wrought treason against him, and were iustly punished. He innueth the *Ætolians* a second time: And forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted vnto them.

**W**Hilst the King lay at *Argos*, deuising vpon his businesse for the year following, some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently their own greatnesse, as they were like to haue spoiled all that heeooke in hand. *Antigenus Dofon* had left vnto *Philip* such Counsaillers, as to him did seeme the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chiefe of these was *Apelles*, that had the charge of his person, and ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himselfe a great Polititian, thought that he should doe a notable peece of seruice to his Prince; if he could reduce the *Acheans* vnto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* liued. To bring this to passe during the late Expedition hee had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Acheans* out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the bootie that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, He was bold to chastise some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whippe them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them) that could not refrain to helpe their fellows; them hee laid by the heeles, and punished as Mutinies. Hereby hee thought to bring it to passe by little and little, that they should bee qualified with an habite of blind obedience, and thinke nothing vnjust that pleased the King. But these *Acheans* were tenderly sensible in matter of libertie: whereof if they could haue bene contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not haue troubled the *Macedonians* to helpe them

them in the warre against *Cleomenes*: They bemoaned themselves vnto old *Aratus*, and besought him to thinke vpon some good order, that they might not bee oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King, as in a matter more weightie, than at first it might seeme. The King beflowed gracious words vpon those that had bene wronged; and forbad *Apelles* to follow the course hee beganne. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though hee dissembled his choller for a time. He thought so well of his owne Proiect, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps vnable to doe the King any valuable seruice, in businesse of other nature. Hee purposed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head, first, in biting at the taile, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise bee than that among the *Acheans* there were some, who bore no heartie affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out: and sending for them, entertained them with wordes of Court; promising to become their especial friend, and commend them vnto the King. Then brake he his purpoe with the King himselfe: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, He must be faine to deale precisely with the *Acheans*, and, as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased to giue countenance vnto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the *Acheans*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, bee quickly brought to conform themselves vnto the dutie of obedient Subjects. By such persuasions, He drew the King to be present at *Ægium*, where the *Acheans* were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would haue bene needfull in a businesse of more importance; the King, by faire words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a verie insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new Favourites, was chole n Prætor, instead of one more worthe for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction vnto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by *Patrias* and *Dyma*, to a verie strong Castle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichor*. The Garrison yielded it vp for feare, at his first coming: whereof hee was glad; for that hee had an earnest desire to bestow it vpon the *Dymæans*, as hee presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while hee had of no messengers from the *Eleans*, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countie the last Winter, hee had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captaine of theirs, that was his Prisoner; because hee found him an intelligent man, and one that undertooke to make them forsake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and ioyne with him vpon reasonable termes. This if they could be contented to do, He willed *Amphidamus* to let them vnderstand, That he would render vnto them freely all prisoners which hee had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forrein inuasion; and that they should hold their libertie entire, liuing after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept vnder by any Garrison. These Conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might haue done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of *Tichor*, and made a new inuasion vpon their Countie: then beganne the *Eleans*, (that were not before out of haste to beleue such faire promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on worke for no other end, than to breed a mutuall diffidence betweene them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands vpon him, and send him Prisoner into *Ætolia*. But hee perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himselfe; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was said) maruailling what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which hee had made vnto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles*, his Counsailler, thereby tooke occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said that old *Aratus*, and his sonne together, had such deuices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good; And long of them hee said it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out; For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Ætoli* (the father and the sonne) had taken him aside and giuen him to vnderstand, that it would

be verie prejudiciall to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the deuotion of the *Macedonians*; And this was the true cause, why neyther *Amphidamus* was verie careful in doing this message, nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a false lie, deuicd by *Apelles* himselfe, vpon no other ground than his owne malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard his tale, but in a great rage hee sent for the two *Arats*, and bad *Apelles* rehearse it ouer againe to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men alreadye convicted. And when hee had said all the rest, ere eyther *Philip* or they spoke any word; He added this claiffe, as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such vngreatfull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achaens*; and therein hauing made it knowne what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leaue you to your selues. Olde *Arats* grauely admonished the King; That whensoever hee heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his owne or a man of worth; He should forbear awhile to giue credit, vntill he had diligently examined the businesse. For such deliberation was Kingly, and hee should neuer thereof repent him. At the present hee said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talke with *Amphidamus*; and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a verie absurd thing, That the King should make himselfe Authour of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other euidence, than one mans yeas, and anothers no. Hercof the King liked well, and said that he would make 20 sufficient inquirie. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilst *Apelles* delaied to bring in the prooffe, which indeed he wanted; *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befallen him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conspiracie of the *Arats*: which when hee found no better than a meere deuice against his honourable friends; Hee entertained them in louing manner as before. As for his loue to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by means of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The varesfull temper of *Apelles*, hauing with much vehemencie brought nothing to passe; began (as commonly Ambition vseth) to swell and grow venomous: for want of his free motion. Hee betakes himselfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, hee had prepared a snare for the *Arats*; so sayling of them hee thinks it wisdome to lay for the King himselfe, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to haue taken the Swallow which draue away Flies out of the chimney; but was carried (net and all) into the Ayre by the bird, that was too strong to be caught and held by the subtle workmanship of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next vnto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chiefe place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponnesus*; and *Alexander* Captaine of the Guard, were faithful men, and such as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captaine of the 40 *Targueters*, and *Megaleus* chiefe of the Secretaries, were easily wonne to be at *Apelles* his disposition. This Polititian therefore studied how to remove the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his owne into their roomes. Against *Alexander* He went to worke the ordinarie way, by calumination and priue detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* hee vied more sinencesse; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of warre, and one, whom for his many vertues, the King might ill spare from being alwayes in his presence. By such art he thought to haue removed him, as wee say, *Out of Gods blessing into a warme Sunne*. In the meane season *Arats* retired himselfe; and fought to auoid the dangerous friendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Prætor of *Achaia*, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; He was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deale of time was lost, whilst *Philip* wanted both the monie and the Corne, wherewith he should haue bene furnished by the *Achaens*. This made the King

vnto

vnderstand his owne error; which he wisely fought to reforme betimes. Hee perfwaded the *Achaens* to rejourne their Parliament from *Argum*, to *Sicyon* the Towne of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his sonne: perfwading them to forget what was past; & laying all the blame vpon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the trauell of these worthe men, Hee easilie obtained what he would of the *Achaens*. Fiftie talents they gaue him out of hand, with great store of Corne: and further decreed, That so long as he himselfe in person followed the warres in *Peloponnesus*, he should receiue ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to prouide shipping, that so he might invade the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedemonians*; that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see things goe forward so well without his helpe; euen by the ministerie of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entered into conspiracie with *Leontius* and *Megaleus*: binding himselfe and them by oath, to crosse and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing they thought to bring it to passe, that verie want of abilitie to doe any thing without them, should make him speake them faire; and be glad to submit himselfe to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilst he was a child: and therefore these wise men perfwaded them some selues, that, by looking bigge vpon him, and imputing vnto him all that fell out ill through their owne misgouernment of his affaires, they might rule him as a child still. *Apelles* would needes goe to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the prouisions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two staid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their dutie.

His fleet and Armie being in a readines: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would haue bent all his forces against the *Eleans*; to whose aid therefore the *Ætolians* sent men, little fearing that the mischief would haue fallen, as soone after it did, vpon themselves. But against the *Eleans* and those that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leaue the *Achaens*, with some part of his and their Mercenaries. Hee himselfe with the body of his Armie putting to Sea, landed in the Ile of *Cephallenia*: whence the *Ætolians*, dwelling ouer against it, vied to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to roue abroad. There he besieged the Towne of *Palæa*, that had bene very seruicable to the Enemie against him and his Confederates; and might be very vie full to him, if hee could get it. Whilst hee lay before this Towne, there came vnto him fiftene ships of war from *Sparta*; and many good souldiers, from the *Epirits*, *Acarnanians*, and *Messenians*. But the Towne was obstinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts faue one, on which side *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith hee overthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Captaine of the Targettiers, was appointed by the King to make the assault. But he, remembering his couenant with *Apelles*, did both willfully forbear to doe his best; and caused others to doe the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many layne; not of the worst souldiers, but such as had gotten ouer the breach, and would haue carried the Towne, if the Treason of their Captaine, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angry with this: but there was no remedie; & therefore he thought vpon breaking vp the siege. For it was easier vnto the Towne-men to make vp the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilst he stood thus perplexed, and vncertaine what course to take: the *Messenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard vpon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their owne Countrie. The 50 *Messenians* alleaged, that *Lyongus* was busie in waisting their Countrie: vpon whom the King might come vnawares in one day; the *Ælian* windes which then blew, seruing finely for his Navigation. Hereto also *Leontius* perfwaded; who considered that those windes, as they would easilie carrie him thither, so would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-daies) and make him spend the Summer

Sommer to small purpose. But *Aratus* gave better counsaile, and prevailed. Hee shewed how visiting it were, to let the *Aetolians* ouer-run all *Thessalia* againe, and some part of *Macedon*, whilst the King withdrew his Armie farre off to seeke small adventures. Rather, he said, that the time now fited well to carry the war into *Aetolia*; since the Pretor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one halfe of their strength. As for *Lyonguius*, hee was not strong enough to doe much harme in *Peloponnesus*; and it might suffice, if the *Acheans* were appointed to make head against him. According to this aduice, the King fers saile for *Aetolia*; and enters the Bay of *Ambrosia*, which diuided the *Aetolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to see him on their borders; and ioyned with him as many of them as could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance vpon their bad neighbours. Hee marched vpon into the in-land Countre: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to assure his Retraite; He passed on to *Thermans*; which was the Receptacle of the *Aetolians*, and furest place of defence in all extremities. The Countrey round about was a great Fallneffe, enuironed with rockie Mountaine of very narrow, steepe, and difficult ascent. There did the *Aetolians* vse to hold all their chiefe meetings, their Faires, their election of Magistrates, and their solemne games. There also they vied to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest securitie. This opinion of the naturall strength, had made them careless in looking vnto it. When *Philip* therefore had ouercome the bad way, there was nothing else to doe than to take spoile: whereof hee found such plentie, that he thought the paines of his iourne well recompenced. So he loaded his Armie; and consuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chiefe of all belonging vnto the *Aetolians*; in remembrance of the like their courteisie, shewed vpon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodona*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour haue bene forborne. But perhaps he thought, as *Nonisier du Gourgues* the French Captaine told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from *Thermans*, the *Aetolians* laid for him: which that they would doe, he beleued before; and therefore was not taken vnawares. Three thousand of them there were; that lying in ambush fell vpon his skirts: but hee had laid a Counter-ambush for them of his *Illyrians*; who staying behind the rest, did set vpon the backs of the *Aetolians*, whilst they were busily charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with slaughter of the enemy, he returned the same way that he came: and burning downe those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Countrey round about him, Hee safely carried all that hee had gotten aboard his Fleet. Once the *Aetolians* made countenance of fight, issuing out of *Stratus* in great brauerie. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their verie gates.

The Ioy of this victorious Expedition being euerie way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any finall accident; it pleased the King to make a great feast vnto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were invited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleus*. They came, because they could not choose: but their heauie lookes argued, what little pleasure they tooke in the Kings prosperitie. It grieved them to thinke, that they should be able to giue no better account vnto *Apelles*, of their hindring the Kings businesse; since *Apelles* himselfe, as will be shewed anon, had plaied his own part with a most mischieuous dexterity. The sorrow and indignation, which they could ill dissemble in their faces, brake out after supper, when they had warmed themselves with drinke, into open riot. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to railing him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great vprore; many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed. Which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellows. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleus*, and another with him, came. The King began to reate them for their dis-

order;

order; and they, to giue him froward answers: in so much as they said at length, That they would neuer giue ouer, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischiefe as hee deserved. Heereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targettiers at his heeles: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands vpon *Megaleus*; yea and to cast him into prison? Why, said the King, It was eu en I. This resolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both sad and angrie, seeing himselfe out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedie the matter. Shortly after *Megaleus* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victorie at *Palea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no lesse touching *Leontius*, that stood by as a looker on, than *Megaleus* that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weak; that he, and *Crimon* one of his fellows, were condemned in twentie Talents: *Crimon* being remanded backe to prison; and *Leontius* becoming Bayle for *Megaleus*. This was done vpon the way home-ward, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

*Philip* dispatched well a great deale of businesse this yeere. For as soone as he was at *Corinth*, he tooke in hand an Expedition against the *Lacedaemonians*. These and the *Illyans* had done what harme they could in *Peloponnesus*, whilst the King was absent. The *Acheans* had opposed them as well as they could; with ill success: yet so, as they hindered them from doing such harme as else they would haue done. But when *Philip* came, hee ouer-ran the Countrey about *Lacedaemon*: and was in a manner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well beleue that he was returned out of *Aetolia*. Hee tooke not in this expedition any Cities, but made great wast in the fields: and hauing beaten the enemy in some skirmishes, carried backe with him to *Corinth* a rich bootie of Cattell, slaues, and other Countrey spoile. At *Corinth* hee found attending him, Embassadors from the *Rhodesians* & *Chians*: that requested him to set *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace vnto the *Aetolians*. They had gracious audience: and hee willed them to deale first with the *Aetolians*; who, if they would make the same request, should not finde him vnreasonable. The *Aetolians* had spent ill that yeere, neither saw they any likeli hope for the yeeres following. The Armie that they had sent forth to waite *Thessalia* and *Macedon*, found such opposition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane season they had bene grievously afflicted, as before is shewed, by *Philip* in the center of their owne Countrey. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was vp in armes against them, and their weak Allies the *Illyans* and *Lacedaemonians*. Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of these their *Peloponnesian* friends should be able to hold out; since they were not strong enough to keepe the field, but had already suffered those miseries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each, to seeke their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Aetolians* readilie entertained this Negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirtie dayes with the King, dealt with him by intercession of the same Embassadors, to entreat his presence at a Diet of their Nation, that should be held at *Rhums*; whither if he would vouchsafe to come, they promised that hee should finde them conformable to any good reason.

Whilst these things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megaleus* thought to haue terrified the King, by raising sedition against him in the Armie. But this device forced to no good effect. The fouldions were easily and quickly incensed against many of the Kings friends; who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded with so much of the bootie, as they thought to belong of right vnto them. But their anger spent it selfe in noise, and breaking open of odors; without further harme done. This was enough to informe the king (who easily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were verie false. Yea the fouldions themselves, repenting of their insolence, desired to haue the Authors of the tumult sought

lought out, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew as if he had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleus* were fore afraid, lest the matter would soon come out of it selfe to their extreme danger. Wherefore they sent vnto *Apelles*, the Head and Archetect of their treason; requesting him speedilie to repaire to *Corinth*, where he might stand betwene them and the Kings displeasure. *Apelles* had not all this while bene wanting to the businesse, vnderaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken vpon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand: and thereby was he growne into such credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Thessalie* addressed themselves vnto him; and received from him their dispatch in cuerie businesse. Likewise the *Greekes* in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occasion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*; making slight mention (onely for fashion sake) of the king: who seemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogance of this great man, in setting himselfe out vnto the people: but in manning the kings affaires, he made it his especiall care, that monie, and all things needfull for the publicke seruice, should be wanting. Yea he enforced the King, for verie neede, to sell his owne Plate and household velleils: thinking to resolute these and all other difficulties, by onely saying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by mee, and all shall be as you would wish*. Hereof the king would giue assent; then had this Politician obtained his hearts desire. Now taking his iourne from *Chalcis* in the Isle of *Euboea*, to the Citie of *Corinth* where *Philip* then lay: he was fetched in with great pompe and royaltie, by a great number of the Captaines and souldiours; which *Leontius* and *Megaleus* drew forth to meete him on the way. So entering the Citie with a goodly traine, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings Chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride; and had vehement suspicion of his fallhood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should waite awhile, or come another time, for the king was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was preiudiciall, that such a check as this made all his attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace; in such sort that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him save his owne Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of priuacie, he vsed him not at all. This taught *Megaleus* to looke vnto himselfe, and runne away betimes. Hereupon the King sent forth *Tarrian* his Lieutenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the Targettiers, as it were to doe some peece of seruice; but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his Targettiers, to signifie what was befallen him: and they forthwith sent vnto the King in his behalfe. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to triall before their returne: as for the debt of *Megaleus*, if that were all the matter, they said that they were ready to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the souldiours, made *Philip* more halfe than else he would haue bene, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megaleus* were intercepted, which he wrote vnto the *Aetolians*; vntill the king with opprobrious words: and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out awhile, for that *Philip* was euen ready to sinke vnder the burden of his owne pueritie. By this the king vnderstood more perfectly the fallhood, not onely of *Megaleus*, but of *Apelles*; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keepe him so poore. Wherefore he sent on to pursue *Megaleus*, that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his sonne, and another that was inward with him, to prison: wherein all of them shortly ended their liues. *Megaleus* also, neither daring to stand to triall, nor knowing whither to flee, was wearie of his owne life, and slew himselfe about the same time.

The *Aetolians*, as they had begun this warre vpon hope of accomplishing what they listed in the Nonage of *Philip*: so finding that the vigour of this yong Prince, tempered with the cold aduice of *Arctus*, wrought verie effectually toward their ouerthrow;

ouerthrow; they grew verie delirious to make an end of it. Neuerthelesse being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold vpon all aduantages: when they heard what was hapned in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megaleus*, together with some indignation thereupon conceiued by the Kings Targettiers; they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhodus*. Off this was *Philip* nothing at all forie. For being in good hope thoroughly to tame this vnruler Nation, He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the warre should rest vpon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates, to lay a full and thought of peace, and so prepare for war against the yeere following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his Macedonian souldiours, by yielding to let them winter in their owne Countrie. In his returne homeward, he called vnto iudgement one *Ptolemie*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and suffered death. These were the same *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to heare of *Leontius* his imprisonment: yet now they thinke the man worthe to die, that was but his adherent. So vaine is the confidence, on which Rebels vse to build, in their fauour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* was some bordering Townes; from which the *Perinthians*, *Aetolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his kingdom when he had thus provided for safetie of his owne, the *Aetolians* might well know what they were to expect. But there came againe Embassadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolemie* King of *Egypt*, and from the Citie of *Byzantium*, recontinuing the former solicitation about the Peace. This fallshion had bene taken vp in matters of *Greece*, euer since the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken vpon them to set the whole Countrie at libertie: No sooner was any Prouince or Citie in danger to be oppressed, and subdued by force of war, but presently there were found intercessours, who pitying the estuation of Greekish blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his aduantage. By doing such friendly offices in time of neede, the Princes and States abroad sought to binde vnto them those people, that were, howsoever weak in numbers, yet verie good souldiours. But hereby it came to passe, that the more forward sort, especially the *Aetolians*, whose whole Nation was addicted to fallshood and roberie, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well assured, that if they had the worst, *The loss of Greece* would be sufficient to redeeme their quit. They had, since the late Treatie of peace, done what harme they could in *Peloponnesus*: but being beaten by the *Acheans*, and standing in feare to be more soundlie beaten at home, they desired now, more earnestlie than before to make an end of the warre as soone as they might. *Philip* made such answer to the Embassadors, as he had done the former yeere; That he gaue no occasion to the beginning of this warre, nor was at the present either afraid to continue it, or vnwilling to end it: but that the *Aetolians*, if they had a desire to lue in rest, must first be dealt withall, to signifie plainly their determination, whereto himselfe would returne such answer as he should thinke fit.

*Philip* had at this time no great liking vnto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the warre. But it happened in the middle of this Negotiation, that he was aduertised by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victorie *Hannibal* had obtained against the *Romans* in the battell at *Thysdruum*. These letters he communicated vnto *Demetrius Phrygius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian warre. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before vnto Peace with the *Aetolians*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelaus* an *Aetolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happie it was for the *Greekes*, that they might at their owne pleasure dispute about finishing war between themselves.

scelus : without being molested by the Barbarians. For when once either the *Romans*, or the *Carthaginians*, had subdued one the other ; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith looke Eastward, and seeke by all meanes to set footing in *Greece*. For this cause he said it were good, that their Countrie should be at peace within it selfe : and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of war, should lay hold on the opportunitee, now fitly serving, to enlarge his dominion, by winning somewhat in *Italie*. Such aduice could the *Ætoliens* then giue, when they stood in feare of danger threatening them at hand : but being soone after wearie of rest, as accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so farre from obseruing and following their owne good counsell, that they inuited the *Romans* into *Greece*; wherby they brought themselves and the whole Countrie, (but themselves before any other part of the Countrie) vnder seruitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That euery one should keepe what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

§. III.

PHILIP, at the perswasion of DEMETRIUS PHARIUS, enters into League with HANNIBAL, against the Romans. The Tenour of the League betwene HANNIBAL, and PHILIP.

**T**His being agreed vpon: the *Greekes* betooke themselves to quiet courses of life ; and *Philip*, to prepare for the business of *Italie*, about which hee consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battaile of *Cannæ* : after which he ioyned in League with *Hannibal*, as hath beene shewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice vnto the *Romans* ; and knew no other way to be auenged vpon them, or to recouer his owne lost Kingdome, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsaile, to take part with their enemies. It had other wise beene furre more expedient for *Philip*, to haue supported the weaker of these two great Cities against the more mightie. For by so doing, hee should perhaps haue brought them to peace vpon some equal termes ; and thereby, as did *Hiero* a farre weaker Prince, haue loth secured his owne Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of cheif place in his freindship. The issue of the counsaile which he followed, will appeare soone after this. His first quarrell with the *Romans* ; the trouble which they and the *Ætoliens* did put him to in *Greece* ; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, vpon Conditions that might easily be broken : haue bene related in another place as belonging vnto the second Punick warre. Wherefore I will onely here set downe the tenour of the League betwene Him and *Carthage* : which may seeme not vnworthie to be read, if onely in regard of the forme it selfe then vsed ; though it had bene ouer-long to haue been inserted into a more busie peece.

THE

## THE OATH AND COVENANTS BETWEENE

HANNIBAL, GENERALL OF THE  
CARTHAGINIANS ; and XENOPHANES,  
Embassador of PHILIP King  
of Macedon.

**T**HIS is the League ratified by oath, which HANNIBAL the Generall, and with him MAGO, MYRCAL, and BARMOCAL, as also the Senatours of Carthage that are present, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Armie, haue made with XENOPHANES the son of CLEOMACHVS Athenien, whom King PHILIP the sonne of DEMETRIUS hath sent vnto vs, for himselfe and the Macedonians, and his Associates : Before Iupiter, and Iuno, and Apollo : before † The god of the Carthaginians, Hercules, and Iolauis : † Demetrius before Mars, Triton, Neptune : before The Gods accompanying Armes, the Sun, the Moone, and the Earth ; before † Riuers, and Meadowes, and Waters ; before all the Gods that haue power ouer Carthage ; before all the Gods, that rule ouer Macedon, and the rest of Greece ; before all the Gods, that are Presidents of War, and present at the making of this League. HANNIBAL the Generall hath said, and all the Senatours that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his Armie : Be it agreed betwene You and Vs, that this Oath stand for freindship and louing affection, that We become freinds, familiar, and brethren, vpon Couenant, that the safety of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of HANNIBAL the Generall and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Prouinces of the Carthaginians vsing the same Lawes, and of the Vitians, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiours and Associates, and of all Townes and Nations with which We hold freindship in Italia, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom We shal hold freindship

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ship or make Alliance hereafter in this Region; be preferred by King PHILIP and the Macedonians, and such of the Greekes as are their Associates. In like manner shall King PHILIP and the Macedonians, and other the Greekes his Associates, be saved and preserved by the Cartaginian Armies, and by the Uticans, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Cartaginians, and by their Associates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italie, Gaule, and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter ioyne with Vs in Italie. We shall not take counsaile one against the other, nor deale fraudulently one with the other. With all readinesse and good will, without deceit or subtiltie, We shall be enemies vnto the enemies of the Cartaginians, excepting those Kings, Townes, and Hauens, with which We haue already league and freindship. We also shall be enemies to the enemies of King PHILIP, excepting those Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which We haue already league and freindship. The war that We haue with the Romans, haue Ye also with them, vntill the Gods shall giue vs a new and happie end. Ye shall aide Vs with those things whereof We haue neede, and shall doe according to the Couenants betweene Vs. But if the Gods shall not giue vnto You and Vs their helpe in this warre against the Romans and their Associates; then if the Romans offer freindship, We shall make freindship in such wise that Ye shall be partakers of the same freindship. With Condition, That they shall not haue power to make war vpon you: Neither shall the Romans bee Lords ouer the Corcyreans, nor ouer those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor over Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They shall also render vnto DEMETRIUS PHARIUS all those that belong vnto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after such peace made) shall make war vpon Ye or Vs; We will succour one another in that warre, as either shall haue neede. The same shall be obserued in warre made by any other, excepting those Kings,

Kings, Cities, and States, with whom We hold already league and freindship. To this League if We or Ye shall thinke fit to adde or detract. Such addition or detraction shall be made by our common consent.

## §. IIIL.

How PHILIP yielded to his natural vices, being therein soothed by DEMETRIUS PHARIUS. His desire to tyrannize vpon the free States his Associates: With the troubles, into which he thereby fell, which he bore a part in the second Punicke warre. He possessed ARATVS: and grooves hatefull to the Achians.

Therto Philip had carried himselfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wildome, he might haue offered his freindship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Cartaginians who had the better hand: yet this his meddling in the Punicke warre, proceeded from a royall greatness of minde, with a desire to secure and increase his owne estate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrie. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath bene said) by Demetrius Pharius: who, looking thoroughly into his nature, did accommodate himselfe to his desires: and thereby shortly gouerned him, euen as he listed. For the vertues of Philip were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustfull, bloudie, and tyrannicall: desirous of power to doe what he listed, and not otherwise listig to doe what hee ought, than so farre forth, as by making a faire shew he might breed in men such a good opinion of him, as should helpe to serue his turne in all that hee tooke in hand. Before he should busie himselfe in this, hee thought it requisite in good policie, to bring the Greekes that were his Associates vnder a more absolute forme of subiection. Heere vnto Apelles had aduised him before: and hee had liked reasonably well of the counsell. But Apelles was a boisterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himselfe deeply wronged if hee might not wholly haue his owne way, but were driuen to await the Kings opportunitie at better times. Demetrius Pharius could well be contented to obscure the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach man with the reins in his hand, those affections which himselfe did onely seeme to follow. Therefore hee grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, hee supplanted Aratus: which the violence of Apelles could neuer doe.

There arose about these times a verie hote Faction among the Messenians, betweene the Nobilitie and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diuerted (as happens often after a forrein war) vnto domesticall objects: than allayed and reduced vnto a more quiet temper. In proceesse of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that Philip was entreated to compound the differences. Hee was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their Government: for that he would assume it wholly to himselfe. At his coming thither, hee found Aratus but lie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reuerend old man: but talked in priuate with such of the Messenians as repaired vnto him. He asked the Gouernours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the insolence of the vnruly Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heaides of the popular

popular Faction, He said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselves to be oppressed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus which each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it best to go roundly to worke, ere he were gone that should countenance their doings. The Gournours therefore would haue apprehended some seditious Oratours, that were, they said, the stirrers vp of the multitude vnto sedition. Vpon this occasion the People tooke Armes: and running vpon the Nobilitie and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seemes, that it would be easie to worrie the sheep, when the Dogges their guardians were slaine. But his falshood and double dealing was immediatly found out. Neyther did the yonger Aratus forbear, to tell him of it in publick, with verie bitter and disgracefull words. The King was angrie at this. But hauing already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein hee should need the helpe and countenance of his best friends; Hee was content to smother his displeasure, and make as faire weather as he could. He led old Aratus aside by the hand; and went vp into the Castle of *Ithome*, that was ouer *Messenias*. There he pretended to doe sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keepe the place to his owne vse; for that it was of notable strength, and would serue to command the further parts of *Peloponnesus*, as the Citadell of *Corinth*, which hee had already, commaunded the entrance into that Countrie. Whilst hee was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrails of the Calt deliuered into his hands, as was the manner; Hee shewed them to Aratus, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, hee should quietly goe out of it, or rather keepe it to himselfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would haue soothed him a litle; were it onely for desire to make amends, for the angrie words newly spoken by his sonne. But as Aratus stood doubtfull what to answer, Demetrius Phorius gaue this verdict: *If thou bee a Southsayer, thou must goe thy wayes, and let slippe this good advantage, if thou be a King, thou must not neglect the oportunitie, but hold the Oxe by both his hornes.* Thus he spake, resembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus* vnto the two hornes of *Peloponnesus*. Yet would Philip needs heare the opinion of Aratus: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keepe the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith vnto the *Messenians*: But if, by seizing vpon *Ithome*, Hee must loose all the other Castles that hee held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left vnto him by *Antigonos*, which was his credit; then were it farre better to depart with his soldiers, and keepe men in dutie, as hee had done hitherto, by their owne good wils, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his Enemies.

To this good aduice Philip yielded at the present: but not without some dislike, thenceforth growing betwene Him and the Arati; whom hee thought more forward than befemed them, in contradicting his will. Neyther was the old man desirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be in ward with him. For as he plainly discovered his Tyrannous purposes: so likewise he perceived, that in resorting to his house, He had beene dishonest with his sonnes wife. Hee therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might repent, that in despite of *Cleomenes*, his owne Countirman, and a temperate Prince, hee had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*.

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponnesus* into *Epirus*, wherein Aratus refused to beare him companie. In this iourne He found by experience what Aratus had lately told him; That vn honest counsailes are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But He would needs haue them so to remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious vnto his will, Hee seized vpon their Towne of *Orium*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*; hauing no good colour of these

these doings: but thinking himselfe strong enough to doe what hee listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to helpe them. Thus in stead of setting the countrie, as his intended Voyage into *Italie* required: He kindled a fire in it which he could neuer quench; vntill it had laid hold on his owne Palace. Whilst he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should haue fought for him in *Italie*, *M. Valerius the Roman* came into those parts; who not onely maintained the *Epirots* against him, but procured the *Aetolians* to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that warre; the occurrences whereof wee haue related before, in 10 place whereto it belonged. In manning whereof though Philip did the offices of a good Captaine: yet when leisure serued, Hee made it apparant that hee was a vicious King. Hee had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the libertie of the *Messenians*; but made another iourne into their Countrie, with hope to deceive them, as before. They vnderstood him better now than before; and therefore were not hallic to trauell him too farre. When he saw that his cunning would not serue, He went to worke by force; and calling them his Enemies, invaded them with open warre. But in that warre hee could doe little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to helpe him in such an enterprise. In this attempt vpon *Messenias* hee lost *Demetrius Phorius*; that was his 15 Counsailler, and Flatterer, not his persecuter; as appeares by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that hee sped, the more angrie he waxed against those, that seemed not to fauour his iniurious doings. Wherefore by the Ministerie of *Tamion*, his Leutenant, he poisoned old Aratus; and shortly after that, hee poisoned also the yonger Aratus: hoping that these things would neuer haue bene knowne, because they were done secretly, and the poisons themselves were more 30 sure, than manifest in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed vnto Aratus more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymnes, and Processions, to be celebrated euery yeare twice, with a Priest ordained vnto him for that purpose; as was accustomed vnto the *Herons*, or men, whom they thought to bee 35 translated into the number of the Gods. Hercunto they are said to haue bene encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to haue bene true; since the helpe of the Deuill is neuer failing to the increase of Idolatrie.

The louing memorie of Aratus their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but worke in the *Achaens* a maruolous dislike, of that wicked King, which had made him thus away. He shall therefore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsaile for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally knowne or beleieued; neither were they in case to submitt without his helpe; that had committed it. The *Aetolians* were a most outrageous people, great darters and themselves robbers. With these the *Romans* had made a League: whereof the Conditions were soone 40 diluiged, especially that maine point, concerning the diuision of the purchase which they should make, namely, That the *Aetolians* should haue the countrie and townes; but the *Romans* the spoile, and carrie away the people to sell for slaves. The *Achaens*, who in times of greater quiet could not endure to make straight alliance with the *Aetolians*, as knowing their vnciuill disposition; were much the more averse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for such did the *Greekes* account all other Nations except their owne) to make hauck of the Countrie. The same consideration moued also the *Lacedaemonians*, to stand off awhile, before they would declare themselves for the *Aetolians*; whose friendship they had embraced in the late warre. The industrie the efore of Philip, and the great care 50 which he seemed to take of the *Achaens* his Confederates, sufficed to retaine them: especially at such time, as their owne necessitie was thereto constrained. More particularly he obliged vnto himselfe the *Dymeans*, by an inestimable benefit: recouering their Towne, after it had bene taken by the *Romans* and *Aetolians*; and reducing their people wherefoeuer they might bee found, that had bene carried away

Captiue, and sold abroad for slaues. Thus might he haue blotted out the memorie of offences past; if the malignitie of his natural condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and giuen men to vnderstand; that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodnesse. Among other foule acts, whereof he was not ashamed; He tooke *Polyratia* the wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might serue to confirme in the people their opinion, that he was guiltie of the old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the *Romans* make warre vpon him the second time: for of that which happened in this their first Inuasion, I holde it superfluous to make re-  
petition.

## §. V.

Of *PHILOTOENEN* Generall of the *Achaens*: and *MACHANIDAS*,  
Tyrant of *Lacedemon*. A battaile betwene them, where-  
in *MACHANIDAS* is slaine.

**I**T happens often, that the decease of one eminent man discouers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there stood vp *Philopamen*:  
whose notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the *Achaens* redoubtable among all the *Greekes*, and carelesse of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence of their neighbours. Thisisthat *Philopamen*: who being then a yong man, and hauing no command; did especial seruice to *Antigonus* at the battaile of *Selasia* against *Cleomenes*. Thenceforward vntill now he had spent the most part of his time in the Ile of *Crete*, the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldome or neuer at peace betwene themselves; Hee bettered among them his knowledge, and practise in the Art of warre. At his returne home, Hee had charge of the Horse: wherein he carried himselfe so strictly, traauiling with all the Cities of the Confederacie to haue his followers well mounted, and armed at all peeces: as also he so diligently trained them vp in all exercise of seruice, that hee made the *Achaens* verie strong in that part of their forces. Being after chosen Prætor or Generall of the Nation, Hee had no lesse care to reforme their militarie discipline throughout, whereby his Countre might be strong enough to defend it selfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend vpon the helpe of others. Hee perswaded the *Achaens* to cut off their vaine expence of brauerie, in apparell, household stuffe, and curious faine, and to bestow that cooll vpon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to proue the better Souldiers; and fureable in behauiour, vnto the pride of their furniture. They had serued hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast as farre off: that were vellefull in skirmishing at some distance, or for Surprizes, or sudden and hastie Expeditions; whereto *Aratus* had become most accustomed. But when they came to handle strokes, they were good for nothing: so as they were wholly driuen to relie vpon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopamen* altered this: causing them to arme themselves more weightily, to vse a larger kind of sheild, with good swords, and strong pikes. fit for seruice at hand. He taught them also to fight in close orders; and altered the forme of their embattailing: not making the Files so deepe as had bene accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might vse the seruice of many hands.

Eight Moneths were spent of that yeere, in which hee first was Prætor of the *Achaens*; when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon* caused him to make triall, how his souldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machanidas* was the successor vnto *Lyorgus*, a man more violent than his fore-goe. He kept in pay a strong Armie of Mercenaries: and he kept them not only to fight for *Sparta*; but to hold the

the Citie in obedience to himselfe perforce. Wherefore it behoued him not to take part with the *Achaens*, that were fauourers of libertie; but to strengthen himselfe by freindship of the *Asiatians*: who, in making Alliances, tooke no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their owne profit. The people also of *Lacedemon*, through their inueterate hatred vnto the *Argines*, *Achaens*, and *Macedonians*; were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the *Asiatian* Faction. Verie vnwisely. For in seeking to take reuenge vpon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; they hindred themselves thereby from recouering the Maistrie of their owne Citie. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his owne securitie, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but made him alwaies readie to fall vpon his neighbours backes, and take of theirs what he could, whilst they were enforced, by greater necessitie, to turne face another way. Thus had hee often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*: whose sudden coming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him faile of his attempts. At the present Hee was stronger in men, than were the *Achaens*; and thought his owne most better souldiours than were theirs.

Whilst *Philip* therefore was busied else where, hee entred the Countre of the *Maninians*: being not without hope to doe as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the \* Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, as hauing stronger freindes, and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopamen* was readie to entertaine him at *Maninias*, where was fought betwene them a great battaile. The Tyrant had brought into the fildes vpon Carres a great many of Engines; wherewith to beate vpon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To preuent this danger, *Philopamen* sent forth his light-armature a good way before him; so as *Machanidas* was faine to doe the like. To scold these, from the one and the other side came in continual supplie; till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achaens* and of *Machanidas*, were drawne vp to the fight: being so far aduanced, each before their owne *Platons*, that it could no otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were *Machanidas* his Engines made vsurfeicable, by the interposition of his owne men; in such manner as the Canon is hindered from doing execution, in most of the battailes fought in these our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant preuailed at length: not onely by their aduantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well obserueth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage; wherein usually the hired souldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant, than they which lie oppressed by Tyrannie, since the one, by doing their best in fight, haue hope to acquire somewhat beneficiall to themselves, whereas the other doe fight (as it were) to assure their owne seruitude: so the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the truites of his prosperitie, haue good cause to maintain his quarrell as their owne; whereas they that serue vnder a free State, haue no other motive to doe manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the Victorie: many Companies (if not all) of foreine Auxiliaries are presently cast; and therefore such good fellows, will not take much paines to bring the warre to an end. But the victorie of a Tyrant, makes him stand in neede of more such helpers: because that after it he doth wrong to more, as hauing more subjects; and therefore stands in feare of more, that should seek to take reuenge vpon him. The stipendiaries therefore of the *Achaens*, being forced to giue ground, were vrged so violently in their retreat by those of *Machanidas*, that shortly they be-  
tooke themselves to flight; and could not be staid by any perswasions of *Philopamen*, but ranne away quite beyond the battaile of the *Achaens*. This disaster had bene sufficient to take from *Philopamen* the honour of the day; had hee not wisely obserued the demcanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that error which might  
restore

\* Excerpt. 2  
p. 29. l. 11.  
p. 30. l. 11.  
Philopamen.

Polibi. id.

reitore the victorie. The Tyrant with his Mercinaries gaue chace vnto those that fled: leauing behind him in good order of battaile his *Lacedemonians*; whom hee thought sufficient to deale with the *Acheans*, that were alreadye disheartned by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashnesse had carried him out of sight, *Philopamen* aduanced towards the *Lacedemonians* that stood before him. There lay betwene them athwart the Countrie a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficultie, especially for Foot. The *Lacedemonians* adu ventured ouer it, as thinking themselves better fouldiers than the *Acheans*; who had in a manner alreadye lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their owne Battaille; and had no sooner the foremost of them re-  
 10 covered the further banke, than they were stoutly charged by the *Acheans*, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their firft ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopamen* getting ouer the ditch, easily chased them out of the Field. *Philopamen* knew better how to vse his aduantage, than *Machanidas* had done. He suffered not all his Armie to disband and follow the chace: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custodie of a bridge that was ouer the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come backe. The Tyrant with his Mercinaries returning from the chace, looked verie heauily when he saw what was fillen out. Yet with a lustie Troupe of Horse about him Hee made, towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Acheans* in disorder, and to set vpon their backs, as they  
 20 were carelessly pursuing their Victorie. But when he and his Companie saw *Philopamen* readie to make good the bridge against them; then beganne euerie one to looke, which way he might liuit for himselfe. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his companie, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easie passage ouer. He was easily discouered by his purple Callocke, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopamen* therefore leauing the charge of the bridge vnto another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling vpon him at length in the ditch it selfe, as he was getting ouer it, slew him there with his owne hand. There died in this Battaille on the *Lacedemonians* side about four thousand: and more than foure thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the *Achean* Mercinaries, probable it is that the losse was  
 30 not greatly cared for; since that War was at an end, and for their monie they might hire more when they should haue need.

## §. V I.

PHILIP hauing peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia.  
 Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia,  
 Bithynia, and their Linages. Of the  
 Galatians.

**B**Y this victorie the *Acheans* learned to thinke well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after awhile (such was their discipline, and continual exercise) to account themselves in matter of warre inferior to any, that should haue brought against them no great oldes of number. As for the *Macedonian*, Hee made no great vse of them: But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Aetolians*, He studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or verie nearly together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Acheans* would haue done  
 50 him seruice; they must, by helping him to oppress others that neuer had wronged him, haue taught him the way how to deale with themselves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joynd with the *Romans* and *Aetolians* in warre against him.

This

This *Attalus*, though a King, was scarce yet a Noble man, other wise than as he was ennobled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in *Philetarus* his Vncle: who being guelDED, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child, grew after wards thereby to be the more esteemed: as great men in those times reposed much confidence in Eunuches, whose afflictions could not be obliged vnto wifes or children. He was entertained into the familie of *Decimus*, a Captaine following *Antigonus the first*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Master, that betooke himselfe to *Lysimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lysimachus* had good opinion of him; and put him in truit with his monie and accompts. But when at length he stood in feare of this King, that grew a bloudie Tyrant: Hee  
 10 fled into *Asia*, where he seized vpon the Towne of *Pergamus*, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lysimachus*. The towne and monie, together with his owne seruice, He offered vnto *Seleucus the first*, that then was readie to giue *Lysimachus* battell. His offer was kindly accepted, but neuer performed; for that *Seleucus* hauing slaine *Lysimachus*, died shortly after himselfe, before he made vse of *Philetarus* or his monie. So this Eunuch still retained *Pergamus* with the Countrie about it; and reigned therein twentie yeeres as an absolute King. Hee had two brethren: of which the elder is said to haue been a poore Carter, and the younger perhaps was not much better, before such time as they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetarus* left his Kingdome to the elder of these, or to the sonne of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his Kingdome; making his aduantage of the difference, betwene *Seleucus Calinicus* and *Antiochus the first*; the sonnes of the second *Antiochus*. He fought a battaille with *Alexander*, neere vnto *Sardes*; and won the victorie. At which time, to animate his men against the *Gauls* that serued vnder his Enemy, he fed a pretie deuice. He wrote the word *VICTORIE* vpon the band of his Souldiery, in  
 20 such colours as would easily come off: and when the hostieler of the beast that was sacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He published this vnto his Armie as a Miracle, plainly fore-shewing that the gods would be assistant in that Battaille.

After this victorie, he grew a dreadfull enemy to *Seleucus*: who neuer durst attempt to recouer from him, by warre, the Territorie that hee had gotten and held. Finally when he had reigned two and twentie yeeres, hee died by a surfeit of four-much drinke; and left his Kingdome to *Attalus*, of whom wee now entreat, that was sonne vnto *Attalus* the youngest brother of *Philetarus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking Prince, verie bountifull, and no lesse valiant. By his owne proper forces He restored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdome, whence hee had been expelled. He was grieuouly molested by *Acheans*: who setting vp himselfe as King against *Antiochus the great*, reigned in the lesser *Asia*. He was belieged in his owne Citie of *Pergamus*: but by helpe of the *Tectosages*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom hee called ouer out of *Thrace*, Hee recouered all that he had lost. When these *Gauls* had  
 40 once gotten footing in *Asia*, they neuer wanted employment: but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters; or interposed themselves, without inuitation, and found themselves worke in quarrels of their owne making. They caused *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* to cease from his warre against *Byzantium*. Whereunto when he had condescended; they neuerthelesse within a while after inuaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained against them a great victorie; and vsed it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor sexe. But the swarme of them increasing; they occupied the Region about *Nicomedia*: where, in seating themselves, they were much beholding vnto *Attalus*. Neuerthelesse, presuming afterwards  
 50 vpon their strength; they forced their neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute. In the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect vnto *Attalus* than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themselves within the bounds of that Prouince, which tooke name from them in time following.

\* 1st Front.  
 Sirat. L. 1. C. 11.

ing, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their neighbours; and to fill up the Armies of those, that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posteritie of such, as had saved themselves and their Provinces, in the slothful reigns of the *Perians*; or in the buie times of *Alexander*, and his Macedonian followers. The *Cappadocians* were verie ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Atossa*, sister vnto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Countrey was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the son of that King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, espying his time while the *Macedonians* were at ciuill warres among themselves, recovered his dominion, and passed it ouer to his offspring. The Kings of *Pontus* had also their beginning from the Persian Empire; and are said to haue issued from the royall house of *Achamenes*. The *Phrygians* deuied themselves from *Pylamenes*, a King that assisted *Prismus* at the warre of *Troy*. These, applying themselves vnto the times, were alwaies conformable vnto the strongest. The Ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reigne in *Bithynia*, some few generations before that of the great *Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore, hauing other employment, they were the lesse molested. *Calpurnius*, one of *Alexanders* Captaines, made an Expedition into their Countrey; where hee was vanquished. They had afterwards to doe with a Lieutenant of *Antigonius*, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they suffred, as did the rest, vntill the reigns of *Prusias*, whom wee haue already some-<sup>20</sup> times mentioned.

### §. VII.

The Towne of *Cius* taken by *Philip*, at the instance of *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions, *Philip* grows hatefull to many of the *Greekes*; and is warred vpon by *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and by the *Rhodians*.

**P**RUSIAS as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whose greatness he suspected. He therefore strengthened himselfe, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrarie side, entered into a strict Confederacie with the *Aetolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greekes*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Aetolian* warre, and was dealing with *Antiochus* about sharing betwene them two the Kingdome of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolemie Philopater* a friend vnto them both was newly dead, and had left his sonne *Ptol. Epiphanes* a yong child his heire; the *Bithynian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come ouer into *Asia*, there to winne the Towne of the *Cians*, and bestow it vpon him. *Prusias* had no right vnto the Towne, nor iust matter of quarrell against it: but it was fitly seated for him; and therewithall rich. *Philip* came; as one that could not well denie to helpe his Sonne-in-law. But hereby hee mightily offended no small part of *Greece*. Embassadors came to him whilst hee lay at the seige, from the *Rhodians*, and diuers other States: entreating him to forsake the Enterprise. He gaue dilatorie, but otherwise gentle answeres: making shew as if he would condescend to their request; when he intended nothing lesse. At length hee got the Towne: where, euen in presence of the Embassadors, of whose sollicitation hee had seemed so regardfull, He omitted no part of crueltie. Hereby hee rendered himselfe odious to his neighbours, as a peridious and cruell Prince. Especially his Fact was detested of the *Rhodians*: who had made vehement intercession for the poore *Cians*; and were aduertised by Embassadors of purpose sent vnto them from *Philip*, That, howsoeuer it were in his power to winne the Towne as soon as he listed; yet in regard of his loue to the *Rhodians*, Hee was contented to  
grieue

grieue it ouer. And by this his clemencie the Embassadors said, that he would manifest vnto the World, what slanderous tongues they were; which noyed abroad such reports, as went of his fallhood and oppressions. Whilst the Embassadors were delecting at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect, there came some that made a true relation of what had hapned: shewing that *Philip* had sacked and destroyed the Towne of *Cius*, and, after a cruell slaughter of the Inhabitants, had made slaues of all that escaped the sword. If the *Rhodians* tooke this in great despight, no lesse were the *Aetolians* inflamed against him: since they had sent a Captaine to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at *Lysimachia* and *Chalcidion* (which he had withdrawne from their Confederacie to his owne) what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this King. But most of all others was *Attalus* moued, with consideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his owne estate. He had much to loose; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a strong Partie in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captaines, in purchasing with much liberality the loue of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertues, hauing lost their owne. On the freindship of the *Aetolians* hee had cause to presume; hauing bound them vnto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mightie at Sea, and held verie good intelligence with the *Aegyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, Hee easily drew into a straight Alliance with him; by their hatred newly conceived against *Philip*.

Vpon confidence in these his friends, but most of all in the readie assistance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deale with the *Macedonian* by open warre. It had beene vnseasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemy tended; since his desire to fallen vpon *Asia* was manifest, and his fallhood no lesse manifest, than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not farre from *Cnius*, and fought with him a battaile at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driuen to runne his owne shippe on ground, hardly escaping to land: though the Admiral of the *Rhodians* tooke his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the battaile tooke harbour vnder a Promontorie, by which they had fought, so that hee had the gathering of the Wracks vpon the shore: Yet so much as Hee had suffered farre greater losse of ships and men, than had the Enemy: and since Hee durst not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to braue him in his Port; the honour of the victorie was adjudged to his Enemies. This notwithstanding, *Philip* afterwards besieged and wanne some Townes in *Caria*: whether onely in a brauerie, and to despight his opposites; or whether vpon any hopefull desire of conquest; it is vncertaine. The stratageme, by which hee wonne *Prinassus*, is worthe of noting. Hee attempted it by a Myne: and finding the Earth so stonie, that it resisted his worke, Hee neuertheless commanded the Pyoniers to make a noyde vnder ground; and secretly in the night-time Hee rayed great Mounts about the entrance of the Myne, to breed an opinion in the besieged, that the work went meruailously forward. At length hee sent word to the Townesmen: that by his vnder-myning, two acres of their wall stood onely vpon wooden props: to which if hee gaue fire, and entred by a breach, they should expect no mercie. The *Prinassians* little thought, that hee had fetcht all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off; to raise vp those heapes which they saw; but rather that all had beene extracted out of the Myne. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be out-ficed; and gaue vp the Towne as lost, which the Enemy had no hope to winne by force. But *Philip* could not stae to fettle himselfe in those parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too strong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make halt back into *Atacodon*; whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

### §. VIII.

## §. VIII.

*The Romans, after their Carthaginian warre, seek matter of quarrell against PHILIP. The Athenians, upon slight cause, proclaime warre against PHILIP, moved thereto by ATALUS; whom they flatter. PHILIP winnes divers Townes: and makes peremptorie answer to the Roman Embassadors. The furious resolution of the Athenians.*

**T**Hese Asiaticke matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet forced well to make a noyle in *Rome*; and fill the peoples heads, it not with a desire of making warre in *Macedon*, at least with a conceipt that it were expedient so to doe. The *Roman Senate* was perfectly informed of the state of those Easterne Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the *Greekes*, which lay betwene them and the Lordship of *Asia*. These *Greekes* were factious, and seldom or neuer at peace. As for the *Macedonians*, though length of time, and continuall dealings in *Greece* ever since the Reignes of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference betwene him and the *Naturals*: yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because Hee was originally forsooth a *Barbarian*: many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels: and they that had bene most beholding vnto him, were neuertheless wearie of him, by reason of his personall faults. All this gaue hope, that the affaires of *Greece* would not long detain the *Roman Armies*: especially since the diuisions of the Countrey were such, that euery petty Estate was apt to take counsaile apart for it selfe; without much regarding the generalitie. But the poore Commonaltie of *Rome*, had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were alreadie quite exhauished, by that grieuous warre with *Hannibal*: wherein they had giuen by Loan to the Republicke all their monie: neyther had they as yet receiued, neyther did they receiue vntill fifteene or sixteene yeares after this, their whole summe backe againe. That part of payment also which was alreadie made, being not in present monie, but much of it in Land: it behoued them to reit awhile; and bestow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the lesse able to bestow cost. Wherefore they tooke no pleasure to heare, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had sent Embassadors to sollicite them against *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Asia*: or that *Antiochus*, their Agent in *Greece*, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemie, that solicited not only the Townes vpon the Continent, but all the lands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadors, as one that meant thorowly to hold warre with the *Romans* vpon their owne ground. *Philip* had indeed no such intent: neither was he much too strong, either of himselfe, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be resisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, especially with the helpe of the *Italian* their good friends, and (in a manner) his owne professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if only to predispose men vnto the warre, and giue it the more honest colour.

*Philip* was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermeddling in the affaires of those, that were more mighty than him selfe. Hee was too vnskillfull, or otherwise too vnapt, to retaine his old friends: yet hee had needes bee seeking new enemies. And he found them such, as hee desired to haue them: for hee offered his helpe to their destruction, when they were in miserie, and had done him no harme. It behoued him therefore, either to haue strained his forces to the vtmost in making warre vpon them; or, in dissuading from that injurious course, to haue made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But Hee, hauing broken that League of peace which is of all other the most naturall,

natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, vnlesse they think themselves iustly provoked; as afterwards too fondly persuaded, that he might well be secured the *Romans*, because of the written Couenants of peace betwene him & them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby such articles of peace can bee held inuiolable, save only by the water of *Styx*; that is, by *Aesetie*: which whillett it bindes one partie, or both vnto performance, making it apparent that hee shall bee a looser who starts from the Conditions; it may so long (and so long onely) bee presumed, that there shall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquished, the *Romans* neuer hearkened after *Philip*: for necessitie made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with *Carthage*, then was this Riuer of *Styx* dried vp: and then could they sweare, as *Mercutio* did in the Comedie, by their owne selues, euen by their good sword, that they had good reason to make warre vpon him. The Voyage of *Sapient* into *Africke*, and the present warre against *Attalus*; were matter of quarrell as much as needed: or if this were not enough, the *Athenians* helped to furnish them with more.

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their owne barren Territories, tooke state vpon them neuertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two yong Gentlemen of *Acarania* entering into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation, (wherein were deliuered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of Idolatrous superstition, vainly said to bee auaileable vnto felicity after this life) discouered themselves by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by mere error, not thinking to haue therein done amiss; yet, as it had bene for some heinous crime, they were put to death. All their Countymen at home tooke this in ill part; and sought to reuenge it as a publike iniurie, by warre vpon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* some *Macedonian* to helpe them, they entered into *Attica*: who waited it with fire and sword; and caried thence away with them a great bootie. This indignitie stirred vp the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them thinke vpon doing more, than they had abilitie to performe. All which at the present they could doe, was to send Embassadors to King *Attalus*; gratulating his happie successe against *Philip*, and entreating him to visit their Citie. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing; because Hee vnderstood, that the *Roman* Embassadors, boursing about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to bee there at the same tyme. So hee went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the *Rhodians*. Landing in the *Præse*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they reioycing that hee continued enemie to *Philip*; and Hee being no lesse glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the warre. The *Athenians* came forth of their Citie, all the Magistrats, Priests, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as solempne pompe as they could deuise, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the *Romans* that were with him, in verie louing manner: but towards *Attalus* himselfe they omitted no point of obsequence, which their flatterie could suggest. At his first coming into the Citie they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them heare him speake. But he excused himselfe, saying, That with an euill grace he should recount vnto them those many benefits, by which hee studied to make them know what loue he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he should deliuer in writing, what he would haue to bee propounded. Hee did so. The points of his Declaration were; first, what hee had willingly done for their sake; then, what had lately passed betwene him and *Philip*: lastly, an exhortation vnto them to declare themselves against the *Macedonians*, whilst Hee with the *Rhodians*, and the *Romans*, were willing and readie to take their part: which if they now refused to doe, Hee protested, that afterwards it would be vaine to craue his helpe. There needed little entreatie: for they were as willing to proclaime the warre, as Hee to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours:

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and ordained, That vnto the ten Tribes, whereof the bodie of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if Hee were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodiens* they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodiens* free Citizens of *Athen*.

This beganne a great noyse of warre, wherein little was left vnto the *Romans* for their parts, *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* taking all vpon them. But while these were vainly mispending the time, in seeking to draw the *Ætoliens* to their partie: they contrarie to their olds manner were glad to bee at quiet: *Philip* waſne the Townes of *Macedonia* and *Ænus*, with many other strong places about the *Helleſpont*. Likewise passing over the *Helleſpont*, Hee laid siege vnto *Abydus*; and wanne it, though Hee was faine to haile there long. The Towne held out, rather vpon an obſtinate reſolution, and hope of ſuccour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, than any great abilitie to defend it ſelfe againſt ſo mightie an Enemy. But the *Rhodiens* ſent thither onely one *Quadrimeſ Gallie*: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men; farre to weaken aide to make good the place. The *Roman* Embaſſadours wondred much at this great negligence, of them that had taken ſo much vpon them.

Theſe Embaſſadours C. *Claudius*, M. *Æmilius*, and P. *Sempronius*, were ſent vnto *Ptolemie*, Epiphane King of *Egypt*, to acquaint him with their Viſtorie againſt *Hannibal*, and alſo to thanke him for his fauour vnto them ſhewed in that warre; and to deſire the continuance thereof, if they ſhould neede it againſt *Philip*. This *Egyptian* King was now in the third or fourth year of his Reigne, (as his Father *Philipper* had done before him) Hee beganne a verie young boy. The courteſie for which the *Romans* were to thanke him, was, That out of *Egypt* they had lately bene ſupplied with Corne, in a time of extreme Dearth; when the miſeries of Warre had made all their owne Prouinces vnable to relieue them. This meſſage could not but be welcome to the *Egyptian*: ſince it was well knowne, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themſelves againſt him; conſpiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reaſon bee hoped, that Hee, or ſo his Councell for him, ſhould offer to ſupplie the *Romans* with Corne: ſince this Macedonian Expedition, concerned his Eſtate no leſſe than theirs.

But as the errand was for the moſt part complementall: ſo had the Embaſſadours both leiſure, and direction from the Senate, to looke vnto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that M. *Æmilius* the youngeſt of them ſhould ſteppe aſide, and viſit *Philip*, to trie if Hee could make him leaue the ſiege of *Abydus*; which elſe Hee was like to carrie. *Æmilius*, coming to *Philip*, telles him, that his doings are contrarie to the League that Hee had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, vpon whom Hee made Warre, were Confederate with *Rome*: and the Towne of *Abydus*, which Hee was now beſieging, had a kind of dependencie vpon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* had made Warre vpon him: and that Hee did onely requite them with the like. Doe you alſo (ſayd *Æmilius*) requite theſe poore *Abydens* with ſuch terrible Warre, for any ſuch like Inuſion by them firſt made vpon you? The King was angrie to heare himſelfe thus taken ſhort: and therefore Hee roundly made anſwere to *Æmilius*; it is your youth, Sir, and your beautie, and (above all) your being a *Roman*, that makes you thus preſumptuous. But I would wiſh you to remember the League that yett haue made with me, and to keepe it: if you doe otherwiſe, I will make you vnderſtand, that the Kingdome of *Macedonia* is in matter of Warre, no leſſe noble than the *Roman*. So Hee diſmiſſed the Embaſſadour; and had the Towne immediately yeelded to his diſcretion. The people had entertained a reſolution, to haue died euerie one of them and ſet their Towne on fire; binding themſelves hereto by

by a fearefull oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them vpon reaſonable Conditions. But hauing in deſperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, loſt the greateſt number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Gouvernours and Ancients of the Citie, to change this reſolution, and take ſuch peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to *Philip*: about which whileſt they were buſie, the memorie of their oath wrought ſo effectually in the younger ſort that, by exhortation of their Priests, they ſet to murdering their women, children, and themſelves. Hereof the King had ſo little compaſſion, that He ſaid, he would grant the *Abydens* three dayes leiſure to die: and to that end forbade his men to enter the Towne, or hazard themſelves in interrupting the violence of thoſe mad fooles.

### §. IX.

The *Romans* decree warre againſt *Philip*, and ſend one of their Conſuls into *Greece*, ſit were in defence of the *Athenians* their Confederates.  
How poore the *Athenians* were at this time,  
both in qualitie and eſtate.

His calamitic of the *Abydens*, was likened by the *Romans* vnto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it nearely reſembled; though *Rome* was not alike intereſſed in the quarrell. But to helpe themſelves with pretence for the warre, they had found out another *Saguntum*, euen the Citie of *Athen*: which if the *Macedonian* ſhould winne, then reſted there no more to doe, than that he ſhould preſently embarke himſelfe for *Italie*, whether he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum* in ſixe monethes, but in the ſhort ſpace of ſixe dayes ſaying. Thus P. *Sulpicius* the Conſul tolde the Multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre vpon *Philip*, which at his firſt propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alleadged; to ſhew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater kingdome, might dare to undertake: as alſo the fortunate Voyage of *Scipio* into *Aſtick*, to ſhew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Countreie. By ſuch arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* induced to beleeue, that this warre with the *Macedonian* was both juſt and neceſſarie. So it was decreed: and immediately the ſame Conſul halted away towards *Macedonia*, hauing that Prouince allotted vnto him before, and all things in a readineſſe, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motiues, than the people muſt be acquainted with. Great thanks were giuen to the *Athenian* Embaſſadours, for their conſtancie (as was ſaid) in not changing their faith at ſuch time as they ſtood in danger of being beſieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them; though not vpon the ſame occaſion. For the people of *Rome* had no cauſe to thinke it a benefit vnto themſelves, that any *Greece* Towne, reſuſing to ſue vnto the *Macedonian* for peace, requelted their helpe againſt him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conqueſt of the Eaſterne partes, had reaſon to giue thanks vnto thoſe, that miniſtred the occaſion. Since therefore it was an vntrue ſuggeſtion, that *Philip* was making readie for *Italie*: and ſince neyther *Attalus*, the *Rhodiens*, nor any other State in thoſe quarters, deſired the *Romans* to giue them protection: theſe buſie-headed *Athenians*, who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and conſequently with *Philip*, about a matter of *May game*, (as was ſhewed before) ſent Embaſſadours into all parts of the World, euen to *Ptolemie* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus* and other their neighbours; muſt be accepted as cauſe of the warre, and Authours of the benefit thence redounding.

Neuertheleſſe as it loues to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of P. *Sulpicius* the Conſul were ſuch, as might haue argued *Athen* to bee the leaſt part of his care. Hee failed not about *Peloponneſus*, but tooke the readie

way to Macedonia, and landing about the Riuer of *Apfus*, betwene *Dyrachium* and *Apollonia*, there beganne the warre. Soone vpon his comming the *Athenian* Embassadors were with him, and craued his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whilst he was so farre from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and entreated him to deliuer them. For which cause He sent vnto them *C. Claudius* with twentie Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces He retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater designe. The *Athenians* were not indeede befieged: onely some *Rouers* from *Chalcis*, in the Ile of *Euboea*, and some bands of aduenturers out of *Corinth*, vsed to take their shippes and spoile their fields, because they had declared themselves against King *Philip*, that was Lord of these two Townes. The Robberies done by these Pyrats and free booters, were by the more eloquent than warlike *Athenians*, in this declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Seige. From such detriment the arrival of *Claudius*, and shortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, easily precluded them. As for the *Athenians* themselves, they that had beene wont, in ancient times, to vndertake the Conquests of *Aegypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Sicily*, to make warre vpon the great *Persian* King; and to hold so much of *Greece* in subjection, as made them redoubtable vnto all the rest: had now no more than three Shippes, and those open ones, not much better than long Boates. Yet thought they not themselves whitt the worse men; but stood as highly vpon the glorie and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had beene fill their owne.

## §. X.

The Towne of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, taken and sackt by the *Romans* and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at *Athens*. *PHILIP* attempteth to take *Athens* by Surprise: murthereth the Countie about, and makes a iourne into *Peloponnesus*. Of *NABIS* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, and his wife. *PHILIP* offers to make warre against *NABIS* for the *Achaens*, he returneth home through *Attica*, which he spoileth againe, and provides against his Enemies. Some exploits of the *Romans*. Divers Princes ioyne with them. Great labouring to draw the *Etoliens* into the warre.

**P**HILIP, returning home from *Abydos*, heard newes of the *Roman* Consul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he stirred forth to giue him entertainments or perhaps before hee had well resolved, whether it were best while to sit still, and trie what might bee done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Inuaders with all his forces: Hee receiued aduertisement from *Chalcis* of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius* with his *Romans*, finding no such worke at *Athens* as they had expected, or as was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to doe somewhat that might quicken the Warre, and make his owne employment better. Hee grew soone wearie of sitting as a Scarre-Crowe, to saue the *Athenians* grounds from spoile; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a businesse of more importance. The Towne of *Chalcis* was negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiours therein, for that there was no enemy at hand, and more negligently by the Townsmen, who reposed themselves vpon their Garrison. Hereof *Claudius* hauing aduertisement, sailed thither by night for feare of being defiered; and, arriving there a little before breake of day, tooke it by Scalado. He vsed no mercie, but slew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keepe it (vnlesse he should haue left the heartlesse *Athenians* to their owne defence) He set it on fire, consuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all provisions for warre, which were plentifully filled. Neither were He and his Associates contented

contented with the great abundance of spoile which they carried aboard their shippes; and with enlarging all those, whom *Philip*, as in a place of most securitie, kept there imprisoned: but to shew their despiight and hatred vnto the King, they ouerthrew and brake in peeces the Statues vnto him there erected. This done, they halted away towards *Athens*: where the newes of their exploit were like to be ioyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias* about some twentie miles thence: whither when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet hee made all hast to take revenge. Hee thought to haue taken the *Athenians* with their trustie friends, bulie at worke in ransacking the Towne, and loading themselves with spoile: but they were gone before his comming. Fieue thousand light-armed foot hee had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leauing at *Chalcis* onely a few to burie the dead, Hee marched thence away speedily towards *Athens*: thinking it not vnpossible to take his enemies, in the ioy of their victorie, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation; if a Foot-poll, that stood Scour for the Citie vpon the borders, had not defiered him a far off, and twisfly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was midnight when this Post came thither: who found all the Towne asleepe, as fearelesse of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their Citadell to sound the Alarme; and with all speed made readie for defence. Within a few houres *Philip* was there: who seeing th: many lights, and other signes of bulie preparation vsuall in such a case, vnderstood that they had newes of his comming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucitie of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the wals. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compasse about by Sea, and had no cause of halt) yet hauing in the Towne some mercinarie fouldiours; which they kept, of their owne, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they aduentured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardie. Hee therefore only willed his men to follow his example; and presently gaue charge vpon them. In that fight he gaue singular proofe of his valour: and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, draue them with great slaughter backe into the Citie. The heat of his courage transported him further, than discretion would haue allowed, euen to the verie gate. But he retired without harme taken; for that they which were vpon the Towers ouer the gate, could not vse their calling weapons against him, without endangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the Citie. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments besides, nere adioyning vnto *Athens*: of which he spared none; but sufferd the rage of his anger to extend, euen vnto the sepulchers of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Aegina*; too late, in regard of what was alreadye past; but in good time, to preuent him of satisfiying his anger to the full, which as yet hee had not done. So he departed thence to *Corinth*: and hearing that the *Achaens* held a Parliament at *Argos*, He came thither to them vnexpected.

The *Achaens* were deuiing vpon warre, which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*: who being started vp in the roomes of *Machinidas*, did greater mischiefte than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly vpon his Mercinaries; and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor; a greedy extortioner vpon those that liued vnder him; and one, that in his naturall condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apegea* was very fitly matched with him: since his dexteritie was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in fleeing their wiuers; whom shee would neuer suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their iewels and apparell. Her husband was so delighted with her propertie, that hee caused an Image to bee made liuely representing her; and

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and apparelled it with fuch colly garments as thee vsed to weare. But it was indeede an engine, lurking to torment men. Hercof he made vse, when hee meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetoricke. For calling vnto him some rich man, of whose monie hee was delirous; and hee would bring him into the roome where this counterfeit *Apega* stood, there vsed all his art of perswasion, to get what hee desired, as it were by good will. If hee could not so speede, but was answered with excuses: then tooke he the refractorie denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his wife *Apega* (who late by in a chaire) could perswade more effectually. So hee led him to the Image, that rose vp and opened the armes, as it were for embracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yron nailes, the like whereof were also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes; and herewith the griped the poore wretch to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Gouernement. In his dealings abroad hee combined with the *Aetolians*, as *Machinidas* and *Lycorgus* had done before him. By these hee grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former warre. Of *Philopamen* vertue hee stood in feare; and therefore durst not prouoke the *Achaens*, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cyclades*, a farr worse Capitaine, was their Prætor; and all or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged; *Philopamen* being also gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloued Occupation of warre: then did *Nabis* fall vpon their Territory, and walking all the felds, made them distrust their owne safetie in the Townes.

Against this Tyrant the *Achaens* were preparing for warre, when *Philip* came among them; and had set downe, what proportion of souldiours cuerie Citie of their Corporation should furnish out. But *Philip* willed them, not to trouble themselves with the care of this businesse, forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this warre, and take the burden vpon himselfe. With exceeding ioy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, that whilst hee made warre vpon *Lacedæmon*, hee ought not to leaue his owne Townes vnguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to *Corinth*, and some Companies into the Ile of *Eubœa*; that so he might securely pursue the war against *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his deuce: which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his war against the *Romans*. Wherefore their Prætor *Cyclades* made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was assembled. So passing the Decree, vpon which they had agreed before, for preparing war against *Nabis*; hee brake vp the Assemblie, with cuerie mans good liking: whereas in former times, hee had leene thought no better than one of the Kings Parafites.

It grieued the King to haue thus fayled in his purpose with the *Achaens*. Nevertheless hee gathered vp among them a few Voluntaries; and so returned by *Corinth* backe into *Attica*. There he met with *Philotes* one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had been doing what harme he might vnto the Countrey. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Castle of *Eleusine*, the Hauens of *Pyræus*, and euen the Citie of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made fuch hast after him by Sea, thrusting themselves into cuerie of these places; that hee could no more than weake his anger vpon those goodlie Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time singularly beautified. So He destroyed all the workes of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble: which they had in plenty, of their owne; or, having long agoe bene Masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did hee onely pull all downe: but caused his men to breake the verie stones, that they might be vsuerceable to the reparation. His losse at *Chalcis* being thus reuenged vpon *Athens*, hee went home into *Macedon*: and there made prouision, both against the Roman Consul that lay about *Apollonia*; and against the *Dardaniens*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to self

felt him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Aetolians*: to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he sent an Embassage; requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

*Sulpicius* the Roman Consul encamped vpon the Riuer of *Aspis*. Thence he sent forth *Apustius*, his Lieutenant, with part of the Armie to walt the borders of *Macedon*. *Apustius* tooke fundrie Castles and Townes; vining fuch extremities of sword and fire at *Antipatria*, the first good Towne which he wan by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, vnlesse they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the Consul with his spoile, He was charged in *Rece*, vpon the passage of a Brooke, by *Athenagoras* a Macedonian Capitaine: but the *Romans* had the better; and killing many of these enemies, tooke prisoners many more, to the increase of their bootie, with which they arrived in safetie at their Campe. The successe of this Expedition, though it were not great; yet serued to draw into the Roman freindship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the Macedonian. These were *Pleuratus*, the sonne of *Sceadalaides* the *Thyrian*; *Aminander* King of the *Albanians*; and *Bato*, the sonne of *Longarus*, a Prince of the *Dardaniens*. They offered their assistance vnto the Consul, who thanked them: and said, That hee would shortly make vse of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when hee entred into *Macedon*: but that the freindship of *Aminander*, whose Countrey lay betwene the *Aetolians* and *Thessalies*, might be perhaps auailable with the *Aetolians*, to stirre them vp against *Philip*.

So the present care, was wholly set vpon the *Aetolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadors from the Macedonian, Roman, and *Athenian*. Of which, the Macedonian spake first: and said, That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of peace betwene his Master and the *Aetolians*: so was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves without good cause, to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to consider, how the *Romans* heretofore had made shew, as if their warre in *Greece* tended onely to defence of the *Aetolians*: and yet notwithstanding had bene angry, that the *Aetolians*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer neede of such their Patronage. What might it be that made them so buile, in obtruding their protection vpon those that needed it not? Surely it was euen the generall hatred, which these Barbarians bore vnto the *Greekes*. For euen after the same sort had they leant their help to the *Momertines*: and afterwards deliuered *Syracuse*, when it was oppressed by Carthaginian Tyrants: but now both *Syracuse* and *Messana*, were subiect vnto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the same effect hee alledged many examples, adding, That in like sort it would happen to the *Aetolians*: who, if they drew fuch Masters into *Greece*, must not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to consult about Warre and Peace: the *Romans* would ease them of this care, and send them fuch a Moderator, as went cuerie yeere from *Rome* to *Syracuse*. Wherefore he concluded, That it was best for them, whilst as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, vpon light occasion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeares agoe made the peace which stil continued; although the same *Romans* were then against it, who sought to breake it now.

It would haue troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good answer to these obiections. For the Macedonian had spoken the verie truth, in shewing whereto their Patronage, which they offered with fuch importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were set on by them to speake next: who had store of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian Embassador, to call the *Romans* by the name of Barbarians: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne King had, in few dayes past, made war vpon the gods themselves, by destroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithall they made a pittifull rehearsal of their

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owne calamities: and said, that if *Philip* might haue his will: *Ætolia*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, ſhould feele the ſame that *Attira* had felt; yea that, *Athens* it ſelfe, together with *Minerva*, *Iupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to haue felt, if the wals and the Roman armes had not defended them. Then ſpoke the *Romans*: who excuſing, as well as they could, their owne oppreſſion of all thoſe, in whoſe defence they had heretofore taken armes, went roundly to the point in hand. They ſaid, that they had of late made warre in the *Ætolians* behalfe, and that the *Ætolians* had without their conſent made peace: whereof ſince the *Ætolians* muſt excuſe themſelues, by alleging that the *Romans*, being buſied with *Carthage*, wanted leiſure to giue them aid conuenient: ſo this excuſe being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent againſt their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their war and victorie, vneleſſe they had rather periſh with *Philip*.

It might eaſily be perceiued, that they which were ſo vehement, in offering their helpe ere it was deſired: were theſe ſelues carried into the war by more carnell motives, than a ſimple deſire to helpe thoſe friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may haue bene the cauſe, why *Dorymeas* the *Ætolian* Prætor thiſted them off awhile with a dilatorie answer: though hee told his Countreymen, That by referring themſelues, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with thoſe that had the better fortune. His answer was, firſt, in generall termes; That our much had was an enemy to good conſeil: for which cauſe they muſt further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming neerer to the matter in hand, He paſſed a Decree, That the Prætor might at any time call an Aſſembly of the States, and therein conſider upon this buſineſſe, any Law to the contrary notwithstanding: whereas other wiſe it was vnlawfull to treat of ſuch affaires, except in two of their great Parliaments, that were held at ſet times.

## §. XI.

The meeting of *Philip* with the *Romans*, and ſkirmiſhing with them on his borders. The *Ætolians* invade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of *Attalus* and the Roman Fleet.

**P***HILIP* was glad to heare, that the *Romans* had ſped no better in their ſolicitation of the *Ætolians*. He thought them hereby diſappointed, in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himſelfe to diſappoint them of another. His ſonne *Perſeus*, a very boy, was ſent to keepe the ſtreights of *Pelagonia* againſt the *Dardaniens*; hauing with him ſome of the Kings Councell, to gouerne both him and his armie. It was iudged as may ſeeme, that the preſence of the Kings ſonne, how young ſoever, would both encourage his followers, and terrifie the enemies; by making them at leaſt beleeue, that he was not weakly attended. And this may haue been the reaſon, why the ſame *Perſeus*, a few yeares before this, was in like manner left vpon the borders of *Ætolia* by his father; who more earneſt buſineſſe called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the *Macedonian* Fleet vnder *Heraclides*, would ſerue to keepe *Attalus*, with the *Rhodiens* and *Romans*, from doing harme by ſea, when the Kings backe was turned; who tooke his iourne Weſtward againſt *Sulpicius* the Conſul.

The Armes met in the countrey of the *Dafarctis*, a people in the vmoſt borders of *Macedon* towards *Thyria*, about the mountains of *Candæus*; that running along from *Flamini* in the North vntill they ioyn in the South with *Findus*, incloſe the Weſterne parts of *Macedon*. Two or three daies they lay in fight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Conſul was the firſt that iſſued forth

of his Campe into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the ſtrength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to ſend forth ſome of his light-armed Mercenaries, and ſome part of his horſe, to entertaine them with ſkirmiſh. Theſe were eaſily vanquiſhed by the *Romans*, and druen backe into their Campe. Now although it was ſo, that the King was vnwilling to hazard all at firſt vpon a Caſt, and therefore ſent for *Perſeus* with his Companies, to increaſe his owne forces: yet being no leſſe vnwilling to looſe too much in reputation; He made theſe adayafter, as if he would haue fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambuſh, wherein he beſet as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and ſo gaue charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captaines, to prouoke out the *Romans* to fight; intruſting both him and the Targettiers, how to behaue themſelues reſpectively, as opportunitie ſhould fall out. The *Romans* had no miſtruſt of any ambuſh; hauing fought vpon the ſame ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might haue ſuſtained ſome notable detriment, if the Kings directions had bene well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall backe, they charged him ſo hotly, that they draue him to an haſtie flight, and purſued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not ſtaying to let them runne into the danger, diſcouered themſelues before it was time; and thereby made fruſtrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Conſul hereby gathered, that the King had ſome deſire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which he therefore preſented the ſecond time; leading forth his Armie, and ſetting it in order, with Elephants in front: a kind of helpe which the *Romans* had neuer vied before, but had taken theſe of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was ſcarce about foureſcore yeeres ere this, that *Pyrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italie*, to aſſright the *Romans*, who had neuer ſcene any of thoſe beaſts before. But now the ſame *Romans*, (whileſt poſſibly ſome were yet aliue, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrhus*) come into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greekes* haue none. *Philip* had patience to let the Conſul braue him at his Trenches: wherein he did wiſely: for the *Romans* had greater neede to fight, than hee. *Sulpicius* was vnwilling to looſe time: neither could he without great danger, lying ſo neere the Enemy, that was ſtrong in horſe, ſend his men to fetch in corne out of the fields. Wherefore he remoued eight miles off: preſuming that *Philip* would not aduenture to meet him on euery ground; and ſo the more boldly he ſuffered his Forragers to ouer run the Countrey. The King was nothing ſorry of this: but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleaſure ſeuen till their preſumption, and his owne ſuppoſed feare, ſhould make them careleſſe. When this was come to paſſe, he tooke all his horſe and light-armed-foote, with which hee occupied a place in the midway, betwene the Forragers and their Campe. There he ſtayed in Conert with part of his forces; to keepe the paſſages that none ſhould eſcape. The reſt hee ſent abroad the Countrey, to fall vpon the ſtaglers: willing them to put all to the ſword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The ſlaughter was great: and thoſe which eſcaped the hands of them that were ſent abroad to ſcour the fields, lighted all or moſt of them vpon the King and his companies in their flight: ſo as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there eſcaped few: yet who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had happened to themſelues, raiſed a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon ſends forth all his horſe, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they ſaw it needfull: He himſelfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horſe diuided themſelues, accordingly as they met with aduerſements vpon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was moſt of the danger. Such of them as lighted vpon *Philip* Troupes, that were cauſing the field, tooke their taſke where they found it. But the maine bulke of them fell vpon the King himſelfe. They had the diſadvantage: as coming fewer, and vnprepared, to one that was readie for them.

So they were beaten away: as their fellows also might haue bene, if the King had well be thought himselfe, and giuen ouer in time. But while, not contented with such an haruill, he was too greedie about a poore gleaning: the Roman Legions appeared in sight: which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the *Macedonians* to looke to their owne safetie. They ranne which way they could: and (as men that lie in wait for others, are feldome heedfull of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemy, they declined the fairest way: so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogges, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings horse was slaine vnder him: and there had he bene cast away, if a louing subiect of his had not alighted; mounted him vpon his owne horse; and deliuered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foot was ouertaken, and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident rashnesse, and the Consul, with as much dulnesse; for this daies seruice. A little longer stay would haue deliuered the King from these enemies without any blow: since when all the felids about them were wasted, they must needs haue retired backe to the Sea. On the other side it was not thought vnlike, That if the *Romans* following the King, had let vpon his Campe, at such time as he fled thither halfe amazed with feare of being either slaine or taken; they might haue won it. But that noble Historian *Liuie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath iudiciously obserued, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this daies worke. For the maine bodie of the Kings Armie lay safe in his Campe; and could not be so astonied with the losse of two or three hundred Horse, that it should therefore haue abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himselfe; He was aduertised, that *Pleuratus* the *Thyrian*, and the *Dardaniens*, were fallen vpon his Countrey; when they found the passage therein open, after *Perseus* was called away from custodie of the Streights. This was it which made him aduenture to doe somewhat betimes; that he might let the *Romans* going the sooner, and afterwards looke vnto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to cleere himselfe of the *Romans*, as soon as he might. And to that purpose he sent vnto the Consul; requesting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in stead of so doing, he marched away by night, and left fires in his Campe to beguile the Enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He ouertooke the *Macedonians* in a place of strength, which they had fencd (for it was a woodie ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the *Macedonian Phalangis* was of little vse; being a square battaile of pikes, not fit for euerie ground. The Archers of *Crete* were iudged, and were indeed, more seruicable in that case. But they were few; and their arrowes were of small force against the Roman shield. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of stones. But to no purpose. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victorie (such as it was) laid open vnto the Consul some poore Townes there about; which partly were taken by strong hand; partly yielded for feare. But the spoile of these, and of the felids adjoining, was not sufficient to maintaine his Armie; and therefore he returned backe to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardaniens*, hearing that *Philip* was come backe, withdrew themselves apace out of the Countrey. The King sent *Athenagoras* to waite vpon them home; whilst he himselfe went against the *Ætolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætolians*, who had rescued himselfe and his Nation vnto the cunct of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and againe: as also that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardaniens* were fallen vpon *Macedon*, grew no lesse busie on the sudden, than before he had bene wile. He persuaded his Nation to take their time; and so, not slaying to proclaime war, ioynd his forces with *Aminander* the *Albanian*; and made inuallion vpon *Theffalie*. They tooke and cruelly sacked a few Townes: whereby they

grew

grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might doe what they listed. But *Philip* came vpon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to haue taken their Campe; if *Aminander*, more warie than the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retreat through his owne mountainous Countrey.

About the same time, the Roman Fleet, assisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, had taken some small Islands in the *Ægean Sea*. They tooke likewise the Towne of *Oreum* in the Ile of *Euboea*; and some other places thereabout. The Townes were giuen to *Attalus*, after the same Compact that had formerly bene made with the *Ætolians*: the goods therein found were giuen to the *Romans*; and the people, for slaues. Other attempts on that side were hindred; eyther by foule weather at Seas or by want of daring, and of meanes.

## ¶ XII.

VILLIUS the Roman Consul wastes a year to no effect. Warre of the Gauls in *Italie*. An Embasie of the Romans to *Carthage*; *MASANISSA*, and *VERMINA*, The *Macedonian* prepares for defence of his Kingdome:

and T. QUINTIVS FLAMINIUS is sent against him.



us the time ranne away: and *P. Villius*, a new Consul, tooke charge of the Warre in *Macedon*. Hee was troubled with a Mutinie of his oldest Souldiers: whereof two thousand, having serued long in *Sicily* and *Africke*, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not bee suffered to looke vnto their owne estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had serued at *Cannæ*: as may seeme by their complaint, of hauing bene long absent from *Italie*; whither home they would haue returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is vncertaine. For the Historie of his year is lost: whereof the melle is not great; since hee did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antias*, as we find in *Liuie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Liuie* himselfe, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could find no such thing recorded in any good Authour; we may reasonably beleeue, that *Villius* his year was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* Warre, the *Romans* found more trouble than could haue bin expected with the *Gauls*. Their Colonie of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Towne, which neyther *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had bene able to force, was taken by these *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Cremona* was attempted; but saved herselfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamitie. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that had staid behind *Asdrubal*, or *Mago*, in those parts; was now become Capitaine of the *Gauls*, in their enterprises. This when the *Romans* heard: they sent Embassadors to the *Carthaginians*; giuing them to vnderstand, That, if they were not wearie of the peace, it behoud them to call home, and deliuer vp, this their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made warre in *Italie*. Herevnto it was added (perhaps lest the message might seeme otherwise to haue fauoured a little of some feare) That of the Fugitiue slaues belonging vnto the *Romans*, there were some reported to walk vp and down in *Carthage*; which if it were so, then ought they to bee restored backe to their Masters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadors that were sent on this errand; had further charge to treat with *Masaniissa*, as also with *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*. Vnto *Masaniissa*, besides matter of complement, they were to signifie what pleasure Hee might doe them, by lending them some of his *Numidian* Horse, to serue in their Warre

against

against the Macedonian, *Permina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe vnto him the name of *King*; and promised thereafter to deferue it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and said, That hauing bene, and being still (as they tooke it) their Enemy, Hee ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of *King*, was an honour which they vsed not to conferre vpon any, saue only vpon such as had royally deferued it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadors vpon such termes as they should thinke fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The *Curiatians* made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him; and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitiues: they had restored as manie as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requisite, giue satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent a great proportion of Corn to *Rome*; and the like vnto the Armie that was in *Macedon*. King *Masaniassa* would haue lent vnto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* Horle: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. *Permina* met with the Embassadors, to giue them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome; and, without any disputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their Macedonian Warre, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gauls*; they had seige vnto *Crenones*; where *L. Ennius* a *Roman* Prator came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battaile; and the fruit of the Victorie was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwards should haue the manning of warre among those *Gauls*. So was there good leisure to thinke vpon the businesse of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully providing to giue contentment vnto his subjects, by punishing a bad Counsaillour whom they hated; as also to assure vnto himselfe the *Acheans*, by rendering vnto them some Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercising and trayning his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thercinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing, when *Villius*, hauing vnprofitably laboured to find way into *Macedon*, taking a iourne (as *Sulpius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came aduertisement, that *T. Quintus Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Province, whose coming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Armie.

### §. XIII.

The *Romans* beginne to make warre by negotiation. *T. Quintus* winnes a passage against *Philip*. *Thessalus* wassed by *Philip*, the *Romans*, and *Aetolians*. The *Acheans* for saking the *Macedonian* take part with the *Romans*. *Atreus* of peace, that was vaine. *Philip* delivers *Argos* to *Nabis* the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the *Romans*.

**T**He *Roman*; had not bene wont in former times, to make Warre after such a trifling manner. It was their vse, to giue battaile to the Enemy, as soone as they met with him. If hee refused it, they belieged his Townes: and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when hee had long forborne it (as it would bee interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weaknesse. But in this their Warre with *Philip*, they beganne to learne of the subtle *Greekes*, the art of Negotiation: wherein

wherein hitherto they were not growne so fine, as within a little while they proued. Their treasure was poore, and stood indebted, \* manie yeares after this, vnto private men, for part of those monies that had bene borrowed in the second Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonaltie auerfe from the *Macedonian* Warre; and had thereby driuen the Senators greedie of the enterprize, to make vse of their cunning. Yet being wearie of the slow pace wherewith their businesse went forward, they determined to increase their Armie; that they might haue the lesse need to rely vpon their Confederates. So they leauied eight thousand foot and eight hundred Horle (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they sent with *T. Quintus Flaminius* the new Consul into *Macedon*. Their Naule, and other meanes could well haue serued, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Armie: but by straining themselves to the moit of their abilitie, they should (besides other difficulties, incident vnto the fulnesse of those that are too manie and too farre from home) haue bred some ieaoulie in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby haue lost some friends, yea perhaps haue increased the number of their enemies more than of their owne Souldiours. This present augmentation of the forces was verie requisite, for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himselfe vnto them, by his Embassadors; requesting that cyther they would vndertake the defence of his Kingdome against *Antiochus* who inuaded it; or else that they would not take it vn courteously, that he quitted the Warre with *Philip*; and returned home, to looke vnto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkable. They said, That it was not their manner to vse the aid of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie, and could also bee well contented to afford it; That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend though hee were, against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but That they would deale with *Antiochus* by Embassadors, and (as common friends vnto both of the Kings) doe their best to perswade an attonement betwene them. In such louing filshion did they now carrie themselves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*: who reciprocally, at their entreatie, withdrew his Armie from the Kingdome of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these tearmes of friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*; it will verie soone appeare.

*T. Quintus* halting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Province, with the supply decreed vnto him; which consisted, for the most part, of olde Souldiours, that had serued in *Spain* and *Africk*. He found *Villius* the old Consul, (whom at his coming hee presently discharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the Riuer of *Aspus* or *Don*. It was manifest, that cyther the *Romans* must fetch a compasse about, and seeke their way into *Macedon* through the poore Countrie of the *Dassaretians*; or else winne, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already readie two yeares together mispent their time, and bene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of victuals: whereof they could neither carrie with them store sufficient, nor find iron the way. But if they could once get ouer these Mountaines, which diuided the South of *Epirus* from *Thessalie*: then should they enter into a plentifull Countrie; and which, by long dependance on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Neuerthelesse the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the Riuer of *Aspus*, running along through that Valley which alone was open betwene the Mountaines, made it a deep Marish and vnpassable Bogge: a verie narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine Rock by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintus* assailed to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himselfe disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his Enemy, who neglected not the gard of them that was verie easie; Hee was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing, for the space of fortie dayes.

This long time of rest gaue hope vnto *Philip*, that the warre might bee ended by

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compulsion, vpon some reasonable termes. He therefore so dealt with some of the *Epirots*, (among whom he had many friends) that He and the Consul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Consul would haue him to set all Townes of *Greece* at libertie; and to make amends for the injuries, which hee had done to many people in his late Warres. *Philip* was contented to giue libertie to those whom hee had subdued of late; but vnto such, as had beene long subiect vnto him and his Ancestors. He thought it against all reason, that he should relinquish his claime and Dominion ouer them. He also said, That as farre forth as it should appeare, that hee had done wrong vnto any Towne or people whatsoever, He could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seeme conuenient in the judgment of some free State, that had not bene interested in those quarrels. But herewithall *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed, (hee said) no judgment or compromise; forasmuch as it was apparant, that *Philip* had alwayes bene the Inuader; and had not made warre, as one prouoked, in his owne defence. After this alteration, when they should come to particulars: and when the Consul was required to name those Townes, that he would haue to be set at libertie; the first that hee named were the *Thessalians*. Those had bene subiects (though conditionally) vnto the *Macedonian* Kinges, euer since the dayes of *Alexander* the Great and of *Philip* his father. Wherefore, as soone as *Flamininus* had named the *Thessalians*; the King in a rage demanded, what sharper Condition Hee would haue laid vpon him, had hee bene but vanquished. And herewithall abruptly hee flang away; refusing to heare any more of such discourse.

After this the Consul stroue in vaine, two or three dayes together, to haue preuailed against the difficulties of that passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himselfe, and could not resolue what course to take: there came to him an Herdman, sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* that fauoured the *Romans*, who hauing long kept beasts in those Mountaines, was thoroughly acquainted with all by-paths; and therefore undertooke to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they should haue aduantage of the Enemy. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was fast bound: and, being promised great reward, in case hee made good his word; had such Companies, as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They traualled by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and rested in the day-time, for feare of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-toppes, and were about the *Macedonians*, (though vndercovered by them because at their backs) they raised a great smoke; whereby they gaue notice of their successe vnto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilst those were on their iourney, *T. Quintius* had hold with the *Macedonians*; thereby to auert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained vnto the place whither they were sent: He pressed as neare as he could vnto the Enemies Campe; and assailed them in their strength. He preuailed as little as in former times; vntill the shoutings of those that ranne downe the Hill, and charged *Philip* on the backe, astonished him to the *Macedonians*; that they brooke themselves to flight. The King, vpon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to saue himselfe. Yet anon considering, that the difficultie of the passage must needs hinder the *Romans* from pursuing him: He made a stand at the end of fife miles; and gathered there together his broken troupes, of whom hee found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of his Campe and prouisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the *Macedonians* beganne to stand in feare, lest being driuen from a place of such aduantage, they should hardly make good their partie against the Enemy, vpon equal ground. Neyther was *Philip* himselfe much better perswaded. Wherefore hee called the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his hasty retreat hee could visit, to forsake their Townes and Countrie, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be per-

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(swaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him: which they might the better doe, for that hee could not stay to see any great compulsion. He also himselfe tooke it verie grieuously, that he was driuen to make such wast of a most pleasant and fruitful Countrie, which had euer bene well affected vnto him: so that a little hinderance did serue, to make him breake off his purpose; and withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdom of *Macedon*.

The *Ætians* and *Albanians*, when this fell out, were euen in a redinesse to invade *Thessalie*; whereinto the waies lay more open, out of their seuerall Countreies. When therefore they heard for certaintie, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*; they followed not the occasion; but made all speede, each of them to lay hold vpon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that He, in gleaning after their harvest, could not finde enough to maintaine his Armie. Thus were the poore *Thessalians*, of whose libertie the *Romans* a few daies since had made shew to be verie desirous, wasted by the same *Romans* and their Confederates, not knowing which way to turne themselves, or whom to auoid. *T. Quintius* wan *Phaleria* by assault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yeelded vnto him. *Rhage* hee besieged; and hauing made a faire breach yet was vnable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the inhabitants, and by a *Macedonian* Garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, hauing somewhat recoiled his spirits, haued about *Tempe* with his Armie; thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, hauing well neare spent his vittualles, & seeing no hope to preuaile at *Rhage*; brake vp his siege, and departed out of *Thessalie*. Hee had appointed his shippes of burden to meet him at *Antigra*, an Hauent towne of *Phocia*, on the Gulfe of *Corinth*: which Countrie being freind to the *Macedonians*, hee presently invaded; not so much for hatred vnto the people, as because it lay conueniently seated betwene *Thessalie* and other Regions, wherein hee had busines, or was shortly like to haue. Many Townes in *Phocia* hee wan by assault: many were yeelded vp vnto him for feare; and within short space hee had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the meane time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admirall for the *Romans* in this war, ioynd with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They wan two Cities in *Euboea*; and afterward laid siege vnto *Cenchree*, an Hauent and Arceall of the *Corinthians* on their Easterne Sea. This enterprife did somewhat helpe forward the *Acheans*, in their desire to leaue the part of *Philip*: since it might come to pass, that *Corinth* it selfe, ere long time were spent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now verie shortly; should be rendered vnto their Nation, by fauour of the *Romans*.

But there were other Motiues, inducing the *Acheans* to prefer the freindship of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had bene long accustomed. For this King had so many waies offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him; whilst being entangled in a dangerous war, he wanted meanes to hinder the execution of such counsaile, as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practises to make himselfe their absolute Lord: His poisoning of *Aratus* their old Gouernour: His false dealing with the *Messeniens*, *Epirots*, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed, had caused them long since to hold him as a necessary euill, euen whilst they were vnable to be without his assistance. But since by the vertue of *Philopamen*, they were growne somewhat confident in their owne strength, so as without the *Macedonians* helpe they could as well subdill, as hauing him to freind: then did they only thinke how euill hee was; and thereupon reioyce the more, in that he was become no longer necessary. It angered him to perceiue how they stood affected: and therefore he sent murderers, to take away the life of *Philopamen*. But sayling in this enterprife, and being detected:

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\*Philopamen  
Philopamen, 109.  
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he did thereby onely set fire to the Wood, which was thoroughly drie before, and prepared to burne. *Philopemen* wrought so with the *Acheans*: that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to with-draw themselves from the *Macedonian*. *Cycladus*, a principal man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing him selfe passionate in the cause of *Philip*: and *Ariflanus* cholen Prætor, who laboured to ioyne them in societie with the *Romans*.

These newes were verie welcome to *T. Quintus*. Embassadors were sent from the *Romans*, and their Confederates King *Attalus*, the *Rhodiens*, and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Acheans*; making promise, that they should haue *Corinth* restored vnto them, if they would forsake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Acheans* was held at *Steyon*, to deliberate and resolue in this weightie case. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents desired the *Acheans*, to ioyne with them in making warre vpon *Philip*. Contrariwise, the Embassadors of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for this buisnes, admonishing the *Acheans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due vnto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of *Philips* Embassador, did no way aduance his Masters cause. Rather it gaue the *Acheans* to vnderstand, That hee, who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew him selfe vnable to gratifie them in any reciprocal demand. Yet were there many in that great Councill; who remembering the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the prefruation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sense of late iniuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; preuailed against the memorie of those old good turnes, which he, (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly sold vnto them, and partly had vsed as baits, whereby to allure them into absolute subiection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance, That the *Romans* were strong, and likely to preuaile in the end. So after much alteration the Decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this war. With *Attalus* & the *Rhodiens*: they forthwith entered into societie with the *Romans* (because no League would be of force, vntill the Senate and People had approued it) they forbore to decree any societie at the present, vntill the returne of those Embassadors from *Rome*, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The *Megacopolitans*, *Cynaans*, & *Argines*, hauing done their best for the *Macedonian*, as by many respects they were bound; rose vp out of the Councell, and departed before the passing of the Decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with homelie thereto giue assent. For this their good will, and greater which they shortly manifested, the *Argives* had so little thanks; that all the rest of the *Acheans* may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, vpon a solempne day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens discovered it selfe so plainly, in the behaue of *Philip*; that they which were his Partisans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might haue any small assistance. *Pholades*, a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*; which he had manfully defended against the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conspirators drew to *Argos*: whither comming on a sudden, and finding the Multitude ready to ioyne with him; He easily compelled the *Achean* Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth* and some other Townes, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, so they gaue him hope to obtaine some good end by Treatie: whilst as yet with his honour he might seek it, and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Consul would shortly be chosen, who should take the worke out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect vnto himselfe; and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to pradiaspole things vnto a conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay

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then called the *Malian*, or *Lamian Bay*; now (as is supposed) the *Golfe of Ziton*, in the *Aegean* Sea, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus*, with *Aminander* the *Athamasian*; an Embassador of *Attalus*; the Admirall of *Rhodes*; and some Agents for the *Aetholians* and *Acheans*. *Philip* had with him some few of his owne Captaines, and *Cycladus*, lately banished for his sake out of *Achia*. He refused to come on shore: though fearing (as he said) none but the immortal gods: yet milder doubting some treachery in the *Aetholians*. The demands of *Titus* in behaue of the *Romans* were, That he should set all cities of *Greece* at libertie; deliuer vp to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and *Renegado's*; likewise whatsoeuer he held of theirs in *Ithria*; and whatsoeuer about *Greece* or *Asia* he had gotten from *Ptolemie* then King of *Egypt*, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded restitution to be made entire, of Ships, Townes, and Temples, by him taken and spoiled in the late warre betweene them. The *Rhodiens* would haue againe the Countrey of *Peræa*, lying ouer against their Iland; as also that hee should withdraw his Garrisons, out of diuers Townes about the *Hellespont*, and other Hauens of their friends. The *Acheans* desired restitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not vniuallly, quarrell with him; the other had bene long his owne by their consent. The *Aetholians* tooke vpon them angrily, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, euen out of the whole Countrey, leauing it free; and withall: to deliuer vp vnto them, whatsoeuer he held that had at any time bene theirs. Neither were they here-withall content: but insolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in *Theffalie*; corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the victors, by destroying, when he was vanquished, those Townes which else they might haue gotten. To answer these malapert *Aetholians*, *Philip* commanded his Gallie to row nearer the shore. But they began to plic him a fresh: telling him, that he must obey his betters; vnlesse he were able to defend himselfe by force of armes. He answered them, (as he was much giuen to gybing) with sundrie scoffes; and especially with one, which made the *Roman* Consul vnderstand, what manner of companions these *Aetholians* were. For he said, That he had often dealt with them; as likewise, the rest of the *Greekes*; desiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them to take spoile from spoile: yet could he get no better an answer, than that they would sooner take *Aetholia* out of *Aetholia*. *Titus* wondered what might be the meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custome, as often as warre happened betweene their friends, to hold vp the quarrell by sending voluntaries to serue on both sides, that should spoile both the one and the other. As for the libertie of *Greece*; He said it was strange that the *Aetholians* should be so carefull thereof, since diuers Tribes of their owne, which he there named, were indeed no *Græciens*: wherefore he would faine know, whether the *Romans* would giue him leaue to make slaues of those *Aetholians*, which were no *Greekes*. *Titus* hereat smiled: and was no whit offended, to heare the *Aetholians* well rated vp; touching whom he began to vnderstand, how odious they were in all the Countrey. As for that general demand of letting all *Greece* at libertie; *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well become the greatnesse of the *Romans*; though he would also consider, what might become his owne dignitie. But that the *Aetholians*, *Rhodiens*, and other pettie Estates, should thus presume, vnder countenance of the *Romans*, to take vpon them, as if by their great might hee should be hereto compelled: it was, he said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The *Acheans* be charged with much ingratitude: reciting against them some Decrees of their owne; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honors.

Neuertheless he said, that he would render *Argos* vnto them: but, as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himselfe. Thus he addressed himselfe wholly to the *Roman* General: vnto whom if he could giue satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, his late warre, (he said) was onely defensue; they hauing bene the offenders: or if he gaue them any occasion,

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Excerpt 2.  
Page 1. 12.

it was onely in helping *Perseus*, his sonne-in-law; neither did hee see why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that, spoyling a Temple of *Venus*, hee had cut downe the Grove and pleasure-walkes thereabouts: what could hee doe more, than send Gardiners thither with young Plants; if one King of another would stand to aske such recompence. Thus he cleared the matter out: but offered neuertheless, in honour of the *Romans*, to giue backe the Region of *Persea* to the *Rhodians*; as likewise to *Atolus*, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that daies conference, because it was late: *Philip* requiring a night his leisure to thinke vpon the Articles, which were many and he ill provided of Counsaile, wherewith to aduise about them. For your being so ill provided of counsaile, said *Titus*, you may euen thank your selfe, as hauing murdered all your friends, that were wont to aduise you faithfully. The next day *Philip* came not, vntill it was late at night: excusing his long stay by the weightinesse of the things propounded, whercon he could not suddenly tell how to resolve. But it was belieued, that hee thereby sought to abridge the *Aetolians* of leisure to raile at him. And this was the more likely; for that hee desired conference in priuate with the *Roman* Generall. The summe of his discourse, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would giue to the *Achaens* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as also that he would render vnto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the *Aetolians* that hee would grant some part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatsoever they would challenge. This when *Titus* his associates heard, they exclaimed against it: saying, That if the King were fultured to retaine any thing in *Greece*, he would shortly get possession of all which hee now rendered vp. The onely that they made came to *Philips* care: who thereupon desired a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could not perswade them, hee would suffer himselfe to be perswaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the King entreated them all, that they would with sincere affection hearken vnto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions, which he had already tendered; or otherwise, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send Embassadors to *Rome*, where hee would referre himselfe to the courtlesse of the Senate.

This was euen as *Quintius* would haue it: who stood in doubt, least a new Consul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which hee expected by ending of the warre. So he easily prevailed with the rest, to assent herunto: forasmuch as it was Winter, a time vniuersall for seruice in the warre; and since, without authoritie of the Senate, he should be vnable to proceed resolutely either in warre or peace. Further he willed them to send their seuerall Embassadors to *Rome*: which intimating vnto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip*, from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among thereth he perswaded King *Antiochus*, to make a iourne to *Rome* in person: knowing wel, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadors, would serue to make his owne actions more glorious in the Citie. All this tended to procure, that his owne Command of the Armie in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authoritie, partly by good reason which they alleged vnto the Senate.

The Embassadors of the *Greekes*, when they had audience at *Rome*, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more desirous of victory, than of satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the *Romans*, in vndertaking to set *Greece* at libertie. But this (they sayd) could neuer be effected; vnlesse especial care were taken, that the King should be dispossessed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Countrey, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in seru-  
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litt; that the Senate agreed to haue it euen so as they desired. When therefore the Embassadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to haue made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the midst of their Preface, with this one demand: Whether their Master would yeeld up *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*: Hereunto they made answer, That, concerning those places, the King had giuen them no direction or Commission what to say, or doe. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* desire of peace; wherein they said hee did no better than aske. Yet might his Embassadors haue truly said, That neither the *Aetolians*, *Achaens*, nor any of their fellowes, had in the late Treaite required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be yeelded vp. For which of them indeed could make any Claime to either of these Townes? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achaens* had some right; (though their right were no better, than that, hauing stolne it from One *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargain vnto an Other) *Philip* had already confedered to giue it backe vnto them. And this perhaps would haue bene alleadged, euen against the *Greekes* in excuse of the King, by some of *Quintius* his friends; that so he might haue had the honour to conclude the warre, if a Successor had bene decreed vnto him. But since He was appointed to continue Generall: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor Hee himselfe, after the returne of the Embassadors into *Greece*, cared to giue care vnto any talke of peace.

*Philip*, seeing that his *Achaens* had forsaken him, and ioyned with their common enemies; thought euen to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling himselfe vnto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many years past, since the *Lacedaemonians* vnder *Cleomenes*, with little other helpe than their owne strength, had bene almost strong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achaens* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted in a manner wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant; though styling himselfe King. Yet he sorely vexed the *Achaens*: and therefore seemed vnto *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Towne of *Argos*, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be consigned ouer into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serue to tie him fast vnto the *Macedonian*. *Philoctetes* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deale with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a streight alliance with the *Lacedaemonians*, by giuing some daughters of his owne in marriage vnto *Nabis* his sonnes. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the Towne of *Argos*; vnlesse by decree of the citizens themselves He might be called into it. Hereabout *Philoctetes* dealt with the *Argines*: but found them so averse; that, in open assemblie of the people, they detected the verie name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought hee had thereby a good occasion to rob and seece them. So he willed *Philoctetes*, without more adoe, to make ouer the Towne which he was ready to recieve. *Philoctetes* accordingly did let him with his Armie into it by night; and gaue him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argines*: who for verie loue had forsaken the *Achaens*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himselfe Master of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, vnderstanding how things went, fled out of the Citie at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chiefe Citizens that staid behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Also a great imposition of monie was laid vpon all those, that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more adoe. But if any stood long vpon the matter: or plaid the chieues, in purloyning their owne goods; they were put to the whip and besides losse of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely such, as might serue to make him gracious with the rascall multitude: abrogating

gating all debts, and diuiding the Lands of the rich among the poore. By such art of opprelling the great ones, it hath bene an old custome of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soone as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, He sent the newes to *T. Quintius*, and offered to ioyne with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so he tooke the paines to crosse ouer the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had soone agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was present with the Consul, made some euill touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent vnto the *Romans* fixe hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*; as also hee agreed with the *Achaens*, vpon a Truce for foure moneths, reseruing the finall conclusion of peace betwene them vntill the Warre 10 of *Philip* should be ended; which after this continued not long.

### §. XIII.

The battaile at *Cynosephala*, wherein *PHILIP* was vanquished by *T. QUINTIVS*.

**T**ITUS QUINTIVS, as soone as he vnderstood that he was appointed to haue Command of the Armie, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all things readie for diligent pursuit of the Warre. The like did *Philip*: who hauing failed in his negotiation of peace, and no lesse failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that Warre; meant afterwarde wholly to relye vpon himselfe.

*Titus* had in his Armie about six and twentie thousand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemie intended to doe. Onely *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Thessalie*; and thereupon addressed himselfe to seeke him out. They had like to haue met vnawares, neare vnto the Citie of *Phera*: where the vnt-couriers on both sides discovered each other; 30 and sent word thereof vnto their severall Captaines. But neither of them were over-hastie, to commit all to hazard vpon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred Horse, with as many light armed Foot, to make a better discouerie. These met, and fought a long while: returning finally backe into their severall Campes, with little advantage vnto either side. The Countie about *Phera* was thicke set with Trees: and otherwise full of Gardens and mud wals; which made it vnproper for service of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remoue backe vnto *Scutisain* the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully served with all necessities. *Titus* conceived aright his meaning: and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it onely to wait the Countie. 40 There lay betwene them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other tooke. Neuertheless they encamped not farre asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them vnderstood what was become of the other. The third daie was verie tempestuous; and forced each of them to take vp his lodging, where he found it, by chance. Then sent they forth discouersers againe, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the *Macedonians* had the worke. But *Philip* anon sent in such strong supply; that if the resistance of the *Aetolians* had not bene desperate, the *Romans* their fellows had bene driuen backe into their Campe. Yet, all resistance notwithstanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed: so that *Titus* himselfe was faine to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether besides the Kings purpose, to put the fortune of a battaile in trust that day, with so much of his estate as might thereon depend. But the newes came

came to him thicke and tumultuously, how the enemies fled; and how the day was his own; if he could vse an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to alter his purpose: in so much as he embattailed his men; and climbed vp those hills, which for that the knops thereon had some resemblance vnto Dogs heads, were called, by a word signifying as much, *Cynosephala*. As soone as he was on the hill-top; it did him good to see that they of his owne light armature were busie in fight, almost at the verie Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so farre. He had also libertie to chosse his ground, as might serue best his advantage; so farre as the *Romans* were quite driuen from all parts of the Hill. But of this commoditie he could make no great vse: the roughnesse of the place among those 10 Dog-heads, as they were called, seruing nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Neuertheless hee found conuenient roome, wherein to marshall the one part of his Armie: and gave order vnto his Captaines, to follow with the rest; embattailing them as they might. Whilest hee was doing this: Hee perceived that his Horsemen and light armature beganne to shrink; as being fallen vpon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driuen to recoyle. He flect forward to helpe them: and they no lesse hastily draw vnto him for succour; hauing the *Romans* not farre behind them.

As the Legions beganne to climbe the Hill, *Philip* commanded those of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Here *Titus* found an extreme difficult peece of worke. For this *Phalanx*, being a great square battaile of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now vsed in our moderne Warres: and being in like manner vsed, as are ours; was not to be resisted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it selfe held together vndissolued. The *Macedonians* were embattailed in verie close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the *Romans*; as also the pikes of the first ranke, had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no maruel, if the *Romans* gaue backe: euerie one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come nearer vnto the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot or thereabout. *Titus* 30 finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it; was greatly troubled: for that still the *Phalanx* bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while hee obserued, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able, through the much vneuennesse of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as cyther they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was worse) vpon desire cyther of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the worke, ranne foolishly along by the side of their fellowes, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder He made great and present vse. Hee caused the right wing of his Battaille to march vp the hill, against these ill ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The *Macedonians* were readier to dispute 40 what should be done in such a case, than well aduised what to doe; as hauing no one man appointed, to command that part in chiefe. Indeed if they should haue done their best, it could not haue serued; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons vnsuccessfull. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* hauing fixe and twentie thousand in his Armie (as he is said to haue bene equall to the Enemie in number) had foure thousand Horse, foure thousand Targettiers, and foure thousand light-armed: so shall there remaine fourteene thousand Pikes; whereof hee himselfe had embattailed the one halfe in a *Phalanx*; the other halfe in the left wing: are they whom *Quintius* is readie now to charge. The *Phalanx* hauing vsually fixteene in File, mult, when it consisted of seuen thousand, haue well neare foure hundred and fortie in ranke: but foure hundred would serue, to make a Front long enough; the other fortie or seuen and thirtie Files might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allow- 50 ing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to euerie man of them three foot of ground: this Front must haue occupied twelue hundred Foot, or two hundred and fortie paces; that

*Plut. in vita T. Q. Flam.*

*Excerpt. 2. Polyb. Lib. 37.*

that is, verie neare a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champaines free from inbrancie of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity disioyne this close battaile of the *Phalanx*; was not euerie where to be found. Here at *Cynosephale* *Philip* had so much roome, as would onely suffice for the one halfe of his men: the rest were faine to stand still and looke about them, being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughnesse of the *Logges heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from coming vp vnto them; nor found any difficultie in mairling those enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommoditie of the place. The verie first impression of the Elephants, caused them to giue backe; and the coming on of the Legions, to betake themselves vnto flight. A Roman Tribune or Colonell, seeing the victorie on that part assured, left the prosecution of it vnto others: and being followed by twentie Ensignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fallow) by some two thousand men, tooke in hand a notable peece of worke, and mainly helpfull to making of the Victorie compleere. He considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was runne on so farre; as that himselfe with his fellows, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten about the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the left hand; and making downe the Hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell vpon it in the Rere. The hindmost ranks of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeed saue the first Hue, were accustomed, when the battailes came to joyning, to carrie their Pikes vpright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their foremen: and so were they doing at the present. This was an other great inconvenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*, That it serued neyther for offence nor defence, except onely in Front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Megopotamis*, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the foure sides of it were as so many Fronts looking sundrie wayes, because hee expected that he should be encompassed round: yet it is to be vnderstood, that herein he altered the vsuall forme; as also at the same time he embattailed his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turne their weapons, which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, That *Alexanders* men being thus disposed, were fit onely to keep their own ground; not being able to follow vpon the Enemy, vnlesse their hindmost ranks could haue marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such prouision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise vnable to helpe themselves, threw downe their weapons, and fled. The King him selfe had thought vntill now, that the fortune of the battaile was euerie where alike, and the day his owne. But hearing the noyse behind him, and turning a little aside with a troupe of Horse, to see how all went: when he beheld his men casting downe their weapons, and the *Romans* at his backe on the higher ground; Hee presently betooke himselfe to flight. Neyther could he afterwards in any place (except onely a small while about *Tempe* thre to foure furlonges as were dispersed in this ouerthrow) vntill hee was gotten into his owne Kingdome of *Macedon*.

There died of the Roman Armie in this battaile, about seuen hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thousand were slaine; and fise thousand taken Prisoners.

¶ XV.

¶ XV.

T. QUINTIVS falleth out with the *Aetolians*; and grantes truce vnto *PHILIP*, with conditions, vpon which the peace is ratified. Libertie proclaimed vnto the *Greeks*. The *Romans* quarrelled with *ANTIOCHVS*.

**T**HE *Aetolians* wonderfully vanted themselves; and desired to haue it noised through all *Greece*, That the victorie at *Cynosephale* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the bootie; by sucking the *Macedonian* Campe, whilst the *Romans* were busied in the chace. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vaine glorie, and at their rauous condition; purposed to reach them better manners, by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceiued, That by vying them with any extraordinary fauor, he should greatly offend the rest of his Confederates in *Greece*; who detested the *Aetolians* much more vehemently, than euer they had done the *Macedonians*. But this displeasure brake not forth yet awhile.

After the battaile *Titus* made halt vnto *Larissa*, a Citie of *Thessalie*: which he presently tooke. Before his coming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Countiers to burne all his letters, and passages whatsoeuer in writing, betwixt him and others, of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much aduertise, he forgot not to provide for the safety of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of *Larissa* might well perceine, that he gaue them as alreadie lost. Wherefore we finde not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the Towne of *Leucas* bordering vpon *Aeacania*, was taken by the Roman Fleet: and verie soone after, all the *Aeacnians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Aetolians* euer true to *Philip*; gaue vp themselves vnto the *Romans*, hearing of the victorie at *Cynosephale*. The *Rhodians* also were then in hand with the conquest of *Persea*, a Region of the Continent ouer against their Iland; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treatie of peace with *Philip*. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greeks*: forasmuch as they awaited not the good leisure of the *Romans*, but with an Armie of their owne, and some helpe which they borrowed of the *Achaean* and other their friends, gaue battaile to *Dinocrates* the Kings Lieutenant, wherein they had the victorie, and presently recovered the whole Prouince. It angered *Philip* worse than all this, that the *Dardaniens* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdome; waiting and spoiling, as if all had beene abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Armie in all hast, of six thousand foot and six hundred horse: wherewith coming vpon them, he draue them, with little or no losse of his owne, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdome. Which done, He returned to *Thessalonica*.

In this one enterprise He had successfull answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisdome to yeeld vnto necessities; and therefore sent in all hast *Linnus* and *Demetrius*, with *Cyclades* the banished *Achaean*, in whom hee reposed much confidence, Embassadors vnto *Titus*. These had conference along while in priuate, with *Titus* and some of his Roman Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in verie freindly wise dismissed. It seemes that they had Commission, to conferre all vnto *Titus* his owne discretion: as *Philip* himselfe in few daies after did. There was granted vnto them a Truce for fifteene daies: in which time, the King himselfe might come and speake with the Roman Generals. In the meane season

nie suspicious rumors went of *Titus* as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greeks* his Confederates. Of these bruits the *Ætolians* were chief authors: who being wont to regard neither freindship nor honestie, where profited them a wrong way, iudged a like of all men else. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had sent letters vnto his Allocateds; willing them to haue their Agents readie by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the Treatie should be held. There when they were all assembled, they entred into consultation before the Kings arrival, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for euery Estate in particular. The poore King *Aminander* besought them all, and especially the *Romans*, that they would think vpon him, and considering his weaknes which he confessed, make such prouision, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreake his anger vpon him who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander* one of the *Ætolians*: who commending *Titus* for so much as he had thus assembled the Confederates to aduise vpon their owne good, and had willed them to deliuer their mindes freely: added, That in the maine of the purpose which hee had in hand, he was vtterly decciued: for that by making peace with *Philip*, hee could neither assure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their libertie. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the war, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the faire promises made by *Titus* himselfe vnto the *Greeks*, than the chasing of *Philip* quite out of his Kingdome. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered, That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the laudable customes which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to seeke the vtter destruction of any King or Nation, at such time as they first made warre with them; vntill by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessitie, to take such a rigorous course. And hercof he alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victorie, to generous mindes, was onely an inducement vnto moderation. As concerning the publik benefit of *Greece*: it was (he said) expedient, that the Kingdome of *Macedon* should be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it should be vtterly destroyed: forasmuch as it serued as a barre, to the *Thracians*, *Gauls*, and a multitude of other sauage Nations, which would soone ouerflow the whole Continent of *Greece*, if this kingdome were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yeeld vnto those demands, wherewith he had pressed him in the former Treatie; then was there no reason to denie him peace. As for the *Ætolians*: if they thought otherwise, it should be at their owne pleasure, to take counsaile apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began *Phanaces*, an other of the *Ætolians*, to say, That all was come to nothing; for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greeks*, no lesse than hee had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bid him leaue his babbiling; saying, That his selfe would take such order, as that *Philip* were he neuer so delirious, should thenceforth not haue it in his power to molest the *Greeks*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* vied friendly: and suffering him to repose himselfe that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yeelded vnto all that had beene required at his hands, offering yet further, to stand to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would haue more added to the Conditions. *Phanaces* the *Ætolian*, insulting ouer him, said it was to be hoped, that he would then at length giue up to the *Ætolians* a many of towne (which he there named) bidding him speake, whether he would, or not. His answer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interposing himselfe, said it should be otherwise; so that these were *Thessalian* Townes, and should all be free: one of them onely excepted, which not long agoe had refused to commit it selfe to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore should now be giuen to the *Ætolians*. Hereto *Phanaces* cried out that it was too great an iniurie, thus to defraud them of the Townes that had sometime belonged

belonged vnto their Common-weale. Rather he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient Couenant betwene them and the *Romans*; all the Townes taken ought to be their owne, and the *Romans* to haue nothing saue the pillage and captiues. It is true, that there had beene such a Condition in the former warre: but it ceased to be of any validitie, as soone as the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gaue them to vnderstand, asking them whether they thought it reasonable, that all the Townes in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by compulsion, should be deliuered into subiection of the *Ætolians*. The rest of the Confederates were verie much delighted, with these angry passages betwene the *Roman* and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reason, to feare any hard measure; since *Titus* was so earnest in behalfe of those *Thessalians*, to giue them libertie, though they had stood out against him, euen till verie feare made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves; but gaue their consent willingly vnto a Truce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cause that moued *Titus* to grant peace so readily to the *Macedonians*, besides that laudable custome by him before alleaded; was, the fame of *Antiochus* his comming with an Armie from *Syria*, and drawing neere toward *Europe*. He had also perhaps yet a greater motiue; euen the consideration that his succellor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the warre should happen to be protracted. And hee was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, and sundrie States of *Greece*, came vnto *Rome*, new Consuls were chosen: who, (especially the one of them) stood verie earnestly against the peace; alleading friuolous matter of their owne suspicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the warre. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embassadors of *Philip* offering to stand to whatsoeuer was demanded, and the letters of *Titus* pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side; and the importunitie of the Consul on the other; who said, that all these goodly shewes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebell, as soone as the Armie was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Assemblies of the People; by whose soueraine authoritie it was concluded, That Peace should be granted vnto the King. So ten Embassadors were sent from *Rome* ouer into *Greece*: in which number were they, that had beene Consuls before *Titus*; and it was ordained by their aduice, That *Titus* should goe through with the businesse of Peace. These would verie faine haue retained those three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, vntill the state of *Greece* were somewhat better settled. But finally *Titus* prevailed so, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred vnto the *Achaens*; and all the other *Greece* Townes which *Philip* held, as well in *Asia* as in *Greece*, restored vnto libertie.

The Conditions of the Peace granted vnto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next *Ithmian Games*, He should withdraw his Garrisons out of all the *Greece* Townes which he held, and consigne them ouer to the *Romans*: That hee should deliuer vp vnto them all Captiues that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewise all his shippes of war, referring to himselfe onely five of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinarie greatness, wherein fixteene men laboured at euerie oare: Further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres next following, by euen portions. Hereto *Lucius* adds, That he was forbidden to make war out of *Macedon*, without permission of the Senate. But I finde not that he obserued this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Foure hundred talents hee had already deliuered vnto *Titus*, together with his younger sonne *Demetrius*, to remaine as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at such time as he lately sent his Embassadors to *Rome*: when it was promised, that the monie, and his sonne, should be restored backe vnto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this monie were reckoned as

H h h h h

part

\* 2 Polyb. ex-  
cerpt. Legat. 9.

\* Liv. l. 23.

part of the thousand talents, I cannot find: and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as young *Demetrius*, who together with those foure hundred Talents was given for hostage, remained still in custodie of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus* vnto *Protes*, King of *Bithynia*: giuing him to vnderstand, what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalfe of the *Greekes*; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the *Cians*, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by *Philip* to gratifie this *Bythinian* his sonne-in-law, should be restored to libertie; and permitted to enioy the same benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What effect these letters wrought it was not greatly materially, since the *Romans* were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such wise that they lo had not leisure, to examine the conformitie of *Protes* to their wil.

All *Greece* rejoiced at the good bargain, which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. One-ly the *Ætolians* found themselves agreed that they were vnto neglected; which was to the rest no smal part of their contentment. The *Beotians* continued to fauour the *Macedonians*; and thereby occasioned much trouble vnto themselves. There were some among them well affected to the *Romans*: who seeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint vnto *Titus*, saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had borne vnto him; vnto this time, when he lay close by them with his Armie, their Pretor which was head of the opposite Faction might be made away. *Titus* refused to haue an hand in the execution, yet so neuertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to haue kept themselves vndiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those that were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the *Romans*; in such wise, that how soeuer they durst not take armes against them, yet such of them as they found stragling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Countrie. This was detected within awhile, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Beotians*, to haue the murderers deliuered into his hands; and for five hundred sculdors, which he had lost by them, to haue paid vnto him five hundred Talents. In stead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which he would not take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadors to the *Acheans* and *Athenians*, informing them what had happened: and requested them not to take it amiss, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herevnto he falls to wailing their Countrey; and beseegeth two such Townes of theirs, as did seeme to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadors of the *Acheans* and *Athenians*, (especially of the *Acheans* who offered, if hee needed them, to helpe him in this war; yet besought him rather to grant peace vnto the *Beotians*) prevailed so farre with him; that he was pacified with thirtie Talents, and the punishment of such as were knowne offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of *Greece* distracted; some among them rejoicing that they were free from the *Macedonians*; others greatly doubting, that the *Roman* would prouea worse neighbour. The *Ætolians* would haue bene glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumors abroad, That it was the purpose of the *Romans*, to keepe in their owne hands all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the *Greekes*, conclude, that this *Macedonian* Warre waser as an introduction to the Warre to be made in *Asia* against King *Antiochus*; where as grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progreffe of bad rumors, when the *Isthmian* games were held, which in time of peace were neuer without great solemnitie and concourse: *Titus* in that great assembly of all *Greece*, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the Generall, hauing vanquished King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did wil to be at libertie, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and liuing at their owne Lawes, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Lacedaemonians*, *Eubaeans*,

*Eubaeans*, *Achaens* of *Phthiotis*, *Magnetians*, *Thessalians*, and *Persebeians*. The suddenness of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout; yet presently they cried out to heare it againe, as if they durst scarce credit their own cares. The *Greekes* were Crafts-masters in the Art of giuing thanks; which they rendered now to *T. Quintius* with so great affection, as that they bad welcome smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of all the *Greekes*, was like to be much more auailable vnto the *Romans* in their warre against *Antiochus*, than could haue bene the possession of a few Townes, yea or of all those Prouinces which were named in their Proclamation. Vpon confidence hereof; no sooner were these *Isthmian* games at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Councell, gaue audience to *Hegesianus* and *Lysias* King *Antiochus* his Embassadors: whom they willed to signifie vnto their Lord, That he should doe well to abstaine from the free Cities in *Asia*, and not vex them with warre: as also to restore what soeuer he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolemie* or *Philip*. Moreouer they willed him by these his Embassadors, that he should not passe ouer his Armie into *Europe*; adding, That some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to take with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises vnto the *Greekes*; to the rest they gaue what they had promised. But the *Phocians* and *Loerians* they gaue vnto the *Ætolians*, whom they thought it no wise dome to offend ouer-much, being shortly to take a greater worke in hand. The *Achaens* of *Phthiotis* they annexed vnto the *Thessalians*; all saue the Towne of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, the same which had bene abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the last Treatie with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended verie earnestly about *Pharalus* and *Lencus*. But they were put off with a dilatorie answer, and rejected vnto the Senate: for how soeuer somewhat the Councell might fauour them; yet was it not meet that they should haue their will, as it were in despite of *Titus*. So the *Achaens* were restored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Hersea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeede (though the *Romans* yet awhile kept the *Acorinthians*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achaen* Commonwealth, enjoyed their libertie in as absolute manner, as they coulde desire. To *Pleuratus* the *Ilyrian* were giuen one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and vpon *Aminander* were bestowed those Castles, which hee had gotten from *Philip* during this Warre; to reigne in them and the grounds which they commanded, as hee did among his *Arbmanians*. The *Rhodians* had bin their owne Caruers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councell, would haue giuen the Townes of *Oreum* and *Eretia*, in the Ile of *Eubaea*, to his sonne and succellor King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the *Eubaeans*, should bee suffered to enioy their libertie. *Orestis*, a little Prouince of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, had yielded vnto the *Romans* long ere this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at libertie, and made a free Estate by it selfe.

These busineses being dispatched: it remained, that all care should be vnto how to auoid the war with King *Antiochus*, but how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperitie. Wherefore Embassadors were sent both to *Antiochus* himselfe, to pick matter of quarrell; and about vnto others, to predispose them vnto the assisting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of Warre against this King the *Romans* now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad; I referre vnto another place.

## CHAP. V.

The VVarres of the Romans with ANTIOCHVS  
the great, and his adherents.

## §. I.

What Kinges, of the races of SELEVCVS and PTOLÉMIE, reigned in  
Asia and Egypt before Antiochus the great.



Philostr.

SELEVCVS NICATOR, the first of his race, King  
of Asia and Syria, died in the end of the hundred  
twentie and fourth Olympiad. Hee was treacherously  
slaine by Ptolemie Ceraunus, at an Altar called Argos,  
hauing (as is said) bene warned before by an Ora-  
cle, to beware of Argos, as the fatal place of his  
death. But I neuer haue read that any mans life hath  
bene preferred, or any mischance auoided, by the  
predictions of such Deuillish Oracles. Rather I be-  
lieue, That many such predictions of the Heathen  
Gods, haue bene ante-dated by their Priests or by  
others, which deuised them after the euent.

Antiochus Soter, the sonne and heire of this Seleucus, was dearly beloued of  
his Father: who surrendered vp vnto him his owne wife Stratonice, when hee vnder-  
stood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore Ptolemie Ce-  
raunus had great cause to feare, that the death of Seleucus would not be vnreueged  
by this his Successor. But Antiochus was contented to be pacified, cyther with gifts,  
or perhaps onely with faire words; containing himselfe within Asia, and letting Ce-  
raunus enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in Europe with the blood of Sele-  
ucus. It is said of this Antiochus, that although he married with the Queen Stratonice in  
his Fathers life, yet out of modestie he forbore to embrace her, till his Father was  
dead. So that perhaps his incestuous loue was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his  
not prosecuting that reuenge; whereunto Nature should haue urged him. After-  
wards he had warres with Antigonus Gonatas, and with Nicomedes King of Bithynia.  
Alfo Lutatius and Leonorius, Kings or Captaines of the Gules, were set vpon him by  
the same Nicomedes. With these he fought a great battaile: wherein though other-  
wise the Enemies had all advantage against him; yet by the terror of his Elephants,  
which affrighted both their Horses and them, he wonne the Victorie. Hee tooke  
in hand an enterprize against Ptolemie Philadelphus: but finding ill successe in the be-  
ginning, he soone gaue it ouer. To this King Antiochus Soter it was, that Berosus the  
Chaldean dedicated his Historie of the Kings of Assyria; the same, which hath since  
been excellently falsified by the Friar Annius. He left behind him one sonne, cal-  
led Antiochus Theos; and one daughter, called Apame, that was married vnto the  
King of Cyrene. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie and ninth Olym-  
piad, or the beginning of the Olympiad following, in the fiftieth or one and fifti-  
eth year of the Kingdome of the Greeces; when he had reigned nineteene yeares.

Antiochus, surnamed Theos or the god, had this vaine and impious title giuen vnto  
him, by flatterie of the Milesians; whom hee deliuered from Timarchus, a Tyrant  
that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitlesse, warre with Ptolemie

Orosius, lib. 7.  
Iust. Mari. in  
Euren.

Philadelphus King of Egypt; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife Bere-  
nice the daughter of Ptolemie.

Of these two Kings, and of this Ladie Berenice, Saint Hierome and other Inter-  
preters haue vnderstood that Prophecie of DANIEL: The Kings daughter of the  
South, shall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement; and that which fol-  
loweth.

Ptolemie Philadelphus was a great loue of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart  
his incestuous marriage with his owne sister Arfinoe) a verie excellent Prince: how-  
fouer, the worthiest of all that race. It was hee, that built and furnished with  
Bookes, that famous Librarie in Alexandria: which to adorne, and to honour the  
more, he sent vnto Eleazar then high Priest of the Iewes for the Bookes of Moses  
and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King vnto the Iewes, had formerly bin  
verie great: for he had set at libertie many of them, as his Father held in lauerie  
throughout all Egypt; and hee had sent vnto the Temple of God in Hierusalem  
verie rich Presents. Wherefore Eleazar yielding to the Kings desire, presented him  
with an Hebrew coppie: which Ptolemie caused to be translated into Greeke, by seue-  
nte of the most graue and learned persons, that could bee found among all the  
Tribes. In this number of the seuentie two Interpreters, or (as they are commonly  
called) the Seventie, Iesus the sonne of Sirach, is thought by Genebrard to haue bene  
one: who that he liued in this Age, it seemes to me verie sufficiently proved by Iu-  
snius, in his preface vnto Ecclesiasticus. The whole passage of this business between  
Philadelphus and the high Priest, was written (as Iulius Iulianus affirms) that  
was employed therein. Fortie yeares Ptolemie Philadelphus was King, reckoning the  
time wherein he ioyntly reigned with his Father. He was exceedingly beloued  
of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his  
end hee grew more voluptuous, than hee had bene in his former yeares: in which  
time hee boasted, that hee alone had found out the way how to liue for euer. If this  
had bene referred vnto his honourable deeds, it might haue stood with reason: o-  
therwise, the Gowt, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him  
his owne error. He was the first of the Kings, deriued from Alexanders Successors,  
that entred into League with the Romans; as also his Offspring was the last a-  
mong those Royall Families, which by them was rooted vp.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called Laodice, at such time as he married with  
Berenice the daughter of this Ptolemie. After his second marriage, hee vied his first  
wife with no better regard, than if shee had bene his Concubine. Laodice hated his  
first wife: yet aduerted not to seek reuenge; vntill her owne sonne Seleucus Cal-  
purnius was of ability to be King. This was two or three yeares after the death  
of Ptolemie Philadelphus: at what time shee poisoned her husband Theos; and by  
permission of Seleucus her sonne, murdered Berenice, together with a sonne that shee  
had borne to Antiochus. In true reports, that Berenice suied herselfe, together with the  
young Prince her child, while in the Sanctuary at Daphne: and that not onely some  
Cities of Asia prepared to succour her, but her brother Ptolemie Energetes, King of  
Egypt, came to rescue her with an Armie; though too late, for she was slaine be-  
fore.

With such cruelties Seleucus Callinicus, succeeding vnto his Father that had fift-  
ene yeares bene King, beganne his Reigne. His subjects were highly offended at  
his wicked nature, which they discouered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was  
like, that his Estate would haue bene much endangered, if Ptolemie Energetes, who  
came against him, had not bene drawne backe into his owne Countrey, by some  
Comotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes against  
Ptolemie, in defence of their owne King: but rather they sided with the Egyptians;  
who tooke Laodice the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as she had well  
deserued. Wherefore Seleucus, being freed from this inuasion, by occasion of those  
domesticall troubles which recalled Energetes home into Egypt, went about a dan-

H h h h h 3 g e r o r r s

Dei. 31. 1. 2.

\* Aug. de Civ.  
Dei. l. 18. c. 41.

h. 17. c. 11. 2. 4.  
Concerning  
that Booke  
which now  
goes under  
the name of  
Ptolemie, many  
learned men,  
and among the  
rest Lodouicus  
Frobenius, hold opi-  
nion that it is  
conterfeited, &  
the invention  
of some later  
Author. Surely  
if it were to be  
suffered in  
the time of Pto-  
lemie, it may be  
more iustly  
suspected: since a  
new Edition  
of it is come  
to light, purged  
from falsities (as  
the Payvill  
terme those  
bookes; where-  
in they haue  
changed what  
they please) &  
set forth by  
Middlebury  
at Colon. An-  
Dom. 1597.  
15. L. 17.

gerous peece of worke, euen to make Warre vpon his owne subjects becaufe of their bad affection towards him; when as it had bene much better, by well deserv-  
ing, to haue changed their hatred into loue. A great Fleet hee prepared: in furni-  
shing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that hee scarce left himselfe any  
other hope, it that should miscarrie. Herein hee embarked himselfe; and, 10  
putting to Sea, met with such a tempest, as denoued all faue himselfe, and a verie  
few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamitie, hauing left him nothing else in  
a manner than his naked bodie, turned neuertheless to his great good; as anon after it  
seemed. For when his Subjects vnderstood, in what sort the Gods (as they conceived it)  
it had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his estate; and, 10  
presuming that hee would thenceforth become a new man, offered him their ser-  
uice with great alacritie. This reuiued him, and filled him with such spirits as thin-  
king himselfe well enough able to deale with the *Egyptian*, he made readie a mightie  
Armie for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had bene  
at Sea. He was vanquished by *Ptolemie* in a great battaile: whence he escaped hard-  
ly; no better attended, than after his late shipwrack. Halting therefore backe to  
*Antioch*, and fearing that the Enemy would loone be at his heeles; He wrote vnto  
his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, who lay then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour  
with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Domi-  
nion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteene yeares olde; yet ex-  
tremely ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himselfe great. 20  
He leued a mightie Armie of the *Gauls*; where with he set forwards to helpe his brother,  
or rather to get what he could for himselfe. Hereof *Ptolemie* being aduer-  
tised; and hauing no desire to put himselfe in danger more than needed,ooke Truce  
with *Seleucus* for tenne yeares. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the  
*Egyptian* warre; but his brother *Antiochus* came vpon him; and needs would fight  
with him, as knowing himselfe to haue the better Armie. So *Seleucus* was vanquished  
againe; and saued himselfe, with so few about him, that hee was verily suppo-  
sed to haue perished in the battaile. Thus did Gods iustice take reuenge of those  
murders, by which the Crowne was purchased; and selled (as might haue bene  
thought) on the head of this bloudie King. *Antiochus* was glad to heare of his brother's  
death; as if thereby hee had purchased his hearts desire. But the *Gauls*, his  
Mercenaries, were gladder than He. For when he led them against *Eumenes*; King of  
*Pergamus*, in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his  
Reigne: these perfidious *Barbarians* tooke counsaile against him; and deuised how  
to stripp him of all that hee had. They thought it verie likely, that if there were  
none of the Royall house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to  
doe what should best be pleasing to themselves, in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore  
they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ransom himselfe with monie,  
as if he had bene their lawfull Prisoner. Neither were they so contented; but  
made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended little to his honour. 30  
In the meane while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once more  
to trie his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the season fit  
for himselfe to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and  
was beaten; which is no great meruaile, since he had great reason to stand in no lesse  
fear of the *Gauls*; his owne soldiers, than of the enemy with whom hee had to  
deale. After this, *Eumenes* wanne much in *Asia*; whilest *Antiochus* went against his  
brother. In the second battaile, fought betweene the brethren, *Seleucus* had the  
vpper hand; and *Antiochus Hierax* of the *Hauke*, (which surname was giuen him, be-  
cause he fought his prey vpon euerie one, without care whether hee were prouoked  
or not) soared away as farre as he could, both from his brother, and from his owne  
*Gauls*. Hauing fetcht a great compasse through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell  
at length in *Capadocia*; where his father in law King *Artamenes* tooke him vp. Hee  
was entertained verie louingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him.

T his

This hee soone perceiued: and therefore betooke him to his wings againe; though  
he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length hee reloued to bestow  
himselfe vpon *Ptolemie*: his owne conscience telling him, what euill hee had meant  
vnto *Seleucus*, his brother; and therefore what little good hee was reciprocally to ex-  
pect at his hands. Infidelitie can finde no sure harbour. *Ptolemie* well vnderstood  
the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore hee laid him vp in  
close prison: whence though by means of an harlot hee got out; yet flying from  
his keepers, he fell into the hands of the eues, by whom he was murdered. Neare a-  
bout the same time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against  
him, during his warres with his brother. Hee therefore made a iourneie against *Ar-  
saces* founder of the *Parthian* kingdome: wherein his euill fortune, or rather Gods  
vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was takē prisoner. *Arsaces* dealt friend-  
ly with him, and dismissed him, hauing euery way giuen him royall entertainment:  
but in returning home, he brake his necke by a fall from his horse, and so ended his  
vnhappy reigne of twentie yeeres. Hee had to wife *Laodice*, the sister of *Andromachus*  
one of his most trustie Captaines: which was father vnto that *Achæus*, who mak-  
ing his aduantage of this affinitie, became shortly after (as hee filled himselfe) a kings  
though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laodice* hee  
had two sonnes; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third,  
called afterwards the Great.

*Seleucus Ceraunus* reigned onely three yeeres: in which time he made war vpon  
*Attalus* the first, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weake of bodie through lick-  
nессe, and in want of monie, He could not keepe his men of war in good order: and  
finally he was slaine by treason of *Nicanor*, and *Apaturnus* a *Gaul*. His death was re-  
uenged by *Achæus*, who slue the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Armie: which  
he ruled verie wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus*, the brother of *Seleucus*,  
being then a Child.

## p. II.

The beginning of the Great *ANTIOCHUS* his reigne. Of *PTOLEMIE* EVERGE-  
TES, and *PHILOPATOR*, Kings of *Egypt*. War between *ANTIOCHUS* and  
*PHILOPATOR*. The rebellion of *MOLO*; and Expedition of *ANTIOCHUS* a-  
gainst him. The continuance of *ANTIOCHUS* his *Egyptian* warre: with the pos-  
sages betweene the two Kings: the victorie of *PTOLEMIE*; and Peace concluded.  
Of *ACHÆUS*, and his rebellion; his greatnesse, and his fall. *ANTIOCHUS* his  
Expedition against the *Parthians*, *Bactrians*, and *Indians*. Somewhat of the Kings reig-  
ning in *India*, after the death of the Great *ALEXANDER*.



*ANTIOCHUS* was scarcely fiftene yeeres olde, when hee began his  
reigne, which lasted six and thirtie yeeres. In his Minoritie, Hee was  
wholly gouerned by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man; and one which  
magned all vertue, that hee found in any of the Kings faithfull ser-  
uants. This wilde qualitie in a Counsailler of such great place, how  
harmefull it was vnto his Lord, and finally vnto himselfe, the successe of things will  
shortly discover.

Soone after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reigne, *Ptolemie Euergetes* King of  
*Egypt* died; and left his heire *Ptolemie Philopator*, a yong boy likewise, as hath elf-  
where bene remembered. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieved *Aratus* and the  
*Acheans*: who afterwards tooke part with *Cleomenes*; and louingly entertained  
him, when he was chased out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatas*. He annexed vnto  
his Dominion the Kingdome of *Cyrene*; by taking to wife *Berenice*, the daughter of  
King *Magus*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*; and the last good King of the race.

T he

The name of *Euergetes*, or the doer of good, was giuen him by the *Aegyptians*; nor so much for the great spoiles which hee brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered some of those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when hee conquered *Aegypt*, had carried into *Persia*. He was readie to haue made war vpon the *Ienes*, for that *Ombis* their high Priest, out of meere couetousnes of monie, refused to pay vnto him his yeerely tribute of twentie talents; but he was pacified by the wisdom of *Iosphus a Iew*, vnto whom afterwards he let in farme the Tributes and Customes, that belonged vnto him, in those parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Calefryria*, with *Palestina* and all those parts of the Countrie that lay neereft vnto *Aegypt*, were held by the *Aegyptians*; either as hauing fallen to the share of *Ptoleme* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slaine in the battaile at *Ipsus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublefome and vnhappy reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages betweene the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucides*, were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. This *Ptoleme Euergetes* reigned six and twentie yeeres; and died towards the end of the hundred thirte and ninth *Olympiad*. It may seeme by that, which we finde in the Prologue vnto *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* his booke, that he should haue reigned a much longer time. For *Sirachides* there saith, that he came into *Aegypt* in the eight and thirtieth yeere, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, that either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirtieth yeeres, were the yeeres of *Iesus* his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Ienes* did otherwhiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*: *Hermias* the Counsaileur, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord vnto warre against the *Aegyptians*; for the recouerie of *Calefryria* and the Countreies adioyning. This counsaile was verie vnseasonably giuen; when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out into rebellion, and sought to make himselfe absolute Lord of that rich Countreie. Neuertheless *Hermias*, being more froward than wise, maintained fustly, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captain other Captaines that were faithful; whilst He in person made warre vpon one, that was like himselfe a King. No man durst gainsay the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenetas an Achaean*, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebelle; whilst in the meane season an Armie was preparing for the Kings Expedition into *Calefryria*. The King hauing marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and so ouer the Defarts into the Vallie of *Musyas*, between the Mountaines of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*; found his way there stopp'd by *Theodotus an Aetolian*, that serued vnder *Ptoleme*. So hee consumed the time there awhile to none effect: and then came heere, that *Xenetas*, his Capitaine, was deliroed with his whole Armie; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countreie, as farre as vnto *Babylon*.

*Xenetas*, whilst he was yet on his iourne, and drew neare to the Riuer of *Tigris*; receiued many aduertisements, by such as fled ouer vnto him from the Enemie, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wils, drawne by their Commander to beare armes against the King. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himselfe stood in some doubt lest his followers would leaue him in time of necessitie. *Xenetas* therefore making slow, as if he had prepared to passe the Riuer by Botes in case of his Enemie: left in the night time such as he thought meet to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Armie went ouer *Tigris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Campe. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to giue impediment; but hearing that *Xenetas* could not so be stopp'd, He himselfe dislodged, and tooke his iourne towards *Media*, leauing all his baggage behind him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as distrustling the faith of his owne souldiours:

souldiours: or whether thereby to deceiue his Enemie; the great follie of *Xenetas* made his stratageme prosperous. For *Xenetas*, hauing borne himselfe proudly before, vpon the countenance of *Hermias* by whom he was aduanced into this charge; did now presume, that all should giue way to his authoritie, without putting him to much trouble of vting the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast, with the prouisions which they found readie in the forsaken Campe: or rather hee commanded them so to doe, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish vpon themselves against the iourne, which hee intended to take next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himselfe, in transporting the remainder of his Armie, which he had left on the other side of *Tigris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than hee could easily returne the same night. Wherefore vnderstanding what good rule the Kings men kept: hee made such hast backe vnto them, that hee came vpon them early in the morning; whilst they were yet heauie with the wine and other good cheare, that they had spent at supper. So *Xenetas* and a verie few about him, died fighting in defence of the Campe: the rest were slaughtered, without making resistance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Campe on the other side of *Tigris*, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captaines flying thence, to save their owne liues. In the heat of this victorie, the Rebelle marched vnto *Seleucia*, which he presently tooke: and, mastering within a little while the Prouince of *Babylonia*, and all the Countreie downe to the Red Sea, or Bay of *Persia*, He hastened vnto *Susa*; where at his first coming hee wan the Citie: but failing to take the Caste that was exceeding strong, returned backe to *Seleucia*, there to giue order concerning this bulines.

The report of these things comming to *Antiochus*, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of *Musyas*; filled him with great sorrow, and his Campe with trouble. He tooke counsaile what to doe in this needfull case; and was well aduised by *Epigenes* the best man of warre he had about him, to let alone this Enterprise of *Calefryria*; and bend his forces thither, where more neede required them. This counsaile was put in execution with all conuenient hast. Yet was *Epigenes* dismised by the way, and soone after slaine, by the practise of *Hermias*; who could not endure to heare good counsaile giuen, contrarie to his owne good liking and allowance. In the iourne against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more available, than any oddes which hee had of the Rebelle in strength. *Molo* distrusted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good successe, nor any other consideration, would serue to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore hee thought it safest for him, to assaile the Kings Campe in the might time. But going in hand with this; Hee was discovered by some that fled ouer from him to the King. This caused him to returne backe to his Campe: which, by some error, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giuing battaile to *Molo*, vpon confidence which hee had that many would reuolt vnto him. Neither was hee deceiued in this his beleefe. For not a few men, or Engins: but all the left wing of the Enemie, which was opposit vnto the King, changed side forthwith as soone as euer they had sight of the Kings person; and were readie to doe him seruice against *Molo*. This was enough to haue won the victorie: but *Molo* thortened the worke, by killing himselfe; as did also diuers of his friends, who for feare of torments preuented the Hang-man with their owne sword.

After this victorie came ioyfull newes, that the Queene *Laodice*, daughter of *Mithradates* king of *Pontus*, which was married vnto *Antiochus* awhile before, had brought forth a sonne. Fortune seemed bountifull vnto the king: and therefore he purposed to make what vse he could, of her freindly disposition while it lasted. Being now in the Easterne parts of his kingdome, He iudged it conuenient to visite his Frontiers; were it onely to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered vpon him. Here vnto his Counsaileur *Hermias* gaue assent: not so much respecting the Kings honour;

as considering what good might thereby happen to himselfe. For if it should come to passe, that the king were taken out of the world by any casualtie: then made hee no doubt of becoming Protector to the young Prince; and thereby of lengthning his owne Government. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Antidotasus*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; hauing the greatest part of his kingdom, situate betwene the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous king was verie old & fearefull; and therefore yielded vnto whatsoever Conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay vpon him. So in this iourne *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned home wards. Vpon the way, a Physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly, how odious he was vnto the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly vnto the kings owne life. *Antiochus* beleied this, hauing long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring, for feare of him, to utter his suspitions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the fudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a sleight a good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or disputation. The king needed not to haue vied so much arte, in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoeuer he seemed gracious whilst he was aliue: yett heby for feare had become most obsequious to him, whilst he was in case to doe them hurt, were as readie as the foremost, to speake of him as he had deserved; when once they were secure of him. Yea his wife and children, lying then at *Apamea*, were stoned to death by the wicied and children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outrageously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of those Expeditions which he tooke in hand; was bold to set a Diademe vpon his owne head, and take vpon him as a King. His purpose was to haue invaded *Syria*: but the time of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and studie to get some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is verie strange, that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achæus*; nor yett dissembled the notice which he had taken, of these his traitorous purposes: but wrote vnto him, signifying that he knew aland vpraying him with such infidelitie, as any offender might know to be vnpardonable. By these means he emboldned the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong band, than to exccute them, or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recouer *Calestria* or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolemie Philopator* in those parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a verie strong Citie neare vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Orontes*; which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the great* who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolemie Evergetes* hauing lately won it, might, if it had so pleased him, haue changed the name into *Ptolemæus*. Such is the vanitie of men, that hope to purchase an endless memoriall vnto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greedinesse, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their owne, than the fame greatnesse hath continuance. *Theodotus the Italian*, he that before had opposed himselfe to *Antiochus*, and defended *Calestria* in the behalfe of *Ptolemie*; was now growne forie, that he had vied so much faith and diligence, in seruice of an vnthankfull and luxurious Prince. Wherefore, as a Mercinarie he began to haue regard vnto his owne profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himselfe vnto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthie of these two Kings; He offered to deliuer vp vnto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrrus* and *Ptolemæus*. Whilst he was dealing about this treason, and had already sent messengers to King *Antiochus*; his practise was detected; and he belied in *Ptolemæus* by one of *Ptolemies* Captaines, that was more faithfull than himselfe. But *Antiochus* hating his rescue, vanquished this Captaine who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession,

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not onely of *Tyrrus* and *Ptolemæus*, with a good flecte of the *Egyptian* Kings that was in those Hauens: but of so many other Townes in that Country, as emboldned him to thinke vpon making a iourne into *Egypt* it selfe. *Agathobolus* and *Solibus* bore all the sway in *Egypt* at that time: *Ptolemie* himselfe being loth to haue his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the saletie of his Kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make prouision as hastily, and yett as secretly as might be, for the warre: and neuerthelesse, at the same time, to presse *Antiochus* with daily Embassadours to some good agreement. There came in the heate of this busines, Embassadours from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*; as likewise from the *Ætoliens*; according to the vsuall courtesie of the *Greekes*, desiring to take vp the quarrell. These were all entertained in *Memphis*; by *Agathobolus* and *Solibus*: who entreated them to deale effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this Treatie lasted great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the warre: wherin these two Counsaillors perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victorie would be their owne; if they could get, for monie, a sufficient number of the *Greekes* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard onely what was done at *Memphis*, and how desirous the Gouvernours of *Egypt* were to be at quiet: wherunto he gaue the readier beleeve, not onely for that hee knew the disposition of *Ptolemie*, but because the *Rhodiens*, and other Embassadours, coming from *Memphis*, discoursed vnto him all after one manner; as being all deceived, by the cunning of *Agathobolus* and his fellow. *Antiochus* therefore hauing wearied himselfe, at the long siege of a Towne called *Dura*, which he could not win: and being desirous to refresh himselfe and his Armie in *Seleucia*, during the Winter which then came on; granted vnto the *Egyptians* a Truce for foure moneths, with promise that he would be readie to hearken vnto equall Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would faine haue seemed; but onely to lull his enemies alleepe, whilst he tooke time to refresh himselfe; and to bring *Achæus* to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the *Egyptians* would haue vied, He vied himselfe; as presuming, that when time of the yeare better serued, little force would be needfull: for that the Townes would voluntarily yeeld vnto him, since *Ptolemie* provided not for their defence. Neuerthelesse he gaue audience to the Embassadours, and had often conference with those that were sent out of *Egypt*: pleasing himselfe well, to dispute about the iustice of his quarrell; which hee purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were iust or no. He said, that it was agreed between *Seleucus* his Ancestor and *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, that all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, should be giuen in possession to *Seleucus*: and that this bargain was afterwards ratified, by generall consent of all the Confederates, after the battaile at *Issus*. But *Ptolemies* men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said, that *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, had won *Calestria*, and the Prouinces adioyning for himselfe: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recouer his Prouince of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the Riuer of *Euphrates*. Thus whilst neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were, in the end of their disputation, as farre from concluding as at the beginning. *Ptolemie* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yett gotten all that was his owne: Also *Ptolemie* would needes haue *Achæus* comprehended in the League betwene them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, that one King should offer to deale so with another, as to take his Rebell into protection, and seeke to ioine him in Confederacie with his owne foueraigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field againe: contrarie to his expectation he was informed, That *Ptolemie*, with a verie puissant Armie, was coming vp against him out of *Egypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountered on the way by those Captaines of *Ptolemie*, that had resisted him

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the yeere before. They held against him the passages of *Libanus*, whence neuertheless he draue them: and, proceeding onward in his iourne, wan so many places that he greatly increased his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with diuers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neare together: many Captaines of *Ptolemie* forooke his pay, and fled ouer to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the *Aegyptian* had the courage to meet his Enemy in the field. The battaile was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Aegyptians* or *Antiochians* were the better fouldiors (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, cheifly of the *Greekes*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemie*, with *Arfinoe* his sister 10 and Wife, rode vp and downe encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side: each of them rehearsing the braue deedes of their Ancestors; as not hauing of their owne, whereby to valew themselves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants: as also his, being of *Asia*, had they beene fewer would haue beaten those of *Africke*. Wherefore by the advantage of these beasts, He draue the enemies before him, in that part of the battaile wherein hee fought himselfe. But *Ptolemie* had the better men: by whose valour he brake the Grolle of his Enemies battaile, and wan the victory; whilest *Antiochus* was heedlesly following vpon those, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the feild aboue seuentie thousand foot, and six thousand Horse: whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foote, and not 20 foure hundred horse; yet the same of his ouerthrow, tooke from him all those places which he had lately wonne. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: He began to stand in feare, lest *Ptolemie* and *Achæus*, sitting vpon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors vnto the *Aegyptian* to treat of peace: which was readily granted; it being much against the nature of *Ptolemie*, to vex himselfe thus with the tedious busines of warre. So *Ptolemie*, hauing staied three moneths in *Syria*, returned home into *Egypt* clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his subiects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothfull condition.

*Achæus* was not comprised in the League betweene these two Kings: or if hee had beene included therein; yet would not the *Aegyptian* haue taken the paines, of making a second Expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himselfe strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deale with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reason. For besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged vnto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*, Hee had also good successe against *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a strong Armie. Neither was he, as *Atole* the Rebelle had beene, one of meane regard otherwise, and carried beyond himselfe by apprehending the vantage of some opportunitie: but Cozen german to the King, as hath beene shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the same *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was also called *Laudice*, as was her sister the *Queene*, *Antiochus* his wife. These things had added maiestie vnto him; and had made his followers greatly to respect him, euen as one to whome a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a litle for him, That King *Ptolemie* of *Egypt* held him in the nature of a freind: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battaile at *Raphia*; and had thereby lost all his gettings in *Syria*. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing. For the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarrell betweene his sonnes-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the *Aegyptian*: Hee was not onely slothfull; but hindered by a rebellion of his owne subiects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolemie*, contrarie to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to frue in the late Expedition; began to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferior 10

to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: since they lesse esteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings Mercenary *Greekes*; which had hitherto kept them in streight subiection. Thus brake out a warre, betweene that King and his subiects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the Multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolemie* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might haue bene spent, as he thought, much better in recuelling; or, as others thought, in succouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*: He had no sooner made his peace with the *Aegyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of warre against *Achæus*. To this purpose he entered into 10 League with *Attalus*; that so he might distract the forces of his Rebelle, and finde him worke on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had pent vp *Achæus* into the Citie of *Sardes* where he held him about two yeeres beleiged. The Citie was verie strong, and well victualled: so as there appeared not, when the second yeere came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first yeeres seige. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found meanes how to enter the Towne. The Citie it selfe was vpon a verie high Rocky, and in a manner impregnable: as also the Towne-wall adioyning to the Citie, in that part which was called *the Sars*, was in like manner situated vpon steepe Rockes, and hardly accessible; that hung ouer a deepe bottom, whereinto the dead carcases of Horses and other beasts, yea and sometimes of men, vied to be throwne. Now it was obserued 20 by *Lagoras*, That the Rauens and other birds of prey, which hanted that place by reason of their food which was there neuer wanting, vied to fie vp vnto the top of the Rockes, and to pitch vpon the wals; where they rested without any disturbance. Obseruing this often, he reasoned with himselfe, and concluded, that those partes of the Wall were left vnguarded, as being thought vnapproachable. Heereof hee informed the King: who approoued his iudgement, and gave vnto him the leading of such men, as hee desired for the accomplishing of the enterprize. The successe was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceiued: and, though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those Rockes, and 30 (whilest a generall assault was made) entred the Towne in that part; which was, at other times vngarded, then vnthought vpon. In the same place had the *Persians*, vnder *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Craesus* thought himselfe secure on that tide. But the Citizens tooke not warning, by the example of a losse many ages past; and therefore out of memorie, *Achæus* held still the Citie: which not onely seemed by nature impregnable, but was verie wel stored with all necessaries; and manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well assured. *Antiochus* therefore was constrained to wast much time about it; hauing none other hope to preuaile, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the vsual tediousnesse of expectation; his businesse called him thence away into the higher *Asia*, where the *Bactrians*, and *Partians* with the *Hyracians*, had erected Kingdomes taken out of his Dominions, vpon which they still encroched. But he thought it not safe to let *Achæus* breake loose againe. On the other side, there were some Agents of *Ptolemie* the *Aegyptian*, and good friends vnto *Achæus*; that made it their whole studie, how to deliuer this beleiged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed, that when he should appeare in the Countreies vnder *Taurus*, he would soone haue an Armie at command; and be strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardy to worke, as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretan*, that was acquainted well with all the waies in the Countrie; and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rockes, whereon the Citie 50 of *Sardes* stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should recieue at the hands of *Ptolemie*, as well as of *Achæus*; to doe his best for performance of their desire. He undertooke the busines: and gaue such like reasons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote vnto *Achæus* by one *Arianus* a trustie messenger; whom *Bolis* found meanes to conueigh into the Citie. The faith of these Nego-

tritors *Achæus* held most assured. They also wrote vnto him in priuie characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none faue he and they were acquainted: whereby hee knew, that it was no fained deuice of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, he was a true friend, and one whom *Achæus* found, by examination, heartily affected vnto the fide. But the Contents of the Epistle, which were, That he should be confident in the faith of *Bolus*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolus* had wonne vnto the businesse, did somewhat trouble him. They were ment to him vnknewne: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; vnder whom he had the command of those *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked vp the Castle of *Sarjen*. Neuerthelesse other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himselfe to some aduerture. When the messenger had therefore passed often to and fro: it was at length concluded, that *Bolus* himselfe should come to speake with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, saue only by *Bolus* and *Cambylus*, which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countymen, some few excepted, haue bene, and still are) false knaues. These two held a consultation together, that was, as *Polybius* obserues it, rightly *Cretus*: neither concerning the latitude of him whose deliuerance they undertooke, nor touching the discharge of their owne faith; but only how to get molt, with least adoe and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all they would equally labe between them ten Talents, which they had already receiued in hand: and then, That they would reueale the matter to *Antiochus*, offering to deliuer *Achæus* vnto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present monie, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatnesse of such a seruice, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promise of *Cambylus*, was no lesse glad; than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolus*. At length when all things were in readinesse on both sides, and that *Bolus* with *Arianus* was to get vp into the Castle, and conueigh *Achæus* thence: Hee first went with *Cambylus* to speake with the King, who gaue him verie priuate audience; and confirmed vnto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberrall promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithfull vnto *Ptoleme* whom he long had serued, Hee accompanied *Arianus* vp into the Castle. At this coming thither, Hee was louingly entertained; yet questioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the businesse in hand. But hee discouered so well, and with such grauitie, that there appeared no reason of distrustfull cyther his faith or judgment. Hee was an old Souldier, had long bene a Captain vnder *Ptoleme*, and did not thrust himselfe into this businesse; but was invited by honorable and faithfull men. He had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other Countymen of his: who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already sundrie times, giuen safe passage and repassage vnto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an aduerture stirred vp some diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wisely, and said, That hee would yet stay in the Castle a little longer; but that he meant to send away *Bolus* three or foure of his friends, from whom when hee receiued better aduertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would hee issue forth himselfe. Hereby hee tooke order, not to commit himselfe wholly vnto the faith of a man vnknewne. But, as *Polybius* well notes, Hee did not consider that hee paid the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which isto say, That hee had to doe with one, whose knaueerie could not be avoided by circumspection. *Bolus* and *Cambylus* had laid their plot thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then should hee easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; and *Bolus* following behind, should haue an eye vpon *Achæus*, to prevent him not onely from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwise killing himselfe: to the end that being taken aliue, Hee might bee to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present.

\* Among these few I doe not except one, calling himselfe *Euthanes* *Iohn Arianus*, a *Cretian*: who in one of his late humilitie-like, when hee vnderthrew our King, Religion, and Countrey, with all the good & worthy men of whom hee could learne the names, haue by inferring my name, twice belied me; in calling mee a *Puritan*, & one that haue bene dangerous vnto my Soueraigne. Let vs in honour to bee fillogen of by dissimulation support of Treasons, and Archbishops of Lies in regard whereof I may not denie him the commendation of *Cretianisme* no lesse voluminous, than hee in multiplicitie of name is beyond any the *Cretian* in consideration of times, that were slouies *Lyes*, could hee, and slay belies, & *Polybius*.

sent. And in such order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide; the rest following, as the way serued, and *Bolus* in the Rear. *Achæus* was none acquainted with his purpose, till the verie instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his wife *Ladias*; and comforting her with hope as well as hee could, appointed foure of his especiall freinds to beare him companie. They were all disguised: and one of them alone tooke vpon him to haue knowledge of the *Greeke* tongue; speaking and answering, as need should require, for all, as if the rest had bene *Barbarians*. *Bolus* followed them, craftily deuiling vpon his businesse, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) Though hee were of *Crete*, and prone to surmise any thing to the mischeife of another: yet could hee not see in the darke, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himselfe were there. The way was verie vnecase, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to staie in diuers places, and helpe one another vp or downe. But vpon every occasion, they were all of them verie officious toward *Achæus*, lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gaue *Bolus* to vnderstand, that he was the man: and so by their vnseasonable dutie, they vndid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* laie in wait; *Bolus* whittled, and presently claped *Achæus* about the middle, holding him fast that hee should not stirre. So they were all taken by the ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*: who sat vp watching in his Paviilion, expecting the euent. The sight of *Achæus*, brought in bound vnto him, did so astonish the King; that he was vnable to speake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was hee before informed of the plot, which might haue kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes assembling his friends together, Hee condemned *Achæus* to a cruell death; which argues, that hee was not moued with pittie towards this vnhappie man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident vnto great fortunes, that wrung from him these teares: as also the raritie of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it bee so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischeiuous knaues against one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that *Spanish* Prouerbe, *Aun traydor delo alusofo*. The death of *Achæus* brought such astonishment vpon those which held the Castle, that afterwards they gaue vp the place and themselves vnto the King; whereby hee got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser *Asia*.

Some yeres passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was redie for his Expedition against the *Parthians*, and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subiect vnto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for Provinces after the death of *Alexander*, the Government ouer them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of small regard: shortly they fell to *Eumenes*: then to *Antigonus*; and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Selucus*: vnder whose posteritie they continued vntill the Reigne of *Selucus Callinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustfull insolence of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to bee slaine by the *Gauls*; did stirre vp *Asiæ*, a Noble man of the Countrey, to seeke reuenge of injuries done, and animate him to rebell. So he slew the Kings Lieutenant; made himselfe King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings; andooke *Selucus Callinicus* prisoner in battaile, whom he royally entertained, and dismissed. Hereby hee wanne reputation as a lawfull King: and by good government of this Countrey, procured vnto himselfe such loue of his subiects, that his name was continued vnto his Successors; like as that of the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Cæsars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the same time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging vnto the *Selucida* beyond *Euphrates*, encreased the *Parthians* Dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an Army, that they durst not meet him in plaine field; but kept themselves in Woods, or places of strength, and de-

tended the Streights and passages of Mountaines. The resistances they made auil-  
led them not. For *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well fortified,  
as hee needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him,  
in Woods and Streights betwene their Mountaines; it being ealie to spare out of  
to great a number, as many as itching a compass about, might cyther get about  
the Enemies hands; or come behind, and charge them on the backe. This did hee  
often employ against them his light ar mature: wherewith hee caused them to dis-  
lodge, and gae way vnto his *Phalanz*; vpon which they durst not adventure them-  
selves in open ground. *Asiaces*, the second of the name, (for his father was dead  
before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though hee was confident in the fidel-  
tie of his owne subiects, yet feared to encounter with so mightie an Inuader. His  
hope was, that the bad wayes, and deserts, would haue caused *Antiochus*, when he  
was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to giue ouer the iourne without proceeding much fur-  
ther. This not so falling out, He caused the Wels and Springs in the Wildernesse,  
through which his Enemie must passe, to bee dammed vp and spoiled. By which  
meanes, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not preuaile, He with-  
drew himselfe out of the way: suiting the Enemie to take his pleasure for a time, in  
wasting the Countrey; wherein, without some victorie obtained, hee could make  
no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Asiaces* was nothing strongly pro-  
vided for the warre. Wherefore hee marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and  
then forward into *Hyrcania*; where he wanne *Tambrace* the chiefe Citie of that Pro-  
vince. This indignitie and many other losses, caused *Asiaces* at length, when hee  
had gathered an Armie that seemed strong enough, to adventure a battaile. The  
issue thereof was such, as gaue to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his  
desires, without exceeding difficultie. Wherefore *Asiaces* craued peace, and at  
length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amisse, to make him a friend, whom  
Hee could not make a subiect.

The next Expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactri-  
ans*; one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors, but hauing got-  
ten the Kingdome from those that had rebelled, kept it to himselfe. With *Euthy-  
demus* hee fought a battaile by the Riuer *Arins*, where hee had the victorie. But the  
victorie was not so greatly to his honour; as was the testimonie which hee gaue of  
his owne priuate valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to haue demean-  
ed him more courageously, than did any one man in all his Armie. His Horse was  
slaine vnder him; and hee himselfe receiued a wound in his mouth, whereby hee  
lost some of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*; He withdrew himselfe back into the fur-  
ther parts of his Kingdome, and afterwards protracted the Warre, seeking how to  
end it by composition. So Embassadors passed betwene the Kings: *Antiochus*  
complaining, That a Countrey of his was vniuilly vsurped from him; *Euthydemus*  
answering, That he had wonne it from the children of the Vsurers; and further,  
That the *Bactrians*, a wild Nation, could hardly be retained in order, saue by a King  
of their owne; for that they bordered vpon the *Scythians*, with whom if they should  
ioyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them.  
These allegations, together with his owne wearinesse, pacified *Antiochus*; and made  
him willing to grant peace vpon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Euthy-  
demus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father as Embassador  
in this Treatie of peace; was not a little auaileable vnto a good conclusion. For *Antiochus*  
liked him so well, that hee promised to giue him in marriage one of his owne  
daughters; and therewithall permitted *Euthydemus* to retaine the kingdome; causing  
him neuertheless to deliuer vp all his Elephants; as also to binde himselfe by oath, to  
such Countenances as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus* leauing the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a iourne ouer *Caucasus*, and  
came to the borders of *India*: where he renewed with *Sophagisenus*, King of the *Indi-  
ans*, the Societie that had bene betwene their Ancestors. The *Indians* had re-  
mained

mained subiect vnto the *Macedonians*, for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes*  
in his Warre against *Antigonus*, rayled part of his forces out of their Coun-  
trie. But when *Antigonus* after his victorie turned Westward, and was ouer-  
busied in a great ciuill Warre: then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, stirre vp his Coun-  
trimen to Rebellion; and taking himselfe their Captaine, and taking vpon him as Pro-  
tector of their libertie. This Office and Title hee soone changed, though not with-  
out some contention, into the Name and Maieutie of a King. Finally hee got vnto  
himselfe, (hauing an Armie of fixe hundred thousand men) if not all *India*, yet as  
much of it as had bene *Alexanders*. In this Estate hee had well confirmed himselfe,  
ere *Seleneus Nicator* could find leisure to call him to account. Neyther did He faint,  
or humble himselfe, at the coming of *Seleneus*: but met him in field, as readie to  
defend his owne; so strongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was conten-  
ted, to make both peace and affinitie with him, taking onely a reward of fiftie Ele-  
phants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* kingdomes,  
was continued by some Offices of loue betwene their children, and now renewed  
by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon, by the *Indi-  
an* King, to an hundred and fiftie: as also he was promised, to haue some treasure  
sent after him; which hee left one to receiue. This parted these two great Kings.  
Neyther had the *Indians*, from this time forwards, in many generations, any busi-  
nesse worthe of remembrance with the Westerne Countreies. The polkitrie of  
*Sandrocottus*, is thought to haue retained that kingdome vnto the daies of *Augustus  
Cesar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, sent Embassadors with Presents,  
and an Epistle written in *Greece*: wherein, among other things, Hee said, That Hee  
had command ouer fix hundred Kings. There is also found, scattered in sundrie  
Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdome, in diuers Ages, euen vnto  
the time of *Constantine the great*: being all peradventure of the same race. But *Antiochus*,  
who in this Treatie with *Sophagisenus* carried himselfe as the worthier person,  
receiuing Presents; and after marched home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with  
such reputation, that all the Potentates not onely in the higher *Asia*, but on the hi-  
ther side of *Taurus*, humbled themselves vnto him, and called him *The Great*: saw an  
end of his owne Greatnesse within few yeares ensuing, by presuming to stand vpon  
points with the *Romans*; whose Greatnesse was the same in deed, that his was onely  
in seeming.

## §. III.

The last reigne of PTOLEME PHILOPATOR in Egypt: with the tragick end  
of his successors, when he was dead. ANTIOCHUS prepares warre on the young  
child PTOLEME EPIPHANES, the sonne of PHILOPATOR. His resolution  
in preparing for diuers warres at once. His Voyage toward the Hellespont. Hee  
seeks to be amitie with the Romans, who make friendly liues to him: intending never-  
theless to haue warre with him. His doings about the Hellespont; which the Romans  
made the first ground of their quarrell to him.

His Expedition being finished; *Antiochus* had leisure to repose him-  
selfe awhile, and studie which way to conuert the terror of his pusil-  
lance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three  
yeares *Ptoleme Philopator* died: leaving his sonne *Ptoleme Epiphane*,  
a young Boy, his successor in the kingdome; wnikely by him to bee  
well defended, against a neighbour so mightie and ambitious. This *Ptoleme* surna-  
med *Philopator*, that is to say, *louer of his Father*, is thought to haue had that sur-  
name giuen him in meere derision; as hauing made away both his Father and Mo-  
ther. His young yeares, being newly past his childhood when hee beganne to reigne;  
may

may seeme to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beallinesse of all his following life, makes him not vnlike to haue done any mischiefe, whereof he could be accused. Hauing wonne the battaile at *Maphia*, He gaue himselfe ouer to sensualitye; & was wholly gouerned by a Strumpet called *Agathoeles*. At her instigation Hee murdered his owne wife and siller, which had aduentured herselfe with him, in that only dangerous Action by him vnderaken and performed with honor. The Lieutenant-ships of his Prouinces, with all Commands in his Armie, and Offices whatsoeuer, were wholly referred vnto the disposition of this *Agathoeles*, and her brother *Agathoeles*, and of *Oenanthe* a filthie flaued that was mother vnto them both. So these three gouerned the Realme at their pleasure, to 10 the great greife of all the Countrey, till *Philopator* died: who hauing reigned seuen-teene yeares, left none other sonne than *Ptolemie Epiphanes* a childe of fye yeares old, begotten on *Arinoe* that was his siller and wife. After the Kings death; *Agathoeles* beganne to take vpon him, as Protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Gouernour of the Land. He assembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinarie forces in pay, not all borne in *Macedonia*, but the race of those that abode in *Egypt* with *Ptolemie the first*, and would not be accounted *Egyptians*; as neyther would the Kings themselves) and bringing forth vnto them his siller *Agathoeles*, with the yong King in her armes; beganne a solemne Oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this their King, had committed the child into the armes of his siller, but vnto the 20 faith of them: on whose valliant right hands, the whole state of the Kingdome did now relie. He besought them therefore that they would bee faithfull, and, as great need was, defend their King against the treason of one *Tropelemus*, an ambitious man, who traiterously went about to fet the Diademe vpon his owne head, being a meere stranger to the Royall blood. Herewithall hee produced before them a witnesse, that should iustifie his accusation against *Tropelemus*. Now though it were so, that he deliuered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting of teares: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that hee spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shamelesse dissembler he was, to take so much vpon him, as he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake vp the 30 Assembly: Hee that had called it, being scarce aware how. *Agathoeles* therefore, whom the old Kings fauour had made mightie, but neyther wile nor wel qualified; thought to goe to worke, as had formerly bene his manner, by vying his authoritie, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. Hee hailed out of a Temple the mother-in-law of *Tropelemus*; & callt her into prison. This filled *Alexandria* with rumors, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilst they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and vtter one to another their mindes; wherein they had conceived extreme hate, against these three pernicious misgouernours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present iniurie done to *Tropelemus*, they were somewhat also moued with feare of 40 harme, which, in way of requitall, *Tropelemus* was likely to doe vnto the Citie. For He was, though a man most vnapt for Gouernment, as afterwards hee proued; yet no bad Souldier, and well beloued of the Armie. It was alio then in his power, to stop the prouision of vituals which was to come into *Alexandria*. As these motives wrought with the people: so by the remedie which *Agathoeles* vied, were the *Macedons* more halilly, and more violently thrust vnto vproue. Here secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracie against him; and deliuered him vnto a follower of his owne, to be examined by torture. This poore souldior was carried into an inner roome of the Palace and there stripped out of all his apparel to be tormented. But whilst the whippes were brought forth, and all things euen in a readinesse for that purpose: there was brought vnto the Minister of *Agathoeles*, a sad report of *Tropelemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leauing *Moerogenes* the Souldior alone by himselfe, and the doores open. Hee perceiving this, naked as he

he was, conuighed himselfe out of the Palace, and got vnto the *Macedonians*, of whom he found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priuiledges, as are the *Turkes Janizars*. Being assured therefore that one of their fellows had thus bene vied; they fell to Armes in a great rage, and beganne to force the Palace: crying out, That they would fee the King, and not leaue him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no lesse adoe than the Souldiors, though to lesse effect. So the old Bawd *Geanthe* fled into a Temple: her Sonne and Daughter staid in the Court, vntill the King was taken from them; and they, 10 by his permission which hee easily gaue, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, deliuered vp to the furie of the people. *Agathoeles* himselfe was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His siller was dragged naked vp and downe the strectes; as was alio his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed vpon them a barbarous execution of iustice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in peeces.

These troubles in *Egypt*, scrued well to stirre vp King *Antiochus*; who had verie good leisure though he wanted all pretence, to make warre vpon yong *Ptolemie*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the same desire, to get what part he could of the childes estate. But it happened well, that *Ptolemie Philopator* in the Punick Warre, which 20 was now newly ended, had done many good offices vnto the *Romans*. Vnto them therefore the *Egyptians* addrested themselves, and craued helpe against these two Kings: who though they secretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into covenant, to diuide betwene them, all that belonged vnto this *Orphan*; whose Father had bene Confederate with them both. So *M. Lepidus* was sent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Egypt*; especially against *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonians*; Hee was verie soone found bulied, with warre at his owne doores. Alfo *Scopas* the *Etolian*, being a Penioner to the *Egyptians*, was sent into *Greece* to rayse an Armie of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Egypt*, I doe not find; and therefore thinke it not improbable, that Hee was sent thither onely one of the 30 three Embassadors,\* in the beginning of the Warre with *Philip*, as hath bene shewed before. As for *Scopas*; He shortly after went vp into *Syria* with his Armie: where winning many places, among the rest of his Aets, He subdued the *Iewes*; who seeme to haue yielded themselves a little before vnto *Antiochus*, at such time as they saw him prepare for his Warre, and despaired of recceiuing helpe from *Egypt*. But it was not long, ere all these Victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the verie next year following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same yeare that *Philip* was beaten at *Cyncephala*, *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battaile, and recovered all that had bene lost. Among the rest, the *Iewes* with great willingness returned 40 vnder his obedience, and were therefore by him verie gently entreated.

The Land of *Egypt* this great King did forbear to invade; and gaue it out, that he meant to bestow a daughter of his owne in marriage vpon *Ptolemie*: either hoping, as may seeme, that the Countrey would willingly submit it selfe vnto him, if this yong child should happen to miscarrie; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Westerne parts of *Asia*, which *Philip* was held ouer-laboured by the *Romans*. It appears that he was verie much distrusted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels betwene *Antiochus*, *Philip*, and the *Greekes*, promised to alford him great advantage, if he should bring his Armie to the Hellespont. On the other side, the state of *Egypt* being such as hath bene declared, seemed easie to be swallowed vpon once. One while therefore hee tooke 50 what hee could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Iewes* among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Egyptians*) to yeeld him obedience. Another while, letting *Egypt* alone, He was about to make inuasion vpon *Attalus* his Kingdome; yet suffered himselfe easily to be perswaded by the *Roman* Embassadors,

\* In fine 1501.

o. lial. 32.

vnde. lial. 32.  
lial. 32.

sadors, and desired from that enterprise. Having thus farre gratified the *Romans*; He sends Embassadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amitie betwene him and them. It is not lightly to be overpassed, That these his Embassadors were lovingly entertained at *Rome*; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this answer of the *Romans* was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not as yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great warres at once. Wherefore, not standing much vpon the nice examination of what belonged vnto their honour; they were content to giue good words for the present. In the meane time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*: and shortly prepares to win some Townes elsewhere, belonging vnto *Ptolemie*; yet withall hee sends an Armie Westward, intending to make what profit hee can of the distractions in *Greece*. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irresolution, How notwithstanding his attempts vpon both of their Kingdomes, he offered one of his daughters to *Ptolemie*, and another to *Eumenes* the sonne of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: seeking each of their friendships, at one and the same time, when hee sought to make each of them a spoile. Thus was heacting and deliberating at once: being carried with an inexplicable desire of repugnancies; which is a disease of great, and euer-swelling fortunes. Howsoever it was, He sent an Armie to *Sardis* by Land, vnder two of his owne sonnes: willing them there to slay for him; whilst he himselfe with a Flecte of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other vessels, intended to passe along by the Coasts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in such places as held for the *Aegyptian*. It was a notable Act of the *Rhodian*s, that, whilst the war of *Philip* lay yet vpon their hands, they aduentured vpon this great *Antiochus*. They sent vnto him a proud Embassage: whereby they gaue him to vnderstand, That if he passed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in *Cilicia*, they would meete him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs vnto him; but because hee should not ioine with *Philip* their enemy, and helpe him against the *Romans*. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits vnto the King. yet he tempered himselfe, and without any shew of indignation gaue a gentle answer; partly himselfe to their Embassadors, partly vnto their whole Citie, by Embassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire, to renew the ancient Confederacies betwene his Ancestors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, lest his coming should tend vnto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching the *Romans* whom they thought that he would molest: they were (he said) his verie good friends; whereof, he thought, there needed no better prooffe, than the entertainment and answer by them newly giuen to his Embassadors.

The *Rhodian*s appeare to haue bene a cunning people, and such as could foresee what weather was like to happen. His answer of the King, and the relation of what had passed betwene his Embassadors and the Senate, moued them not a whit; when they were informed shortly after, that the *Macedonian* war was ended at the battaile of *Cynoscephala*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still, vnlesse the Townes on the South Coast of *Asia*, belonging to *Ptolemie* their friend and Confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well; for that they had euer bene greatly beholding, to all the race of the *Ptolemies*. They therefore, in this time of necessity, gaue what aid they could vnto all the subjects of the *Aegyptian* in those parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the sonne of *Attalus*, prognosticate as concerning the war that followed, betwene *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a freindly offer, to bestow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage: He excused himselfe, and would not haue her. *Attalus* and *Philetarus*, his brethren, wondered at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would surely make war vpon *Antiochus*; and therein finally preuaile.

uaile. Wherefore he said, That by abstayning from this affinitie, it should be in his power to ioine with the *Romans*, and strengthen himselfe greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to *Antiochus*: as hee must be partaker in his overthrow; so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an ouer-mightie neighbour, if he happened to win the victorie.

*Antiochus* himselfe wintered about *Ephesus*: where hee tooke such order as hee thought conuenient, for the reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampsaes* to obedience; that had vsurped their libertie, and oblatinly stroue to maintaine it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring hee sailed vnto the *Hellepont*: where hauing won some Townes that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, hee passed ouer into *Europe* side; and in short space mastered the *Chersonesus*. Thence went hee to *Lyfimachus*: which the *Thracians* had gotten and destroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his Garrison thence, to employ it in the *Roman* warre. The *Aetolians* convicted as a crime vnto *Philip*, in the Conference before *T. Quintus*, that hee had oppressed *Lyfimachus*, by thrusting therinto a Garrison. Hereunto *Philip* made answer, that his Garrison did not oppress the Towne, but saue it from the *Barbarians*: who tooke and sackt it, as soone as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this answer was good and substantiall, though it were not accepted as such; might appeare by the miserable case, in which *Antiochus* found *Lyfimachus* at his coming thither. For the Towne was vtterly razed by the *Barbarians*; and the people, carried away into slaerie. Wherefore the King tooke order to haue it redified: as also to redeeme those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were dispersed in the Countie thereabout. Likewise hee was careful to allure thither, by hopefull promises, new inhabitants; and to replenish the Citie with the wonted frequency. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour *Thracians*: hee tooke a iourne in hand against those barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Armie; leaving the other halfe, to repaire the Citie. These paines hee tooke; partly in regard of the conuenient situation, and former glorie of *Lyfimachus*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding vnto his owne honour, to recover and establish the dominion in those parts, which his fore-father *Seleucus* Dictator had won from *Lyfimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shall dearly pay: and as after that victorie against *Lyfimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed shortly; so shall a deadly wound of the Kingdome founded by *Seleucus* ensee verie speedily, after the re conquest of the same Countie, which was the last of *Seleucus* his purchases.

## §. IIII.

The *Romans* hold friendly correspondence with *ANTIOCHUS*, during their warre with *PHILIP*: after which they quarrell with him. The doings of *HANNIBAL* at *Carthage*: whence he is chased by his enemies, and by the *Romans*: His flight vnto the King *ANTIOCHUS*. The *Aetolians* murmure against the *Romans* in *Greece*. The war of the *Romans* and *Achaens*, with *NABIS* the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*. The departure of the *Romans* out of *Greece*. *T. QUINTIVS* his Triumphe. Peace denied to *ANTIOCHUS* by the *Romans*.

Or the *Romans*, though they were vnable to smother their desire of war with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies; yet was it much against their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended warre, so long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprise of the Kings about *Lyfimachus*. It

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was not long, since King *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the *Romans* in their war with *Philip*, could obtain of them none other help against *Antiochus*, than Embassadors to speake for him; because the one of those Kings was held no lesse a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards passe between them any other offices, than verie friendly. *Antiochus*, at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Inuasion from the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; also verie shortly after he sent Embassadors to them, to make a perfect League of amitie betweene them. This was whilist as yet they were builed with *Philip*; and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward shew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or moit of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients vnto the *Romans*: then was all this good correspondence changed, into termes of worke, but more plaine, meaning. For *T. Quintus*, with his ten Counsaillors sent from *Rome*, requited (as hath bene shewed before) with a commination of war, this Kings gratulation of their victorie; as also his long-proffered amities, and desire to continue in the same.

These ten Counsaillors were able to informe *T. Quintus*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seemes that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable vnto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they diuided themselves to make progresse through diuers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them should visite King *Antiochus*; and therest, where occasion serued, vse diligence to make a partie strong against him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* vnanimfull of the busines; wherein left *T. Quintus*, with his ten Assaillants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* of purpose, to deale with the King about those controuersies, that were betweene him and *Ptolemie*. What other priuate instructions *Cornelius* had; wee may coniecture by the manning of this his Embassage. For comming to *Selymbria*: and there vnderstanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, hauing bene sent by *Titus*, were at *Lysimachia*, He halsted thither; whither also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counsaillors) from *Bargilla*, to be present at the Conference. *Hegelianax* and *Lysius* were also there; the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptorie Conditions, which the Embassadors present shall expound vnto their Master. After a few daies *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment betweene Him and these *Romans*, was in appearance full of loue. But when they came to treat of the busines in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly deliuered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliuer backe vnto *Ptolemie* those Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that verie earnestly, That he must also giue vp the Townes of late belonging vnto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the *Romans*; as to let *Antiochus* enioy the profit of that war, wherein they had laboured so much, and He done nothing? Further He warned the King, that hee should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally He demanded of him, vpon what reason he was come over with so great an Armie into *Europe*; for that other cause of his iourne there was none probable, than a purpose to make war vpon the *Romans*. To this the King made answer, That hee wondered why the *Romans* should trouble themselves, with thinking vpon the matters of *Asia*: wherewith He praised them to let him alone; euen as He, without such curiositie, suffered them to doe in *Italie* what they thought good. As for his comming over into *Europe*: they saw well enough what busines had drawne him thither; namely, the warre against the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lysimachia*, and the recouerie of Townes to him belonging in *Thrace* and *Chersonesus*. Now concerning his title vnto that Countrey, He deriued it from *Selenus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victorie against *Lysimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controuersie

betweene

betweene him and the other Kings, had bene till of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Egyptians*; but had bene seized on by them, or by others from whom they receiued them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countiees, were hindred by multiplieitie of busines, from looking vnto al that was their owne. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in feare of him, as if hee intended ought against them from *Lysimachia*; since it was his purpose to bestow this Citie vpon one of his sonnes, that should reigne therein: nor yet to be grieued with his proceedings in *Asia*; either against the free Cities, or against the King of *Egypt*; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding vnto himselfe, and to ioynce ere long with *Ptolemie*, not only in freindship, but in a bond of neare affinitie. *Cornelius* hauing heard this, and being perhaps vnable to refute it; would needes heare further, what the Embassadors of *Smyrna* and of *Lampascus*, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadors of *Lampascus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Iudges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace; forasmuch as he had not chosen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Libados*, to be Arbitrators betweene Him and them.

Thus the Treatie held some few daies, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, hauing not had their complaints in such sort, as they might be a conuenient foundation of the war by them intended: nor yet hauing purpose to depart well satisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace; were doubtfull how to order the matter in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boisterous *Gallio-Greekes*, pretend onely the goodnes of their swordes; nor yet ouer-modestly, to retaine among the *Greekes* an opinion of their iustice, forbore the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was wearie of these tedious guelts; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came newes, without any certaine author, That *Ptolemie* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to haue fallen into *Egypt*: *Antiochus*, to take possession of the Kingdom; and *L. Cornelius*, to preuent him thereof, and set the Countrey in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* Embassador, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolemie*: which gaue him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his *Egyptian* voyage. Both He, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leaue to depart all together: and the King forthwith made readie, to be in *Egypt* with the first. To his sonne *Selenus* he committed his Armie; and left him to ouer-see the building of *Lysimachia*: but all his Sea-forces He tooke along with him, and sailed vnto *Ephesus*. Thence he sent Embassadors to *T. Quintus*: whom he requested to deale with him in this matter of Peace, after such sort, as might stand with honestie and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage; He was perfectly informed that *Ptolemie* was alive. This made him beare another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a tempest, with a greiuous shipwracke, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to haue safely recovered his Port of *Selenus*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintered: secure, as might appeare, of the *Roman* war.

But the *Romans* had not so done with him. During the Treatie at *Lysimachia*, (at leastwise not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had bene sent vnto the *Macedonian* gaue him counsaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; Not to rest contented with the Peace which was granted vnto him by the *Romans*, but to desire societie with them, whereby they should bee bound to haue the same friends and enemies. And this he aduised him to doe quickly before the Warre brake out with *Antiochus*; lest otherwise he might seeme, to haue awaited some fit occasion of taking Armes againe. They who deale thus plainly, did not meane to be satisfied with weake excuses. In like manner some of the *Greekes* were solicited; and particularly the *Asians*, That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the freindship of the People of *Rome*. It was needefull to say plain-ly

ly whereto this entreatie tended: the froward answer made by the *Aetolians*, declares them to haue well vnderstood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the Victorie, as they had bene during the Warre. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out, that they had bene wronged, and defrauded of what was promised vnto them: vpbaying withall the *Romans*, as men to them beholding; not only for their Victorie ouer *Philip*; but euen for helping them to set foot in *Greece*, which else they neuer could haue done. Hereto the *Roman* gaue gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and vtter their griefes; and then should all be well.

Such care tooke the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their Warre intended against *Antiochus*. The same hereof arriving at *Carthage*, gaue matter vnto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to pick a thanke of the *Roman* Senate; and to chace out of their Citie this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his vertue against them in the Ciuill administration; and giuen them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Iudges at that time bore all the sway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and hauing subiect vnto them, the liues, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neyther did they vse this their power with moderation; but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any one of them, should haue them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne, He was sure to be soone accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the Citie, *Hannibal* was chosen Prator. By vertue of which Office, though hee was superiour vnto them during that year: yet had it not bene their manner to beare much regard vnto such an annual Magistrate, as at the yeares end must be accomptable to them, if ought were laid vnto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the Questors, or officers of the Treasurie, to come and speake with him: the proud Questor set lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the diuerse Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place, were to bee chosen into the Order of Iudges: in contemplation wherof, he was filled already with the spirit of his future Greatness. But he had not to doe with such a tame Prator, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Puruiant; and hauing thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publique assemblie of the people. There he not only shewed, what the vndutifull stubbornesse of this Questor had bene; but how vsufferable the insolencie of all the Iudges at the present was: whose vnbrield power, made them to regard neyther Lawes nor Magistrates. To this Oration when he perceiued that all the Citizens were attentive and fauourable; He forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the generall good liking; That the Iudges should be chosen from yeare to yeare, & no one man be continued in that Office two yeares together. It this Law had bene passed, before he passed ouer *Iberus*: it would not perhaps haue bene in the power of *Hannibal* to haue brought him vnto necessitie of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were faine to leuie by Taxation laied vpon the whole Commonaltie; as wanting monie in their publique Treasurie, wherewith to defray eyther that, or diuers other needfull charges. *Hannibal* considering this, beganne to examine the publique Reuenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasurie, by wayes and means whatsoeuer; and in what sort it was thence laied out. So he found, That the ordinarie charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasurie: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne vse, were thereby faine to load the people with needlesse burdens. Hereof he made such plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common Treasurie were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knauerie; and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessitie of making such poore shifts; as formerly they had vsed, when they knew not the valew of their owne Estate. But as

the vertue of *Hannibal*, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, since the making of the peace vntill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extremely; as being by him tript of their ingotten goods, and il-employed authoritie, both at once, euen when they thought themselves to haue bene in full possession of the vanquished *Carthage*. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong againe, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in armes. Questionlesse, if oppressing the Citie by iniustice, and robbing the Treasurie, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome*: these enemies to the *Barchines* might well crye out, That hauing done their best already to keepe all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of Warre. But hauing none other matter to alledge, than their owne inuentions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like vnto a wild beaust, which would neuer be tamed: That secret messages past betwene him, and King *Antiochus*: and that hee was wont to complaine of idleness, as if it were harmefull to *Carthage*, with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not vnto the Senate: but addressing their letters craftily, euer vnto the beil of his owne friends at *Rome*, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neyther publique notice of their Conspiracie was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authoritie of the *Roman* Senate, waiting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Only *P. Scipio* is said to haue admonished the *Falkers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become Seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppress, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him, the Man, against whom in warre they had not of long time preuailed, nor vsed their Victorie in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not all so great-minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some such advantage against *Hannibal*; and were glad to haue found it. Three Embassadors they sent ouer to *Carthage*, *C. Serullus*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, whose verie names import sufficient caule of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These hauing past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their commings, and being by them instructed how to carrie themselves, gaue out, That they were sent to end some controuersies, betwene the *Carthaginians* and *Masini*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espiall vpon the *Romans*, that hee knew their meaning well enough: against which he was neuer vnprepared. It were enough to say, That hee escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Hauiing openly shewed himselfe, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, He went forth of the Towne when it beganne to waxe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as hee might well trust. Hee had appointed Horstes to be in readinesse at a certaine place: whence riding all night, Hee came to a Tower of his owne by the Sea-side. There hee had a Ship furnished with all things needfull, as hauing long expected the misfortune of his Countrey, more than his owne. Passing ouer to the Ile of *Ceyana*, he found there in the Haven some Marchants ships of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectfully: and the chiefe among them beganne to enquire, whether he was bound. He said, Hee went Embassador to *Tyre*; and that he intended there in the lland to make a sacrifice; whereto Hee invited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Shippes. It was hote weather: and therefore Hee would needs hold his Feast vpon the shore; where, because there wanted court, Hee made them bring thither all their failes and yards to be vsed in stead of Tents. They did so, and feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time hee left them there allepe, and putting to Sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, Hee was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make halt to send any newes of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embassador: neyther could they, without some losse of time, such of them as

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made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina*, being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the misse of so great a person was diuersly confuted. Some ghesled aright, that he was fled. But the more common opinion was, that the *Romans* had made him away. At length came newes where hee had bin seene: and then the *Roman* Embassadors, hauing none other errand thither accused him (with an euill grace) as a trouble of the Peace, whereby they onely discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of their Senate, mistaking the while their purpose, and causing men to vnderstand, that Hee fled not thus without great reason.

*Hannibal*, coming to *Tyre* the Mother-Citie of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whole great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reason of affinity betweene their Cities, thought themselves to haue intercell. Thence went he to *Antioch*, and finding the King departed, visited his sonne in *Daphne*: who friendly welcommed him, and sent him vnto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly rejoiced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the *Romans* no great cause to be therefore sorrie; otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discovery of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Countrey. For it would not proue alke easie vnto this great Commander, to make stout fouldiers of base *Asiatiques*; as it had bene by his trayning and discipline, to make very seruiciable and skilfull men of Warre of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, and other Nations, that were hardie though vnexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinarie, could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the basenesse of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would be farre more powerfull in making vnprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*, now a desolate and banished man, than had bene the villanie of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindring him in those Actions wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would onely helpe to ennoble the *Roman* Victorie: or if it further serued to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him lesse carefull to avoid the warre; then should it further serue, to iustifie the *Romans* in their quarrell. And it seemes indeed, that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, hauing newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that Hee had any meaning to take armes; vnlesse by meere violence hee were thereto enforced. Onely the *Asiatians* were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of inuasion, and therefore praising with this Great King; whom they wished to see among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appease them; they had of late bene answered with gentle words by one of the tenne Counsaillours, that the Senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should aske. But this promise was too large, and vndisuiued. For when their Embassadors came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothings; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who fauoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves: otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very shame; who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talk at *Rome* was of warre with *Antiochus*, but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leaue the Countrey. For the *Asiatians* were wont to vpbraid the rest of the *Greekes*, with the vaine libertie which the *Romans* had proclaimed: saying, that these their Deliuerers had laid heauier fetters vpon them, than formerly they did weare; but yet brighter and fairer, than those of the *Macedonian*: likewise, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the *Greekes* their chaine. & tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended For *Philip* had made no de-

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laie, in accomplishment of that which was laid vpon him: all the Townes of *Greece* were at libertie; and the whole Countrey at peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it selfe. As for *Antiochus*: He made it his daily suit, that the Peace betweene him and *Rome*, such as it was, might be confirmed, and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Neuerthelesse *T. Quintius* would needs feare that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to seize vpon *Greece*, as soone as he and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, He retained still in his own hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the *A. exorcisthus*: by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withstand the dangerous Inuasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Sutable vnto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the tenne Embassadors, that had bene sent out to assist him; when they returned backe into the Citie. *Antiochus*, they said, would questionlie fall vpon *Greece*: wherein he should find not onely the *Asiatians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedamon*, readie to giue him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to doe somewhat against these their suspected enemies: especially against *Nabis*, who could worst make resistance; whilst *Antiochus* was farre away in *Syria*, and not intencue to his businesse. These reports went not onely current through the Citie, among the vulgar: but found such credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following year, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should be readie to take his great enterprize in hand; *P. Cornelius Scipio* the *African* desired, and obtained, a second Consulship, with intention to be General in the Warre, against the King and his *Hannibal*. For the present, the businesse with *Nabis* was referred vnto *Titus*, to deale with him as hee thought good. This would be a faire colour of his longer tarrance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof also hee knew that many of the *Greekes* would not be sorrie; though for his owne part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendship with him, two or three years before this, as is already shewed, whilst hee had warre with *Philip*; and had further bene contented for the *Romans* sake to bee at peace with the *Asiatians*, neyther since that time had hee done any thing, whereby hee should draw vpon himselfe this Warre. Hee was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the *Achaians* as one, that besides his owne wicked Conditions had formerly done to them great mischief. *Titus* therefore had a plausible Theme, whereon to discourse before the Embassadors of all the Confederate Cities; which hee caused to meet for that purpose at *Corinth*. He told them, that in the warre with *Philip*, not onely the *Greekes*, but the *Romans* themselves, had each their motives apart (which hee there briefly rehearsed) that should stirre them vp, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which hee now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other intercell, than onely the making perfect of their honour, in setting all *Greece* at libertie: which noble Action was in some sort maimed, or incomplete, whilst the noble Citie of *Argos* was left in subjection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged vnto them, the *Greekes*, duly to consider, whether they thought the deliuerance of *Argos* a matter worthe to be vndertaken; or whether otherwise to avoid all further trouble, they could bee well contented to leaue it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greekes* themselves. The *Athenian* Embassador made answere hereunto verie eloquently, and as pleasing as he could deuiſe. He gaue thanks to the *Romans* for what was past; exalted their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Proposition: wherein vnrequited they freely made offer to continue that bourse, which at the vehement request of their poore Associates, they had already late extended vnto the *Greekes*. To this Hee added, That great pittie it was, neare, such notable vertue and high deserts ill spoken of by some: which rose vpon them, out of their owne imaginations to foretell, what harme these their Benefactors meant to doe hereafter: when as Thankfulness rather would haue required an acknowledg-

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ment, of the benefits and pleasures already received. Everie one found the meaning of this last clause; which was directly against the *Aetolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Aetolian* wrote vp, and told the *Athenians* their owne; putting them in minde of their ancient glorie, in those times when their Citie had bene the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recouerie of the libertie generally: from which honour they were now so farre fallen, that they became Parasites vnto those whom they thought most mightie; and by their base assention, would lead all the rest into seruitude. Then spake He against the *Achaens*, Clients that had bene a long time vnto the *Macedonians* and fouldiors of *Philip*, vntill they ranne away from his aduersitie. These Hee said had gotten *Corinth*, and must now haue warre be made for their fakes, to the end that they might also bee Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Aetolians*, that had first made warre with *Philip*, and alwayes bene friends vnto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus containe himselfe, but objected vnto the *Romans* fraudulent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their Garrisons in *Demetrias*, *Chaleis*, and the *Aroecarints*, hauing bene alwayes wont to professe, that *Greece* could neuer be at libertie, whilst those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seeke by this discourse of warre with *Nabis*, than businesse wherewith to find themselves occupied, that so they might haue some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Countrey? But they should doe well, if they meant as they spake, to carrie their Legions home out of *Greece*: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Aetolians* themselves did promise, and would undertake, that they would eyther cause him to yeild to reason, and relinquish *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to submit himselfe to the good pleasure of all *Greece*, that was now at vnitie. These words had bene reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common libertie wrought so much with these *Aetolians*; as did their owne rancorous desire of oppressing others, and getting vnto themselves, that worse would vie it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their greivance, that the old League was forgotten: wherein it had bene covenanted, that the *Romans* should enjoy the spoile of all, but lesue the Townes and Lands in possession of the *Aetolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole Assembly, especially the *Achaens*, cry out vpon them: entreating the *Romans* to take such order before they went, that not onely *Nabis* might be compelled to doe right; but the *Aetolian* theues be enforced to keepe home, and leaue their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*: who saw, that by discountenancing the *Aetolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well, that *Antiochus* his Embassadors did presently after lie hard vpon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may be greatly doubted. Hee cast them off with a slight answer: telling them, that the ten Embassadors or Counsaillers which had bene sent vnto him from *Rome* to be his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude vpon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedemonian* warre; it was verie soone ended. For *Titus* vied the hope of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he should haue had to doe with *Philip*. Besides the *Roman* forces, King *Eumenes* with a Naue, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the seruice: as also *Philo*, of *Macedon* sent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were for fauour, or the *Roman*; or whether to make one among the number, in seeking reuenge vpon *Nabis*, that had done him iniurie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the *Achaens*, who set out ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the *Aetolians*, rather to hold good filiation, and found their dispo-

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sitions, than in hope to speed, their helpe was required; wherof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the *Achaens* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; hauing remoued the *Aetolians* from that degree of fauour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haile) shal bee supplanted by the same *Lacedemonians*, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argines* more bold than wise, began a conspiracie against the *Lacedemonians* that held their Towne; meaning to open their gates vnto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew neare, they were all detected and slaine: excepting a verie few, that escaped out of the Towne. The fame of this Coniuration, caused the Arme to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to bethere, before things were at quiet. But there was no stirre within the Walles: the execution done vpon the first mouers, hauing terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assault *Nabis* in the head of his strength at *Lacedemon*, than to consume time about other places; especially at *Argos*: for the freedome whereof since the war was made pittie it were, that the calamities of the war should thereon fall most heauily.

*Nabis* had in readines an Arme of fifteene thousand, wherewith to defend himselfe against these Inuaders. Five thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his owne Countrey, but such as were of all others the worst, as manumifed slaues, malefactors, and base peasants, vnto whom his Tyrannie was beneficiall. The good and worthy Citizens he stood in doubt: and since he could not hope to win their loue, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an Assemblies: and compassing them round in with his Arme, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemy. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were incited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and work dangerous treason: it seemed vnto him the safest, and (withall) the mildest course, to assault before hand and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keepe them innocent perforce; and thereby preserve not onely the

Citie and his owne person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might haue incurred. Heereupon he cites and apprehends about fourescore of them; whom he leads away to prison, and the next night puts them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet break loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad: what could it else doe than terrifie the peoples who must thereby vnderstand, that it was a mortall crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose, his crueltye extended it selfe vnto some poore wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemy. These were openly whipt through all the streets and slaine. Haueing thus affrighted the Citizens; Hee turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemy, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a sallie: wherein, as commonly happens, the fouldiours of the Towne had the better at first; but were at length repelled with losse. *Titus* abode not many daies before *Sparta*: but ouer-ran the Countrey; hoping belike to prouoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The *Roman* Fleet at the same time, with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, laid siege vnto *Gythium*, the onely or principall Hauen-towne that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to haue taken it by force; when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Gouernours within the Towne, equal in authoritie: whereof the one, either for feare, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithfull, slue the Traitor; after whose death, he himselfe alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Arme came thither to *Gythium*: this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the vttermost, and await what either Time or his Master might doe for him, but was contented to giue vp the place; yet vpon Condition, to depart in safetie to *Sparta* with his Garrison. *Pythagoras*, the sonne-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother vnto his wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Gouernment

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with a thousand fouldiors Mercenaries, and two thousand *Argives*: it being (as may seeme) the Tyrants purpose, to relieue *Gythium*: which hee thought would haue held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost: then began they to thinke vpon finishing the war, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent Embassador to *Titus*: requesting only, that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speake with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake verie reasonably for himselfe: prouing, that hee suffered wrong, and had done none; and that by many good arguments; whereof the summe was, That whatsoeuer they now did, or could, obiect vnto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for his keeping the Towne of *Argos*, nor for any other cause by them alleged, they ought to make warre vpon him; since *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatsoeuer, had not hindred them, in time of their more need of him, from entering into that League with him; which was neuer broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith satisfied. Hee charged him with Tyrannie; and gaue instance, as easily he might, of diuers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, forasmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Inualion should be alleged. Wherefore hee said further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Messene*, a Towne Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to ioyne with *Philip*, when he was their enemy, not only in League, but also in affinitie: and That his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracie, since in the Articles by *Titus* propounded vnto *Nabis* there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships by him taken from the *Greekes* his neighbours, with whom hee had long held warre: it may seeme to haue bene obiected, only by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise verie triuolous. As for *Messene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betwene the *Romans* and this Tyrant; and therefore notto haue bene mentioned. All this it seemes that *Aristonius*, the Prætor of the *Acheans*, verie well perceived: who therefore doubting lest the *Romans*, (that were wont to talke so much of their owne iustice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbear to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had neuer done them wrong; framed his discourse to an other end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his owne estate; and to settle his fortunes, whilset he might doe it without hazard: alleading the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, & therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and liued in great security, honour, and happines, as priuate men. Thus they discursed vntill night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish *Argos*; and requested them, to deliver vnto him in writing their other demands, that hee might take counsaile with his friends. The issue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must be, for maintenance of the Tyrant, vpon such Conditions as *Titus* should thinke meete. Besides the restitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending; *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them verie greivous. He would not suffer the *Lacedæmonian* to haue ought to doe in the Ile of *Crete*, no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, either in that Iland or elfewhere; not to build any Towne or Castle vpon his owne lands; not to keepe any other shipping, than two small Barkes; besides many other troublesome iniunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in siluer to be paid out of hand, and sicke talents yearly, for eight yeares next ensuing. For obseruance of these Couenants he demanded siue hostages, such as he himselfe should name; and one of them to be

the Tyrants owne sonne. If it had bene the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the war from *Nabis*, because it was not grounded vpon iustice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which hee himselfe did other, though it were for feare, to deliuer vp. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound vnto the state of their best freinds in *Greece*, by the extinction of this Tyrannie: then should this enterprize, when once it was taken in hand, haue bene prosecuted vnto the verie vtmost. As for this middle course which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable vnto them, to enrich themselves by the spoile of one that had not offended them: nor pleasing to the *Acheans*, who iudged it cucr after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Titus*: so did it minister vnto the *Ætolians*, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which tooke vpon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren Subiect of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a King, and defendend of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Malteries *Romans*, to hold any one of those Countries or Townes in *Greece*, that had belonged vnto his Ancestors: it was thought verie strange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the most famous Citie among all the *Greekes*, was by the same *Romans* left in possession of a Tyrant, that had vltured it but yesterday: and Hetheret in rooted by their authority, as their freind and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other side thought himselfe vnder mercifully dealt withall, by the selfe-same *Romans*: whose amitie hee had preferred in time of a doubtfull warre, before the loue and affinitie of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the Citie of *Argos* into his hands. But fallily had hee dealt with the *Macedonian*: and fallily was hee dealt with by those to whom hee did betake himselfe. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him, saue only that for the banished *Lacedæmonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Campe; hauing among them *Agelipolis* the naturall King of *Sparta*, that being a yongchild was driuen out by *Lycurgus*, the first of the Tyrants) there was made no provision, to haue them restored vnto their Citie and Estates; but only leaue required for as many of their wiues, as would be so contented, to liue abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to giue consent vnto these demands: and sustained an assault or two, hoping belike that the enemies would soone be wearie. But his fearefull nature shortly ouercame the resolution, which the sense of these iniuries had put into him. So yielding vnto all that had bene propounded, hee deliuered the hostages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, hee thought the *Romans* more wicked than himselfe; and was readie vpon the first advantage, to doe them all mischief that he could.

The *Argives* had heard newes that *Lacedæmon* was euen at point of being taken. This erected them, and gaue them heart to thinke vpon their owne good. So they aduentured to set vpon the Garrison, which was much weakened, by the remoue of the three thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras*, to helpe the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed vnto their libertie no more, than that all of them ioyntly should set their hands to the getting of it, which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came *T. Quintius* to *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcomed. He was deferuently acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laied hold without staying for him: and that he might the better entitle himselfe thereto, hee caused the libertie of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Nemean* games; as ratifying it by his authority. The Citie was annexed againe to the Council of *Achaia*; whereby the *Acheans* were not more strengthened, than the *Argives* themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little busines or none wherewith to set on worke his Armie in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to send another Embassage to *Rome*, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance who

ly disposed vnto quiet, *Scipio the African*, that was chosen Consul at *Rome*, could not haue his desire, of being sent Commander into *Greece*. The vniuersall meaning of *Aniochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Asiatians*, were held as considerations worthe of regard: yet not sufficient causes of making Warre. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of confuting the *Asiatians*, and of thoroughly perswading all the *Greekes* (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure vnto themselves the Patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Countrey, was their soiet intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation vnto it selfe, till occasion should be ripe, and call them ouer again. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, eyther found, or at anie neare distance appearing, he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where hee meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted vnto them all that had passed since his coming into those parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsaile; touching the moderate vse of their libertie, and the care which they ought to haue of liuing peaceably, and without faction. Lastly hee gaue vp *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achaians*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garrison, and promising to doe the like (which verie soone hee did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that so it might bee knowne, what liers the *Asiatians* were, who had accused the *Romans*, of a purpose to retaine those places. With joyfull acclamations did the *Greekes* testifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to ranforme and enlarge all *Romans*, that had bin sold into their Countrey by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happie end: and by leaving the Countrey before his departure was vrged, left therein behind him the memorie of his vertue and benefites, vntrainted by jealousie and suspition of any euill meaning. At his coming to the Citie, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodliest of all that *Rome* had vntill that day beheld. Three dayes together the shew of his pompe continued: as being set out with the spoiles of a Countrey, more abundant in things worthe of such a spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made Warre. All sorts of Armes, with Statues and curious peeces of Brasse or Marble, taken from the Enemie, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Siluer: some in the rind: Masse vnwrought; some, in diuerse sorts of Coine; and some, in Vessels of fundrie kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were tenne shields, all of Siluer; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himselfe entered the Citie in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and foure Crownes of Gold, bestowed vpon him by diuerse Cities. There were also led the beards for Sacrifices the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, *Demetrius* the sonne of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the sonne of *Nabis*, were principall. After him followed his Armie; and (which added much grace, and good hearing, to the shew) the *Roman* Captiues, by his procurement redeemed from slaue in *Greece*.

Not long after his Triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Asia*. They had all verie fauourable answers, excepting those of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred ouer to *T. Quintius*, and the tenne that had bene his Counsaillers; because their businesse was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadors wondered. They said vnto *Titus* and his Associates, That they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexitie of their message. For all Treaties of peace and friendship, were either betwene the Victor and the vanquished; betwene those, that hauing warred together were vpon equal termes of aduantage; or betwene those that had liued alwaies in good agreement, without any quarrell. Vnto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yeeld; and patiently endure the

the imposition of some Coucnants, that else might seeme vnreasonable. Where Warre had bene made, and no aduantage gotten: there was it vsuall to demand and make restitution, of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost; accordingly as both parts could agree. But betwene those which had neuer fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to bee propoed: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their owne; and neyther carrie it selfe as superiour vnto the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the League and friendship that had bene so long in conclusion, betwix *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being so: they held it strange that the *Romans* should thus insult on points no way concerning them, and take vpon them to prescribe vnto the King, what Cities of *Asia* he should set at libertie; from what Cities they would giue him leaue to exact his wonted Tributes; eyther putting, or not putting, his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should thinke fit. Hereto *Quintius* answered, That since they went so distinctly to worke, He would also doe the like. Wherefore he propounded vnto them two Conditions, and gaue them their choice whether to accept: Eyther that it should be lawfull for the *Romans*, to take part in *Asia* with any that would seeke their friendship; Or, if King *Antiochus* misliked this, and would haue them forbear to meddle in *Asia*, that then Hee should abandon whatsoeuer he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plaine dealing; but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abstaine from *Asia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately wonne in *Europe*: then did not the affaires of *Smyrna*, *Compsanus*, or any other *Asiatique*, whome they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make warre with a King that sought their loue, and had neuer done them iniurie. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliuer vp vnto them the Citie of *Ephesus*, whereon of late hee had bin at so much cost; in building it vp even from the foundations, and repossessing it with inhabitants, that had all bene dispersed, or captiue to the *Barbarians*. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alleged: saying, that *Antiochus* desired friendship of the *Romans*; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the *Romans* tooke vpon them as if their cause were farre the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose, to set at libertie those Townes, which the King would oppresse and hold in subiection: especially since those Townes were of *Greeke* blood and language; and fell in that regard vnder the patronage, which *Rome* had afforded vnto all *Greece* besides. By this colour they might soone haue left *Antiochus* King of not many subiects on the hither side of *Euphrates*. Neyerther did they forbear to say, That, vnlesse he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not onely to protect those which relied vpon them in *Asia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be vnderstood) with such as were his subiects. Wherefore they vrged his Embassadors to come to a point, and tel them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleasing answer, which the Embassadors could not hereto make, little wanted of giuing presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to bee entreated, and were contented once againe to send ouer *P. Vilius*, and others that had bene already with the King at *Ephesus*; by whom they might receiue a small answer, whether these demands made by *Quintius* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respect of time, and the fruitlesse Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two yeares, or thereabouts to prepare for warre; finding in the *Romans*, all that while, no disposition to let him liue in peace.

p. V.

Of the long Warres which the Romans had with the Gaules, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. PORCIVS CATO. Injuries done by MASSANISSA to the Carthaginians: that sue to the Romans for iustice.



He Insulbrians, Boijans, and other of the *Cisalpine*, Gaules, together with the *Ligurians*, made often, and (in a manner) continuall warre vpon the Romans in *Italie*, euen from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, vntill such time as they themselves were vtterly subdued: which was not, before the Romans were almost at the height of their Empire. These Nations, hauing serued vnder *Mago* for wages, and afterwards hauing gotten *Amilcar* a Carthaginian, to be Leader vnto them all, as hath bene already shewed; by this their fellowship in Armes, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldom afterwards cyther the Gaules or *Ligurians* did stirre alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were readie to second them. How the Romans first preuailed, and got large possessions in *Gallia Cisalpine* now called *Lumbar die*; it hath bene long since rehearsed, betwene the first and second *Punic* Warres. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrey, by means of *Hannibal* his passage there-through. Neyther is it likely that the reconquest would haue bene more difficult or tedious vnto the Romans, than was the first purchase: if besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed vnto this warre had not bene distracted by the *Ligurians*; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, hauing an eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of bodie; well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any ouerthrow, but forthwith readie to fight againe. Their Countrey was mountainous, rough, woodie, and full of streight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neyther bee taken nor besieged. They were also verie poore, and had litle or nothing that might giue contentment, vnto a victorious Armie that should spoile their Land. In these respects they serued excellently well, to traine vp the Roman Souldiours to hardnesse and militarie patience: reaching them (besides other exercises of warre) to endure much, and liue contented with a litle. Their quarrell to Rome, grew partly from their loue vnto the Gaules, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territorie of their borderers, that were subiect vnto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begunne, seemes to haue bene grounded vpon the Condition of all Saluages, To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Iudgment: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from vying their advantage, or taking reuenge of injuries when they returne to minde. This qualitie is found in all, or most of the *West-Indians*: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Warres betwene them and any of their neighbours, vse commonly this answer, *it hath still bene the custome for vs and them, to fight one against the other*.

Diuers ouerthrowes, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gaue vnto the Romans: but many more, and greater, they receiued. Often they fought peace, when they found themselves in distresse; and brake it againe as often, when they thought profitable so to doe. The best was, that as their Countrey was a good place of exercise vnto the Romans, so out of their own Countrey they did litle harme

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not sending any great Armies furre from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make war, saue on their owne ground.

The Countrey of *Spaine*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italie* that became subiect vnto the Romans: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and thoroughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers vnto an Oxe hide; and the Romans found in it the propriete of that Oxe hide, which *Calanus* the Indian shewed vnto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For, treading vpon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spaine*. Seldome did it happen, that those parts, from which the Roman Armies lay furthest, were not vp in rebellion. The Spaniards were a verie hardie Nation, and easily stirred vp to armes; but had not much knowledge in the Art of warre, nor any good Captaines. They wanted also (which was their principall hinderance) good intelligence among themselves: and being diuided into many small Signories, that had litle other communion than of language, they seldome or neuer prouided in generall for the common good of their Countrey; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to looke vnto their owne Territorie. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder; when many had vnited themselves together, for chasing out of the Romans. And these were the causes of their often ouerthrowes: as desire of libertie, rather than contempt of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking armes.

The Carthaginians had bene accustomed, to make euacuation of this *Cholericke Spanish* humour, by employing, as Mercenaries in their warres abroad, those that were most likely to be vnquiet at home. They had also taken souldiours from one part of the Countrey, and vled them in another: finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits which they rayfed vpon the whole Countrey; as being farre better husbandes, and of more dexteritie than were the Romans, in that kind. But contrariwise the Romans, vying the seruice of their owne Legions, and of their sure friends the Latines, had litle businesse for the Spaniards; and therefore were faine to haue much businesse with them. *Spaine* was too farre distant, and withall too great, for them to send ouer Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they tooke in *Italie*. Wherefore it remained, that they should alwayes maintaine such Armies in the Countrey, as might leaue to hold it in obedience perforce; and such heedfull Captaines, as might be still readie to oppose the Barbarians in their first Commotion. This they did: and thereby held the Countrey; though seldome in peace.

Verie soone after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised warre in *Spaine* against the Romans, euen vpon the same generall ground, that was the foundation of all the Spanish warres following. It was thought vnreasonable, that the Spaniards should one while helpe the Carthaginians against the Romans, and another while the Romans against the Carthaginians; busily forgetting to helpe themselves against those that were strangers, yet vsurped the Dominion ouer them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behind him in that Countrey, being well acquainted with the manner of warre in those parts, suppressed this Rebellion by many victories: and, together with subiection, brought peace vpon the Countrey; which lasted five yeares. This Victorie of the Romans, though it happily ended the warre: yet left it still remaining the cause of the warres, which after five yeares brake out againe. The Spaniards fought a battaile with the Roman Proconsul, whom they slew, and had a great Victorie, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy successe of their Warres in Greece, made the Romans thinke it enough to send thither two Pretors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat: yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consul the yeare following, and sent into that Prouince, found at his coming litle left to doe, than the reconquering of all *Spaine*. But it fell out happily, that all the Spaniards were not of one minde: some were faithfull to Rome, and some were idle beholders of the paines that

that others tooke. Yet when *Cato* had wonne a great Victorie vpon the chiefe of them they rose against him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him to much new trouble. Whilſt he was about to make a iourne againſt thoſe that were as yet vnſubdued: ſome of the lately vanquiſhed, were euen readie to rebell. Hee therefore diſarmed them: which they tooke ſo heauily, that many of them ſlew themſelves for grieue. Hearing of this, and well vnderſtanding, that ſuch deſperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called vnto him the principall among them, and commending vnto them peace and quietneſſe, which they neuer had diſturbed but vnto their own great loſſe, Hee praied them to deuiſe what courſe might be take, for holding them aſſured vnto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would giue counſaile in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their inuention barren in this kind of Subiect; He gaue expreſſe charge, That vpon a day appointed they ſhould throw downe the wals of all their Townes. Afterwards hee carried the Warre about from place to place; and with ſingular induſtrie finiſhed it in ſhort time. Neyther thought he it any diſgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and dire an Armie of the *Celiberians*, againſt other of their Countreymen: excuſing the indignitie, ſuch as it ſeemed, with a ſelf, That if he were vanquiſhed and ſlaine, then ſhould hee need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victorie, hee could pay them with the Enemies monie. Finally Hee brought the Warre to ſo good end, that in long time after, though *Spaine* were often trouble ſome, yet was it in no danger of being loſt. Hee increaſed alſo the publike Reuenues in that Province, by cauſing ſome Mines of Iron and Silver to bee wrought, that had before laine vnregarded. Herein hee did benefit the Common-wealth, by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar diſpoſition.

For this *M. Cato* was not onely verie notable in the Art of War, which might well be termed The Occupation of the *Romans*; but ſo well furniſhed with all other vſeful qualities, that verie lite was waſting in him, which might ſeem requiſite to the accompliſhment of a perfect man. He was verie ſkilful in the *Roman Lawes*, a man of great Eloquence, and not vnprofitable in any buſines eyther priuate or publike. Many Books he wrote: whereof the principal were of the *Roman* antiquities, and of huſbandrie. In matter of huſbandrie he was notable, and thereby molt increaſed his ſubſtance, being of meane birth, and the firſt of his Houſe. Strong of bodie he was, and exceeding temperate: ſo as hee liued in perfect health to verie old age. But that which molt commended him vnto the better ſort of the *Romans*, was his great ſinceritie of life, abſtinance from bribes, and faſhioning himſelfe to the ancient laudable Cuſtomes of the Citie. Herein hee had merited ſingular commendations; if the vehemencie of his nature had not cauſed him to maligne the vertue of that Noble *Scipio the African*, and ſome other wortheie men; that were no leſſe honeſt than himſelfe, though farre leſſe rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwiſe, Hee was a verie good Citizen, and one of ſuch temper, that hee could faſhion himſelfe to all occaſions; as if he neuer were out of his Element. He loved buſineſſe ſo well, or rather hated vice ſo earneſtly, that euen vnto the end of his life, Hee was exerciſed in defending himſelfe, or accuſing others. For at the age of foureſcore and fix yeares, Hee pleaded in his owne defence: and foure yeares after, hee accuſed *Sergius Gallus* vnto the People. So beganne the Nobilitie of *Cato* his family, which ended in his great grandchild *M. Cato the Pſeicon*: one, that being of like vertue and frugencie, had all his good purpoſes daſt, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of ſuch Nobilitie and greatneſſe as this his Anceſtor had continually vexed.

The *Spaniſh* Warres, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrey, though they were not verie dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrey ſeldome free from inſurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Pretors therefore, of which two euerie yeare were ſent ouer Commanders into *Spaine* (that was diuided into

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two euerie yeare were ſent ouer Commanders into *Spaine* (that was diuided into two Governements) did rarely faile of ſuch worke, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One ſlew thirtene thouſand *Spaniards* in a battaile: another tooke ſix Townes; and a third enforced many States of the Countrey to ſue for peace. Thus euerie one of them, or moſt of them, did ſome laudable ſervice; yet ſo, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in ſtead of the old that were ſlaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the cauſes hereof I haue already pointed: and therefore thinke it enough to ſay, That the buſineſſe in *Spaine* required not the employment of a *Roman* Conſul, from ſuch time as *Cato* thence departed, vntill the *Numidian* Warre brake out; which was verie long after.

In all other Countreies to the Weſt of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace: but ſo had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barthine* Houſe promiſed al felicitie which *Rome* could grant, vnto themſelves and their obedient Citie: *Masaniſſa* ſet to diſputing with the ſword, about the title to the beſt part of their Lands. Hee beganne with *Emporia*, a fruitfull Region about the leſſer *Syrtis*: wherein among other Cities was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent vnto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Countrey the *Numidian* challenged; and by winning ſome part of it, ſeemed to better his claime vnto the whole. Hee had a great aduantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any Warre, without leaue obtained from their Maſters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redreſſe, than by ſending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And ſurely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Iudges had bene vnpartiall. For beſides that *Scipio*, in limiting cut vnto them their bounds, had left them the poſſeſſion of this Countrey, *Masaniſſa* himſelfe; now verie lately, purſuing a Rebelle that fled out of his Kingdome, deſired leaue of the *Carthaginians*, for himſelfe to paſſe through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwiſe bene queſtionable) that the Countrey was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masaniſſa* had wherewith to juſtifie his proceedings; eſpecially vnto the *Roman* Senate. Hee gaue the *Fulbers* to vnderſtand by his Embaſſadors, what faithleſſe people the *Carthaginians* were, and how it affected to the State of *Rome*.  
<sup>37</sup> There had lately bene ſent vnto them from *Hannibal* one, that ſhould perſwade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined, vpon ſome ſuſpition of his errand; yet neyther aſſailing him nor his ſhipps, had thereby afforded him meanes to eſcape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, That certainly it was their purpoſe to rebell; and therefore good policie to keepe them downe. As for the Countrey of *Emporia*; it had alwaies, hee ſaid, bene theirs, that were able to hold it by ſtrong hand: and ſo belonged ſometimes vnto the *Numidian* Kings; though now of late it was in poſſeſſion of the *Carthaginians*. Put if truth were knowne: the Citizens of *Carthage* had no verie warrantable title, vnto any more ground, than that whereon their Citie ſtood; or ſcarcely to ſo much. For they were no better than ſtrangers in *Aſiack*, that had gotten leaue there to build vpon ſo much ground, as they could accompaſſe with an Oxe-hide cut into ſmal thongs. Whatſoeuer they held without ſuch a compaſſe, was purchaſed by fraud, and wrongfull encheatments. This conſidered, *Masaniſſa* requereſt of the Senate, That they would not adjudge vnto ſuch vſurpers; the Countrey ſometimes appertaining to the Anceſtors of him their aſſured friend. The *Romans* hauing heard theſe allegations on both ſides, found the matter ſo doubtfull, that they could not on the ſudden tell what to determine. Wherefore becauſe they would doe nothing raiſhly, they ſent ouer three Embaſſadors; of whom *P. Scipio the African* was one and the chiefe, to decide the controuerſie: yet ſecretly giuing them  
<sup>40</sup> inſtructions, to leaue all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embaſſadors followed their directions, and left all doubtfull. So was it likely, that *Masaniſſa* with a ſtrong Armie ſhould quickly proue, againſt thoſe that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime againſt the wrong. By ſuch arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not onely from ſtirring in fauour of King

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Antiochus,

*Antiochus*, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little vnto their finall destruction: that came vpon them, when the *Romans* had leasure to expresse the vtmost of their hatred.

## §. VI.

*The Ætoliens labour to prouoke ANTIOCHVS, PHILIP, and NABIS, to warre vpon the Romans; by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. NABIS besiegeth Gytheum, and wasteth some part of Achaia. The exact skill of PHILOPOEMEN, in advantage of ground: whereby hee utterly vanquisheth NABIS. ANTIOCHVS being denied peace by the Romans, ioynes with the Ætoliens. The Ætoliens surprize DEMETRIAS; and by killing NABIS their confederate seize vpon Sparta. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at PHILOPOEMEN his persuasions annex themselves to the Achæans.*

**A**L Greece being at peace, and the Roman Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætoliens* to thinke, that they who had promised vnto themselves the whole spoile of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the *Greekes*; were not only disappointed of their couctous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most vnraged. Yet was there made a great access to their Estate; by adding much vnto them, of that which had bene taken from the *Macedonians*. This might haue well sufficed them, if their desires had not bene immoderate; and their indignation, more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due, as they were vexed with the deniall of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disleeemed, wherein they thought that they had vniuertable wrong. Wherefore they deuided, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what meanes they best might right themselves; and giue the *Romans* a sorrowfull knowledge of the difference, betwene their enmitie and friendship. To this purpose they soone agreed, as concurring all in one affliction, That they would not only perswade *Antiochus* to make warre vpon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused peace; but that they would deale with the King of *Macedon* their ancient Enemie, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedemonia*, to ioyne all together in a new Confederacie: whose ioynt forces could not in all likelihood but farre surmount those of the *Romans*, *Achæans*, *Rhodiens*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprize, which the *Ætoliens* tooke in hand; and well becoming them, for they were great darers. They sent Embassadors to all these Kings, with persuasions as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irresolute; and *Antiochus* willing to trie first all other courses. *Nabis* the *Lacedemonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had lost much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in feare of any warre; yet shewed himselfe of all other the most forward: and not playing so much as to fecke any good pretence, beganne immediately to lay siege to *Gytheum*, that had bene lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whose care chiefly *Titus* this departure had commended the affaires of *Peloponnesus*, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his dutie: neither would they haue flained long from repressing his violence by open war, had not some of them thought it wisdom to aske counsaile of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintus*, before they engaged themselves in a businesse of such importance. Whilest thus they spent the time in sending Embassadors, and were aduised by *Quintus* to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the Roman forces that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to giue them iust cause of complaint, by wasting their owne Territories.

*Philopomen* was then Prætor of the *Achæans*, who had long bene absent in *Cretæ* making

making war there for his mudes lake and recreation. Vnto him the *Achæans* referred themselves, giuing him leaue to order the war at his pleasure; either flying vntill the *Romans* came; or doing other wise, as he should thinke best. He made all hait to relieue *Gytheum*, by Seas; leaving lesse the Towne, and the *Achaian* Garrison within it, should be lost, if hee vied any delay. But *Philopomen* was so bad a Seaman, that he knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. He made a *Quadrimere* Gallie his Admirall, that had foure score yeares agoe bene counted a gallant vessel, in the Naue of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the rest of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedemonian*. Onely it fell out well, that he committed himselfe to a light Pinnace or Brigantine, that fought better with her wings, than with her talions. For his Admirall Gallie was steeamed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leakes, and tooke in water so fast, that the was faine to yeeld without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was become of their Admirall; all were presently discouraged, and saved themselves with what speed they could. But *Philopomen* was not likewise daunted. If hee had failed in Sea-furies, which was none of his Occupation; Hee said that hee would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Armie from the siege of *Gytheum*, to stop the *Achæans*; if they should invade his Countre. But vpon these which were placed in guard of *Laonia*, *Philopomen* came unexpected, fired their Campe; and put all, save a verie few of them, to the sword. Then marched he with all his Armie towards *Lacedemonia*: within ten mile whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him, that had already taken *Gytheum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would haue bene ready for them so soone. Or if hee shoud come from *Gytheum*, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that hee wuld overtake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long Troupe reaching some fiew miles; hauing their Horse and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs to beare off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take: appeared in the front of them with all his Armie, encamped there where they meant to haue lodged. It was the custom of *Philopomen*, when hee walked or trauelled abroad with his friends, to make the situation of the Countre about him, and to discourse, what might befall an Armie marching the same way. Hee would suppose, That hauing with him there such a number of souldiours, ordered and forced in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were vpon that ground encountered by a greater Armie, or better prepared to the fight. Then would hee put the question, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? what peece of ground it were meete for him to seize vpon? and in what manner he might best doe it in what fort he should order his men? where bestow his Carriages, and vnder what Gard? in what fort encampe himselfe? and which way march the day following? By such continuall meditation Hee was growne so perfect, that hee neuer met with any difficultie, whence hee could not explicate himselfe and his followers. At this time he made a stand: and hauing drawne vp his Reare, Hee encamped neare vnto the place where hee was; within halfe a mile of the Enemie. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Roke, encompassing them round with his souldiours. The ground was rough, the waies bad, and the day almost quite spent, so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brooke, whereto the *Achæans* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. *Philopomen* understood this; and layd an ambush in place convenient; wherinto the Mercinaries of *Nabis* fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, because one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a fugitive, and tell him, that the *Achæans* had a purpose to get betwene him and *Lacedemonia*, whereby they would both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people, to take armes for the recouerie of their

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freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwise would haue bene forced. Some Companies he made to stay behind, and shew themselves vpon the Rampart, thereby to concale his departure. But *Philopemen* was not so to be beguiled. He easily won the Campe; and gaue chase to *Nabis*: whose followers being ouertaken, had no courage to turne about and make head. The Enemies being thus disperfed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in couert all that day; *Philopemen* conceiued aright, that their feare and needefull would teach them to creepe homewards, and saue themselves, when it grew darke. Wherefore in the Euening, when he had gathered together all those of his Light-armature, which had followed the chase whilst it was day; He led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinarie passages vnto *Lacedamon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was darke night, perceiving in *Philopemen* Campe great fiore of lights; thought that all had bene at rest: and therefore aduentured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirtie daies together alter this, did *Philopemen* wait the Countreie round about, whilst *Nabis* durst not issue forth of his Towne; and then returned home, leauing the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The Roman Embassadours were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them; labouring to make their partie strong against *Antiochus* & *Nabis*, whom they knew to be solicited by the *Aetolians*. Verie faire countenance they also made vnto *Philip*; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, whatsoever hee thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore vnto him his fornie: and were contented to let him hope, that hee should recieue other fauours at their hands; and regaine possession of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for war against *Antiochus* in *Greece*; whilst their Embassadours that were with him in *Asia*, denied otherwise to grant him peace, than if he would yeelde vnto one of the Conditions, by them so often propounded. The long absence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accomplished the marriage betwene *Ptolemie* and his daughter: together with the death of yong *Antiochus* the Kings son, which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King, from giuing audience in person to the Embassadours; caused them to returne home to *Rome*; as vncertaine of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might haue bene, and partly was, beneficial vnto them, they brought to passe during their abode at *Ephesus*; either by cunning, or (as *Luie* rather thinks) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for hauing thus fled vnto *Antiochus*, vpon a causelesse suspicion wherein hee held the Romans: that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many haue affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of these Embassadours; and that he, among other discourses with *Hannibal*, demanded once, Which of all the famous Captaines that had liued, *Hannibal* iudged the most worthie? So *Hannibal* gaue to *Alexander* of *Maceden* the first place: to *Pyrrius* the second: and the third he challenged vnto himselfe. But *Scipio* who thought his owne title better, than that it ought to be so forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldst thou haue said then *Hannibal*, if thou hadst vanquished mee? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I haue giuen the first place to *Alexander*, but haue claimed it as due vnto my selfe. Now whether this were so, or otherwise: the often and freindly conference of *Hannibal* with the Roman Embassadours, made him suspected of *Antiochus*: who therefore did so beare awaile to vse his counsell. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceiued this change in the King: and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; He easily recovered his former grace, and credit. For he told how his Father had caused him to sweare at the Altars, when hee was a little boy, That hee neuer should be freind vnto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vaine surmises:

mises: but to know thus much, That as long as hee thought vpon war with *Rome*, so long would *Hannibal* doe him all good seruice: whereas contrariwise if he intended to make peace, then should it behoue him to vse the counsaile of some other man.

The *Aetolians*, and their freinds, were no lesse busie all this while, in making their partie strong against the Romans: than were the Romans, in multering vp their freinds in *Greece*. They had so often dealt with *Antiochus*, vinting much of their owne forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victorie against *Philip*; that finally they preuailed with him: especially when the Roman Embassadours had left him, without hope of peace, vniuerselle he would buy it at too deare a rate. They dealt in like sort with the *Macedonians*. But in vaine. Hee vnderstood the Romans, and himselfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improoue their owne forces to the vtmost: as knowing, that all the burthen must lie vpon *Antiochus* and themselves, without helpe from any; saue only from some few that were discontented in *Greece*. Whilst they were about this, and had with them an Embassadour of the King, *Antiochus* that animated them to resolution: the *Athenian* Embassadours, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the Romans, that lay neere at hand. For want of a readie answer hereto they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the busines worthe of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himselfe against the Romans: it would be no small peece of seruice, to with-draw from his freindship, those by whose encouragement he had made the aduerture. Wherefore he came to their *Panathenium*, or Great Assemblies of the Nations; where he forgot nothing that might serue to appease them. Hee willed them to consider the weight of the enterprize which they tooke in hand, whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champaigne-field, on which, to the ruine of the Countreie, the Romans, and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Maisterie: the *Aetolians*, as Matters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becoming the *Steklers*. As for those grieuances which did thus exasperate them, and vrge them to such violent courses, He willed them to consider how light they were, and how much better they might doe to send Embassadours to *Rome*, that should either plead their right in the Senate, or (if their right vnto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to haue what they desired: than thus to let the world in an vprore, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what hee said or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassadour of the King, whose helpe they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and say doubting what good end they should make with the Romans. Neither was it newes vnto them to heare those comfortable words, That, by sending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtaine what they desired; either at their right, or else by way of fauour. For with such termes had they bene fastid once already: and were by the Senate reiecte vnto *Titus*: who, hauing it in his owne power, gaue them no satisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This was onely losse of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more ado they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus* the great should be entreated to come oute to *Greece*, as well to set the Countreie at libertie, as also to decide the contencencies depending betwene the Romans and *Aetolians*. Such a Decree they would not haue made, had they not vnderstood the Kings minde before. Hauing made it, they forgot no point of brauerie, whereby to vnt themselves to the Kings Embassadours, and against the Romans. *Titus* desired of their Prator, to let him see a Copie of this new Decree. The Prator answered, That then he had other things to doe: but that this Decree, & their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their camp in *Italie* vpon the riuer of *Tiberis*. Gentler words would haue done

\* Lib. 24. at  
Antiochus  
firste Iudges.

done better as the *Ætolians* are like to vnderstand herafter. But hauing thus begun, they meant henceforth to goe roundly to worke. The care of the war they referred vnto the more priuate Council of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the authoritie of a generall Assemblie. The *Apelates* (so were the Priuie Council of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to worke, as any of the yongell heads could haue done. They laid a plot, how to get into their lands: at one time the Townes of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for their purpose. *Demetrias* they tooke vpon the sudden: entering, some of them as friends to conduct home a principall man of the Citie: who for speaking words against *T. Quintus*, had bene driuen to flee thence, but was, by intercession of those that loved him, againe recalled. His *Ætolian* companions that were not many, seized vpon a Gate: wherat they let in a Troup which they had left not far behind them; and so fell to murdering the chiefe of the *Roman* faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came too strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Towne prepared to defend it selfe against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostilitie, they gaue a gentle answer: saying, That they came not thither as enemies, but onely to deliver the Towne from the *Romans*: who more insolently dominated ouer it, than neuer the *Macedonians* had done. By such Rhetorike they prevailed no more, than they could doe by plaine force. For the Towne's men replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their libertie, nor needed any Garrison to keepe them from the *Romans*; from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received iniurie. So this busines was dashed. The attempt vpon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good friend, was Lord of the Towne: styling himselfe King; but, more truly, by all men called Tyrant. He had well-near lost all, by meanes of the ouerthrow which *Philopoemen* had lately given him: since, he durst not stirre abroad; and daily expected the mischance, that on all sides threatned him. Wherefore he sent messengers, one after other, to the *Ætolians*: requesting them, That as He had not bene slow to stirre in their behalfe, but aduertured himselfe vpon the vermouth of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to send him what helpe they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath bene often said, That the rauenous *Ætolians* were onely true to themselves, & regarded neither faith nor friendship otherwise than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his mercinarie forces, which vpheld his Tyrannie, to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to disfigure *Lacedæmon* vnto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a worke. To him they gaue a thousand Foot, and thirtie Horse, chosen for the purpose. The thirtie were by *Danaocrates* the Prætor brought into the Council of the *Apelates*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to thinke that they were sent to make war with the *Acheans*, or to doe ought else, save onely what *Alexamenus* should command them: which were it neuer so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they vnderstand, that vntill they performed it, they should haue no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave wordes: telling him, that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mightie Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to finde other manner of work, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this great King, without other helpe, would suffice to tread them downe. As for the *Ætolians*, He said, that it need should so require, they would presently send away to *Lacedæmon* all the forces that they could raise: But that they were verie desirous at the present, to make as goodlie a muster as they could before the great King; which caused them to send him thither afore

with no greater companie. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take hearty birth forth his men, that had bene long pent vp in the Citie; and traine them without the wals: as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field; riding vp and downe with his *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or foure horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamenus* made it his fashion to step aside alone to his *Ætolians*, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned againe to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for this great worke that he had in hand: Hee then went aside to his thirtie Horsemen, and bad them remember the taske enioyned them at their setting forth; telling them that they were all in case of banished men, vntill they would anon come vp to him, and helpe him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant beganne to draw neare them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and struck him down. The thirtie *Ætolians* neuer stood to deliberate vpon the matter: but all flew in; and, before any succour could arriue, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently vpon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercinaries ranne vnto the dead bodie: where in stead of seeking reuenge they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætolians* halted into the Citie, and seized on the Palace: where hee fell to ransacking the Treasurie; and troubled himselfe with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Towne, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to see those that had slaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Towne was shortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Captaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall stocke, that had bene brought vp with *Nabis* his children; whom they mounted vpon a Good Horse, and made him their chiefe: So they fell vpon the *Ætolians* that were idly stragling about; and put them all to the sword. *Alexamenus* with not many of his Companie, were slaine in keeping the Citadell: and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magistrats; who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtfull Estate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopoemen* came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and speaking such words vnto them, as *Alexamenus* should haue done after hee had slaine the Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their owne good and safetie, to incorporate themselves with the *Acheans*, Thus by the enterprise, no lesse dishonourable than difficult, of the *Ætolians*, and the small but effectuell, traualle of *Philopoemen*; the *Acheans* made a notable purchase: and *Lacedæmon*, that had hitherto bin gouerned eyther by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth; wherof the name had scarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled ouer all *Greece*.

## §. VII.

ANTIOCHVS, perswaded by THOAS the *Ætolian*, comes ouer into Greece, ill attended. *Sandrie* passages betweene him, the *Ætolians*, *Chalcidians* and others. Hee winnes *Chalcis* and thereby the whole Ile of *Euboea*. The vanitie of the Kings Embassadors and the *Ætolians*, with the Ciuil answer of TITVS to their discourse, before the *Achaens*. That it concerned the *Greekes* to haue desired peace, betwene the *Romans* and ANTIOCHVS, as the best assurance of their owne libertie. Of many petite *Epistates* that fell to the King. Of AMINANDER, and an idle vanitie, by which King PHILIP was lost. HANNIBAL giues good counsaile in vaine. Some Townes wonne in *Thessalie*. The King retires to *Chalcis*; Where hee marieth a young Wife, and reuels away the rell of Winter. Vpon the coming of the Roman Consul all forsake ANTIOCHVS. Hee with two thousand *Ætolians* keeps the Streights of *Thermopylae*. Hee is beaten, and flies into *Asia*: leaving all in Greece vnto the Victors.

ANTIOCHVS was troubled much in *Asia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampsaen*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leaue them Enemies behind him; and to winne them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was hee desirous with all speed conuenient to shew himselfe in Greece; where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the Countrie there was a verie small number, which bore heartie affection vnto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was alreadie vp in Armes: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chaine, desiring nothing more than to breake loose; and that the *Ætolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could haue done, were readieto conferre vpon him the greatnesse, which they had vnworthily bestowed vpon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise, as added credit vnto all the rest. Whilest therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africa*, there to molest the *Romans*, and to giue him the better leisure of vising his owne opportunities in Greece: THOAS the *Ætolian* came ouer to him, and bad him lay all other care aside; for that his Countymen had alreadie taken *Demetrias* a Towne of maine importance, that should giue him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatnesse of his vertue and fortune. This did serue to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*: THOAS was bold to tell the King, first, That it was not expedient for him to diuide his forces at such a time, when the verie reputation of his numbers, brought into Greece, might serue to lay open vnto him all places, without need of vising violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more vnfit man to be employed in the Kings seruice, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said, That the King should as greatly feele the losse of a Fleet or Arme, persuing vnder such a notable Commander if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried vnder one of meaner qualitie: whereas neuertheless if *Hannibal* preuailed; *Hannibal* alone should haue all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, That such a renowned Warriour should becalwayes neare vnto the Kings person, to giue aduice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good successe would wholly redound vnto the honour of him that had the soveraigne Command; euen of the King himselfe. *Antiochus* gladly hearkned vnto this admonition; being zealous of the vertue, that shined brighter than the Misticke of his owne fortune. And thereupon hee laid aside the determination, which tended more to the aduancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought vpon.

Presently after this He made ready for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a friv-  
lous

lous pomp of ceremony, he went vp from the Sea-side to *Ilium*; thereto do sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence passing ouer the *Ægean* Sea, Hee came to *Demetrias*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnetian*, the same whom the *Ætolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they wanne *Demetrias*; was now the chiefe man and Ruler of his Nation. Hee therefore with his Countymen, in great frequency, came to doe their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and tooke it as a signe of good lucke, to bee so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the *Magnetians* found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Arme somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they saw three hundred ships, of which no more than fortie were seruicible for the Warres; with an Arme of tenne thousand Foot, fuch hundred Horse, and lixe Elephants. The *Ætolians* no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a Parliament; and made a Decree, whereby they invited him into their Countrie. He knew before that they would so doe; and was therefore wel onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the *Ætolians* gaue him asioyfull entertainment as they could deuise. Being brought into their Councell, He made an Oration: wherein hee desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Arme. This was, he said, in true estimation a signe of his good will: in that hee staid not to make all things readie, but halted vnto their aid, euen whilest the season was vnfit for nauigation. Yet it should not bee long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfiued vnto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all Greece with Armes, and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neyther would hee spare for any charge, traualle, or danger, to follow the builnesse which hee had vndertaken: euen to driue the *Romans* and their authoritie out of Greece, leaving the Countrie free indeed, and the *Ætolians* therein the chiefe. Now as the Armes that were following him, should be verie great: so was it his meaning, that all prouisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because he would not bee any way burdenesome vnto his Confederates. But at the present hee must needs entreat them, hauing thus hastily come ouer vnto their aid, vnprovided of manie necessaries; that they would helpe him with Corne and other victuals, whereof hee stood in need. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the *Romans* and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) That they would yield vnto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their forces. Here we may obserue, how vaine a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himselfe, as did *Antiochus*, in a builnesse of dangerous importance, vpon the promised assurance of a State that is merely popular. For if the vehemencie of *Thoas*, and some other of that Faction, had not preuailed in this Councell: the *Ætolians*, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea for hope of such gaine that might haue deceiued them, were like to haue abandoned this King their friend, vnto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedie had there beene, if this had so fallen out? He could haue bemoaned himselfe to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he must haue bin contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side; whom *Thoas* would therefore haue pronounced to bee verie wicked men. It happened much better for the present; though in the future it proved much worse, both for him, and for the *Ætolians*. He was chosen Generall of all their forces; and thirtie Commissioners were appointed to bee about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilest it was in dispute where they should beginne the Warre. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first vndertaken: whether if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure need to vse much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thousand Foot, leaving the rest behind him at *Demetrias*. With these hee halted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no great number of the *Ætolians*, which

which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magistrates, and some of the chiefe Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the *Aetolians* beganne, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and false semblance, let *Greece* at libertie. But such libertie, as might be true and vifull, they said would neuer be obtained; vntill by remouing the necessitie of obeying their pleasure that were most mightie, euerie feuerall Estate had where to find redresse of any preiure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King wel able to counterpoise, yea to ouerweigh the *Romans*; who neuertheless desired them only, so to ioyne with him in League, as that if eyther the *Romans* or Hee should offer them wrong, they might keepe it in their power, to seeke redresse at the other hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedome was not imaginarie, but absolute; in which they were to thanke the *Romans*; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirme of all the *Greekes*: forasmuch as none of them payed any Tribute, was kept vnder, by any Garrison; or liued otherwise than by their owne *Lanes*; and without being tied vnto condition which displeased them. Wherefore they wondered, why the King should thus trouble himselfe, to deuour Cities that were already free. But since he, and the *Aetolians*, requested their friendship: they besought both him, and the *Aetolians*, to doe a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such good case as they were. With this answer the King departed: for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But verie soone after, hee brought thither a greater power, which terrified them, and made them yeeld: before all the succours could arriue, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chiefe Citie of *Euboea* being thus gorten; all the rest of the Iland shortly yeelded to *Antiochus*. Four or five hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came ouer late to haue defended *Chalceus*, reposed themselves at *Delium*, a little Towne of *Boeotia*, lying ouer against the Iland; where was a Temple and Groue, consecrated vnto *Apollo*, that had the privilege of an inuolable Sanctuarie. In this place were some of them wal king, and beholding the things there to becene, whilst others were busied as they found cause: without feare of any danger; as being in such a place, and no warre thither proclaimed. But *Demetrius*, one of *Antiochus* his Captaines, that had wearied himselfe in manie vaine Treaties of peace; tooke advantage of their carelesnesse, and led them all with all extremitie of warre. Verie few of them escaped: hisse were tak. n, and the rest slaine. Hereat *Quintus* was grieved: yet so, as it pleased him wel to consider, that his *Romans* had now more iust cause than before, to make warre vpon the King.

*Antiochus* liked wel these beginnings, and sent Embassadours into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation should perwade very many to take his part. The wisest fort returned such answer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some referred themselves vntill hee should come among them: knowing that eyther, if hee came not, Hee must holde them excused for not daring to stirre; or, if hee came, the *Romans* must pardon their just feare, in yeelding to the stronger. None of those that lay farre off, joynd with him in true meaning; save the *Eleans*, that alwayes fauoured the *Aetolians*; and now feared the *Achaens*. Little reason there was, that he should thinke to draw the *Achaens* to his partie. Neuertheless hee assayed them, vpon a vaine hope that the entie, which *Titus* was said to beare vnto *Philopemen* vertue, had bred a secret dislike betwene that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both Hee and the *Aetolians* sent Embassadours to the Councell at *Aegium*, that spured not brasse words, if the *Achaens* would haue lo bene taken. The Kings Embassadour told of great Armies and Fleets that were coming; reckoning vp the *Dahans*, *Aethians*, *Elimeans*; and *Cadusians*; names that were not euery day heard of, and therefore as hee thought,

the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydenians*, *Tyrrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphylians* were; such indeed as could not be refuted. Now concerning monie, and all warlike furniture: it was, he said, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of *Asia* had alwaies thereof great plentie. So as they were much deceived: who considering the late war made against *Philip*, did thinke that this with *Antiochus* would proue the like: the case was too farre different. Yet this most powerfull King, that for the libertie of *Greece* was come from the vtmost parts of the East; requested no more of the *Achaens*, than that they would hold themselves as neutral, and quietly looke on, whilst He tooke order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Aetolian* Embassadour: and further added, That in the battell at *Cynosephala*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a General, nor the *Romans* of good souldiours: but that both He and his Armie had bene there destroyed, had they not bene protected by vertue of the *Aetolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present at the Councell, and heard all this: to which hee made as lit answer, as could haue bene desired. He told the *Achaens*, That neither the Kings Embassadour, nor the *Aetolians*, did so greatly labour to perswade those vnto whom they addressed their Orations; as to vnt themselves the one vnto the other. So as a man might well discern, what good correspondence in vanitie it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Aetolians* together. For euen such bragges as here they made, before the *Achaens* who knew them to be liars, had the *Aetolians* also made vnto King *Antiochus*: proclaiming the victorie ouer *Philip* to be merely their Act: and the whole Countrie of *Greece* to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they bene feasted by the King, with such tales as his Embassadour told euen now; of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimeans*, and a many others: that were all but a companie of *Syrians*, such as were wont to be sold about for bondslaves, and good for little else. These diuerse names of scallie people were, he said, like to the diuinitie of *Venison*, wherewith a freind of his at *Chalceus* (no such vnter as were these Embassadours) had sometime feasted him. For all that varietie, wherewith hee wondered, was none other, as his Host then merily told him; than so many peeces of one tame swine, dressed after seuerall fashions with varietie of sawces. Setting therefore aside this vntie of idle pompe: it were good to make iudgment of the great King, by his present doings. Hee had, notwithstanding all this great noyse, no more than ten thousand men about him: for which little Armie hee was faime, in a manner, to beg vittualles of the *Aetolians*; and take vp monie at vsurie, to discharge his charges. And thus he ran vp and downe the Countrie; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence backe to *Chalceus*; and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* againe. These were the fruits of his: wherewith since both *Antiochus* and the *Aetolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst

40 wiser men tooke heed by their example. To a fauourable Auditorie much persuasion is needlesse. The *Achaens* did not loue lo well the *Aetolians*, as to desire that they should become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abjects. Wherefore they stood not to barken after newes, what *Antiochus* did, how he sped in *Euboea*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed war against him, and against the *Aetolians*.

How the hatred betwene these two Nations grew inueterate; sufficiently appears in the storie foregoing. Now haue they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them vnwisely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid, on the turbulent spirits of the *Aetolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece* and left the Countrie at rest: there was no

50 thing more greatly to haue bene desired, than that they might neuer finde occasion to retaine with an Armie thither againe. And in this respect ought the *Greekes* to haue fought not how *Smyrna* and *Lampsa* might recouer their libertie (which had neuer bene held a matter worth regarding, vntill now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, diuided and kept asunder by their Countrie, as two

Seas by an *Isthmus* or necke of land, might be kept from ouerflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base *Asiatiques*, which originally were *Greeks* ; than the generall ap-  
 plainc, wherewith all the Nation entertained this their iouing offer. Yet were *Lysimachus*, and the Townes in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a verie great cause of feare, that should moue them to take armes euen in their owne de-  
 fence. But if all *Greece* would haue made intercession, & requested that things might continue as they were, promising ioyntly to assill the *Romans*, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, whensoever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stirre against them: then had not only this quarrell bene at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage ouer the Countrey, had been far from growing, as soone after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achaens* were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gaue doubtfull answers of hope vnto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thessalians*, were firme against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrell, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Boeotians* willingly receiued him, as soone as he entered vpon their borders, not so much for feare of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had bene somewhat hardly vied. *Aminander* the *Albanian*,<sup>20</sup> besides his old freindship with the *Aetolians*, was caught with a bait; which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and wanted himselfe to be defended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two sonnes, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his siltter to the poore Court of *Albania*: where hauing made his follie knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; He was iudged by *Antiochus* and the *Aetolians*, a man fit for their turnes. They made him beleue, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memorie of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpose, to doe their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoofe: since no man had thereto so good title<sup>30</sup> as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behoued him to draw *Aminander* to their partie, that so they might the sooner haue done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himselfe, or of his siltter, effected as much as they desired. But the first peece of seruice done by this imaginative King (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie, in hope to get loue of the *Macedonians*; that should be his subjects; or whether from some vanitie in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harme to his freinds, than he and *Aminander* were able to doe good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched vnto *Cyncephala*, there to gather vp the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie vnburied.<sup>40</sup> The *Macedons* troubled not themselves to thinke on this charitable act, as it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended merely vnto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent vnto the *Romans*; and gaue them to vnderstand, that hee was ready with all his power to aid them whereinsoever they should be pleased to vse him.

The *Aetolians*, *Macedonians*, *Eubarians*, *Boeotians*, and *Albanians*, hauing now all ioynted with him; *Antiochus* tooke counsaile of them about the prosecution of the warre in hand. The chiefe question was, Whether it were meet for him to in-  
 uade *Thessalie*, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or whether to let all alone vntill the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing,<sup>50</sup> and some another: confirming each his owne sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge; as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long bene cast aside, as a vessell of no vse; but was now requir-  
 ed to deliuer his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now ver-

ter, was euen the same which he would haue spoken, had his counsaile at any time before bene asked since their coming into *Greece*. For the *Macedonians*, *Boeotians*, and other their good freinds, which now lo willingly took their parts: what were they else than so many poore Estates, that, wanting force of their owne, did adioyne themselves for feare vnto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrarie side, alledging the same feare for their excuse? wherefore he thought it most behouefull, to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* vnto their partie: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards haue power to recoyle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mightie Prince, and one that had meane to sustaine the *Roman* warre with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily perswaded to ioyne with them; the benefit likely to redound vnto himselfe, by their societie, was a verie strong Argument: though indeed what need was there, of prouing by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, said hee, These *Aetolians* here present; and namely this *THOMAS*, being lately Embassador from them into *Asia*, among other Motiues which he then vsed to excite the King vnto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told vs that *PHILIP* was moued beyond all patience, with the Lordly influence of the *Romans*: likening that King to some wild beast, that was chained, or locked up within some grate and was: if I saue breake loose. If this be so: let vs breake his chaine, and pull downe the grate:<sup>20</sup> that he may regaine his libertie, and satisfie his angry flames, vpon those that are common Enemies to vs and him. But if it prouoe otherwise, and that his feare be greater than his indignation: then shall it behoue vs to looke vnto him, that he may not seeke to please his good master the *Romans*, by offending vs. Your sonne *SELEVCVS* is now at *Ephesus*; with part of your Armie: if *PHILIP* will not hearken to your Embassage; let *SELEVCVS* be in readines, to fall vpon *Macedon*, and finde him worke to defend his owne on the other side, without putting vs here to trouble. Thus much concerning *PHILIP*; and the present war in *Greece*. But more generally for the manning of this great enterprize, wherein you are now embarked against the *Romans*; I told you my opinion at the beginning. Whereto had you then giuen eare, the *Romans* by this time should haue heard other newes; than that *Cabalus* in *Euboea* was become ours. *Italie* and *Gaul* should haue bene on fire with warre: and little to their comfort, they should haue vnderstood, that *HANNIBAL* was againe come into *Italie*. Neither doe I see what should hinder vs euen now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet and Armie hither (but in any case let Ships of burden come a long with them, laden with store of victualles: For as the case now stands, we haue here too few hands, and too many mouths.) If these let the one halfe be employed against *Italie*, whilst you in person with the other halfe, tarrying on this side the *Ionian* Sea, may both take order for the affaires of *Greece*, and then euill will make countenance, as if you were euen ready to follow vs into *Italie*: yea and be ready to follow vs indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my aduice: who though perhaps I am not verie skillfull in all sorts of warre: yet how to war with the *Romans*, I haue bene instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine owne. Of this counsaile which I giue, I promise you my faithfull and diligent seruice for the execution: but what counsaile soeuer you shall please to follow; I will it may be profitable.<sup>30</sup> Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said he had spoken brauely: but of all this was nothing done; saue onely that one was sent into *Asia*, to make all things ready there. In the meane while they went in hand with *Thessalie*; about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissa* that was chiefe of the Countrey, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the walls with his whole Armie. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *At. Babian*, a *Roman* Proprietor did send hither. Likewise *Philip* of *Macedon* professed himselfe I nemie vnto *Antiochus*: whereby the fame of the succour comming to *Larissa* grew such, as wrought more than the succour could haue done, had it arriued. For *Antiochus* perceiving many fires on the Mountaines tops stare off; thought that

a great Armie of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had bene comming vpon him. There- fore exculing him selfe by the time of the year; Hee brake vp his seige, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in loue with a yong Maiden, daughter vnto a Citizen of the Towne: whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was betwene them, both in yeares and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the Winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking vpon the war in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the souldiers as readily imitated their Captaines: in such wise that when he took the feild, he might evidently perceiue in what loose manner of discipline his Armie had passed the Winter. But *M. Atilius Glabrie*, the *Roman* Consul, shall meet him verie shortly, and helpe him to reclaim them from this loosenesse of nuptial Reuels; by setting them to harder exercise.

*M. Atilius* was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The warre against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise He was no way so honourable, as *Nasica* his Colleague: vnto whom fell a charge, of farre lesse credit and importance. *Nasica*, besides the great Nobilitie of his Familie, had bene long since, in time of the *Punicke Warre*, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the Senate, for verie feare and superstition, durst not haue so pronounced him, had they not so thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the verie best, should entertaine an old stone, which the Diuell then taught them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gaue such aduantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Prouince; or arrogate more vnto himselfe, than his lot should afford him. This vnpartial distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make war against the *Boians*: wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumphe, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder seruice, requiring the more abilitie in matter of war. But *M. Atilius* went our into *Greece*, with ten thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and fiftene Elephants. *Ptolemie* King of *Aegypt*, notwithstanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*: and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately sent Embassadors to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into *Italia*, there to assist the Consul in this warre. *Ptolemie* sent also gold and siluer, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was too yong, and dwelt too farre off. So his music was returned vnto him with thanks; and his louing offer as louingly refused. Vnto *Philip* Embassadors answer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would thinke themselves beholding to him, for the assistance that He should giue to *Atilius* the Consul. *Masaniissa* likewise, and the *Carthaginians*, did strue, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promised a great quantitie of graine; which they would send partly to *Rome*, partly to the Armie in *Greece*. And herein *Masaniissa* far out-went the poore Cite of *Carthage*: as also, in that he offered to lend the Consul fife hundred Horse, and twentie Elephants. On the other side, the *Carthaginians* vnderooke to set out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-monie, which was behinde, and ought to be discharged by many yeerely penions. But the *Romans* did neither thinke it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would they redeem themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corne; it was accepted with Condition, That they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The baslie and ridiculous issue of this war, that began with such noyse and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, betwene the *Roman* and the *Asiatic* souldiers. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few townes of *Acermania*, after the same manner as hee had preuailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by faire words, and treason of the Rulers partly by terror, that was like to

proue their excuse, when they should againe for sake him. But King *Philip* and *Babius*, hauing recouered many places; and the *Roman* Consul being garrued, against whom none made resistance; He was glad to withdraw himselfe. *Antiochus* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonians* tooke and enioyed; as in recompence of his good seruice to the *Romans*. *Philip*, the brother of *Antiochus* wife, was taken by the Consul, made a mocking stocke: and sent away prisoner to *Rome*. The *Thessalians* vsed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yielding to the King. All their Cities, one after other, gaue vp themselves: the Garrisons of *Antiochus*, compounding onely for their owne liues, and departing vnarmed: yet so, that a thousand of them staid behind, and tooke pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*: who hauing withdrawn himself to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cried out vpon his freinds and said, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toyle during one halfe of a Winter, and spent the other halfe in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, He found all the promises of the *Asiatics* merely verball: and himselfe reduced into termes of great extremitie. Hee therefore admired *Iamnichus* as a wile man, yea a verie Prophet, that had foreseene all this long before. Neuertheless He sent word to the *Asiatics*, that they should now make ready all their forces: as considering their owne need to be no less than his. But the *Asiatics* had cause to thinke, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by *Antiochus*: who having promised to doe great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of *Asia*, than so many as would fill vp the same ten thousand which he first brought out. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which ioyued with him. Hereat the King was angrie; and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Thoa* and his fellows had done their best, in vaine, to haue made all the Nation take armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came out to him out of *Asia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appeare in this time of danger: He seized vpon the Streights of *Thermopyla*: as meaning to defend them against the *Romans*, vntill more helpe should come. Of the Streights of *Thermopyla* there hath bene spoken enough before, vpon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge Armie of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceived, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and so came onwards into *Thessalie*, were vnable to passe that Ledge of Mountaines, diuiding the one halfe of *Greece*: vntill they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference betwene *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of these, with an handful of men, defended this passage two or three daies together, against a World of men comming to invade the Countre. The latter, hauing taken vpon him to doe great miracles, and expect what he listed himselfe in *Greece*: did commit himselfe vnto the lastie of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Armie. There whilst he lay: He sent earnest messages one after other to the *Asiatics*, entreating them not to forsake him thus: but at least wile now to helpe, and keepe the tops of the Mountaines, lest the *Romans* finding any by-path should come downe vpon him. By this importunitie, he got of them two thousand, that vnderooke to make good the few passages: by which onely, and not without extreme difficultie, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The *Roman* Consul in like sort, prepared to force the Streights: without faying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindered by sickness from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them bene Consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to trie whether by any means they could get vp to the *Asiatics*. He himselfe encouraged his Armie: not onely by telling them, with what base-conditioned enemies they had to deale: but what rich Kingdomes *Antiochus* held, that should bountifullly reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battaile. All that night *Cato* had a fore iourne (for what

happened vnto *L. Valerius*; it is vncertaine, faue onely that hee failed in his intent) and fo much the worfe, for that he had no skillfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing vp fleepie Rocks and crooked wayes: Hee commanded them to repose themselves; whilst He, being a verie able man of bodie, tooke in hand the discouerie, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himselfe. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path: which he tooke to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading vnto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men, and held on the same path till toward breake of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no such trouble of climbing: neyther had this entrance of the *Thermopylae* bene so often the Seat of Warre, as might cause any traualers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the best yet did it lead him to a bogge at the end, which would suffer him to passe no further. So he staid there vntill day light: by which he discouered both the Campe of the *Greekes* vnderneath him; and some of the *Aetolians* verie neare vnto him, that were keeping watch. Hee therefore sent forth a lustie Crew of his men, whom he thought fitt for that seruice; and willed them by any means to get him some prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby vnderstood, that these *Aetolians* were no more than six hundred; as also that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently set vpon the *Aetolians*; ouer-threw them; slue a great part of them; and chased the rest: that by flying to their Campe, guided him vnto it. The light was already begun between the Armies below; and the *Romans*, that had easily peeced the Kings men, and driuen them into their Campe, found it in a manner a desperate peece of worke to assault the Campe it selfe; which occupied the whole breadth of the Streights; was notably fortified; and not onely defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were best at that kinde of seruice; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed ouer them on the Hill side, and powred downe a shower of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought at first, that the *Aetolians* had bene coming to helpe the Kings men: but when the *Roman* armes and enignes were discovered, such was the terror, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them forsooke the Campe, and fled. The slaughter was no great: for that the badnes of the way, did hinder the *Roman* Armie from making pursuit. Yet this daies losse draue *Antiochus* out of Greece, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence, with the first opportunitie, got him backe into *Asia*.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertaine the *Romans*, and entreat for pardon: setting open their gates; and presenting themselves vnto the Consul, in manner of suppliants. Briefly, in few dayes all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Aetolians* onely standing out, because they knew not what else to doe. Neyther did the Consul giue them any respite. At his returne from *Chalcis* He met with King *Philip*, that hauing recovered health came to ioyne with him against *Antiochus*; ouer whom his the victorie was already gotten. He did gratulate vnto the *Romans* their good success; and offered to take part with them in the *Aetolian* Warre. So it was agreed, That the Consul should besiege *Stratonea*; and *Philip*, *Lamia*; at the same time. Each of them plied his worke hard; especially *Philip*, who faue would haue taken *Lamia* before the Consul should come to helpe him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that vsed to worke by Myne, were ouermuch hindered by the stonie ground. Yet was *Lamia* euen readie to be taken, when the Consul, hauing wonne *Stratonea*, came thither; and told *Philip*, that the spoile of this Townes was a reward vnto those that had fought at *Thermopylae*. Herewith *Philip* must bee contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Antius*, that could fo ill endure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Romans* victorie, got not *Lamia* himselfe: vntill such time as another Consul, was readie to ease him of his charge.

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The losse of *Heraclus* did so affright the *Aetolians*, that they thought no way fasser than to desire peace. Yet had they sent vnto King *Antiochus* presently after his flight: entreating him not to forsake them vterly, but cyther to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into Greece; or if any thing withheld him from coming in person, at leastwise to helpe them with monie and other aid. They prayed him to consider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour; but appertained vnto his owne safetie: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Aetolians* being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any Enemies at their backs, might set vpon him in *Asia*. He considered well of this; and found their words true.

Therefore He deliuered vnto *Nicanor*, one of their Embassadors, a summe of monie, that might serue to detray the charges of the Warre: promising that ere long he would send them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Thosi*, another of their Embassadors, He retained with him: who willingly staid, that he might vrge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclus* was taken from them: then did the *Aetolians* lay aside all hope, of amending their fortune by the helpe of *Antiochus*; and made suit vnto the Consul to obtaine peace, vpon any reasonable Condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to giue them audience, but did Hee had other buisines in hand: onely He granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Sypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as much, as they would haue deliuered vnto himselfe. At their coming to *Sypata* they began, as men fauouring their own cause, to alledge how well they had deserved of the *Romans*. Where to *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memorie of all such good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore hee willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe so euen betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into termes of more extremitie. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves vnto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This phrase of committing vnto the faith, signified, in their vse of it, little else, than the acknowledgment of a fault done; and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* vsed those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as *yielding to discretion*. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speake in this manner: Hee asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then sayd Hee, I commend you first of all,

That none of yee presume to goe into *Asia*, vpon any buisines priuate or publike: then, That yee deliuer vp vnto me *Dicaearchus* the *Aetolian*, *Xenocratus* the *Epirot*, *Antimander* the *Albanian*, and such of his Countreymen as haue followed him in revolting from vs. Whilst hee was yet speaking: *Phameas* the Embassador interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the Custome of the *Greekes*, who had yielded themselves vnto his faith, not vnto *discretion*. What? (said the Consul) Doe yee stand to plead Custome with mee, being now at my discretion? Being thus answered, With that, chains were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted vnto euerie one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to say. But *Valerius* and some others entreated the Consul, not to deale thus hardly with them, since they came as Embassadors; though since, their Condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He nor yet the *Apodector* or ordinarie Councell of the Nation, were able to fulfill these iniunctions; without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which cause He entreated yet further ten dayes respite; and had granted vnto him Truce for so long.

This surceasance of warre, during tenne and other tenne dayes together, began presently after the taking of *Heraclus*; when *Philip* had bene commanded away from *Lamia*, that else he might haue wonne. Now because of the indignitie herein offered vnto that King, and to the end that hee might not returne home with his

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Armie,

<sup>1</sup> Legat. excoqst  
e Polyb. 2.

Armie, like one that could not bee truitied in employment: especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to haue further need of him, in the continuance of this Warre: He was deliered to set vpon the *Athamanians*, and some other pettie Nations their borderers, while the Consul was busie with the *Ætolians*; taking for his reward, all that He could get. And Hee got in that space all *Athamania*, *Perrebia*, *Apyrantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætolians*, hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for Warre; yet they could not endure to heare more talke of peace. And it happened, that *Nicanor* about the same time was come backe from *Antiochus*, with monie and hopefull promises: the *Romans* abiding still about *Heraclæa*; and *Philip* hauing lately risen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His monie *Nicanor* conueighed into *Lamia*, by verie vnusuall dexteritie. But hee himselfe being to passe further to the Assembly of the *Ætolians*, thence to make report of his Embassage; was verie much perplexed about this his iourne, which lay betwene the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Campes. Yet hee made the aduerture: and keeping as farre as hee could from the *Roman* side, fell vpon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom hee was taken, and led vnto their King. Hee expected no good; but eyther to bee deliuered vnto the *Romans*, or vnto ill enough by *Philip*. But it seemed, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignitie, of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For Hee commanded his seruants to entreat *Nicanor* friendly: and hee himselfe being then at supper, did visite him as soone as he rose vp: giuing him to vnderstand; That the *Ætolians* did now reape the fruits of their own madnesse, forasmuch as they could neuer hold themselves contented, but would needs bee calling strangers into *Greece*. They had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*: but himselfe, being their neighbour, they could neuer well endure. It was now therefore, He said, high time for them to haue regard vnto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had neuer made any triall: for surely their good affection, one vnto the other, would be much more auailable vnto each of them, than their mutuall catching of aduantages; whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the King willed *Nicanor* to signifie vnto his Countreymen; and priuately to hold in mind the courtesie which hee then did him, in sending him safe home. So giuing him a Conuoy to gard him to *Hypata*, He louingly dismissed him. For this benefit, *Nicanor* was alwayes after dutifully affected to the Crowne of *Macedon*: so as in the warre of *Perseus* hee made himselfe suspected vnto the *Romans*; and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Consul vnderstood, that the *Ætolians* refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it; he forthwith meant to prosecute the warre against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at *Naupactus*: whether he therefore directly marched, to trie what they could or durst. The siege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconciued it: for it was a strong Citie, and well manned. But *Antiochus* stood vpon point of honour; wherein he thought that he should haue bene a looser, by rising from before it without Victorie. So He staid there weelneare all the following time of his Consulship; whilst the *Macedonian* King and the *Acheans*, made farre better vse of the *Roman* Victorie. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted vnto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong Citie of *Demetrias*; and with an halte course of Victorie, subdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Acheans* called to accompt the *Eleans* and *Messenians*: which had long bene added to the *Ætolian* side; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gaue good words; whereby they saued themselves from trouble awhile. The *Messenians* being more stout, before they were inuaded; had none other helpe when the *Achean* Prætor waited their Countreie, than to offer themselves vnto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whome they went word,

word, That at his Commandement their gates should be opened, but that vnto the *Acheans* it was not their meaning to yeeld. A message from *Titus* to the *Achean* Prætor, did suffice to call home the Armie, and finish the Warre: as also the peremptorie Command of the same *Titus* caused the *Messenians* to annex themselves vnto the *Acheans*, and become part of their Common-wealth. Such was now the Maiestie of a *Roman* Embassador. *Titus* did fauour the *Acheans*; yet could not like it well, that eyther they or any other should take too much vpon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were strong enough to defend it against a nie of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and able to dispute with the *Romans* vpon euen termes; it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Ile of *Zacynthus* which had once been *Philips*, and was afterward giuen by him to *Aminander* who sent a *Gouernour* thither. But when *Aminander* in this present Warre, was driuen out of his owne Kingdome by *Philip*: then did the *Gouernour* of *Zacynthus* offer to sell the land to the *Acheans*; whom he found readie Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their owne Caruers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the victorie which they had obtained. It was bootlesse to dispute. Wherefore the *Acheans* referred themselves vnto his discretion. So he told them, that their Common-wealth was like a Tortoise, whereof *Peloponnesus* was the shell: and that holding themselves within that compasse, they were out of danger; but if they would needs bee looking abroad, they should lie open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Hauing settled things thus in *Peloponnesus*, Hee went ouer to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio* the Consul had laine two monethes, that might haue bene farre better spent. There, whether out of compassion which Hee had vpon the *Ætolians*, or out of dislike of King *Philip* thriving to fast: Hee perswaded the Consul to grant vnto the besieged, and to the whole Nation, so long Truce, that they might send Embassadors to *Rome*; and submitting themselves craue pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: else would not the *Ætolians* haue made such earnest suite as they did vnto *Titus*, for procuring of this fauour. But if *Glabrio* had bene sure to carrie it, in any short space: it may well be thought hee would not haue gone away without it; since the winning of that Towne, wherein was then the whole floure of the Nation, would haue made the promised submission much more humble and sincere. When they came to *Rome*: no entreatie could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of these two; That eyther they should wholly permit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand Talents, and make neyther Peace nor Warre with any, further than as the *Romans* should giue approbation. They had not so much monie: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they should giue themselves away vnto discretion; which what it signified, they now vnderstood. Wherefore they desired to haue it set downe, in what points, and how farre forth, they should yeild vnto the good pleasure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certaine answer: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vaine attendance.

Whilst the *Ætolians* were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Consul had little to doe in *Greece*; and therefore took vpon him grauely to set things in order among the detestable *Acheans*. Hee would haue had them to restore the banished *Lacedæmonians* home into their Countreie, and to take the *Eleans* into the fellow shippe of their Common-wealth. This the *Acheans* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romans* should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the restitution of the banished *Lacedæmonians*: intending to make it an Act of their owne meere grace. As for the *Eleans*: they were loth to bee beholding to the *Romans*, and thereby to disparage the *Acheans*: into whose Corporation they were desirous to be admitted; and saw that they should haue their desire, without such compulsiue mediation.

The

The Roman Admirall *C. Linius*, much about the same time, fought a battaile at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admirall to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*; though it was not great; and five and twentie saile of *Adriaticus* came after the battaile, when they were following the Chace. The Kings Fleet was the better of saile; but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as soone as he betooke himselfe to a speedie retreat.

And such end had the first yeares warre, betwene King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greekes* as had followed the vaine hopes of the *Antiochians*, were glad to excuse themselves by *fear*; thinking themselves happie when by Embassadours they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie side, *Philip of Macedon*, Arch-enemie of late vnto the *Romans*, did now lend to gratulate this their Victorie; and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored vnto him *Leuctrius* his yonger sonne, whom some few yeares they had kept as an hostage. Also King *Ptolemeus* of *Aegypt*, gratulating the Roman Victorie, sent word how greatly all *Asia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard He desired the Senate not to foreflow time; but to send an Armie, as soone as might be, into *Asia*; promising, that his assistance, wherein soeuer it pleased them to vie it, should not be wanting. This *Ptolemeus* was the sonne-in-law of King *Antiochus*; but hee was the friend of Fortune. He vnderstood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the Contention, that the *Romans* were like to haue the vpper hand. The famed *Antiochus* now begins to suspect, who had thought himselfe awhile as safe at *Ephesus*, as if he had beene in another World; but was told by *Hannibal*, that it was not so farre out of Greece into *Asia*, as out of *Italy* into Greece, and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would soone be there, and make him trie the chance of a battaile for his Kingdome.

# §. VIII.

*LUCIUS SCIPIO*, hauing with him *PUBLIUS* the African his elder Brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into Greece. He grants long Truce to the *Antiochians*, that so he might at leisure passe into *Asia*. Much troublesome businesse by Sea; and diuers fights. An insurrection vpon *EUMENES* his Kingdome; with the siege of *Perizonius*, raysed by an handfull of the *Achaïans*. *L. SCIPIO* the Consul comes into *Asia*; where *ANTIOCHUS* most earnestly desireth peace and is denied it. The battaile of *MAGNESA*; wherein *ANTIOCHUS* being vanquished, yieldeth to the *Romans* good pleasure. The Conditions of the peace. In what sort the *Romans* used their Victorie. *L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO* after a most sumptuous triumph ouer *ANTIOCHUS*, is surnamed *The Asiaticus*; as his brother was styled *The African*.

**L***UCIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO*, the brother of *P. Scipio* the African was chosen Consul at Rome with *C. LELIUS*. *LELIUS* was verie gracious in the Senate; and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be so pleased, the disposition of their Prouinces, without putting it to the hazard of a Lotterie. *Laelius* hauing talked with his brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time bene put vnto the *Fathers*: who therefore were the more desirous, to make an vnblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent; *P. Scipio* the African said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the warre against *Antiochus*, He himselfe would follow his brother in that warre, as his Lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controuersie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied

relied vpon *Hannibal*, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captaine: what better man could they oppose, than *Scipio*; that had bene victorious against the same Great Worthie. But indeed a worser man might haue serued well enough the turne. For *Hannibal* had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in consultation, where his wisdom was much approved; but his libertie and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthe of remembrance; as a signe of the freedom that he vied in his censures, euen whilst he liued in such a Court. *Antiochus* mulstered his Armie in presence of this famous Captaine: thinking, as may seeme, to haue made him with, that hee had bene ferued by such braue men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horses, and Elephants, with such costly furniture of Gold, Silver, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible brauerie on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the King, with pleasing himselfe with that goodly spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what hee thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. Enough (said *Hannibal*) were the *Romans* the most courteous men in all the World: meaning, that all this Cost vpon the backs of Cowardly *Asiaticus*, was no better than a spoile to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the King; it is ealie to ghesse. The little vfe that hee made of this *Carthaginian*, relieves that his dislike of the man, caused him to loose the vfe of his seruice, when he stood in greatest need thereof.

The *Scipios* made all hast away from Rome as soone as they could. They carried with them, besides other Souldiers newly preit to the warre, about five thousand Voluntaries, that had serued vnder *P. Africanus*. There was also a Fleet of thirtie Quinquereme Gallies, and twentie Tirimies newly built, appointed vnto *L. Emilius Regillus*, that was chosen Admirall the same yeare for that Voyage. At their comming into Greece, they found the old Consul *Glabrio* besieging *Amphissa* a Citie of the *Antiochians*. The *Antiochians* after that they were denied peace, had expected him once again at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not only fortified that Towne; but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlesly, as in a time of confusion, they had left vngarded the last yeare. *Glabrio* knowing this, decieued their expectation, and fel vpon *Lamia*; which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden; was carried at the second assault. Thence went hee to *Amphissa*; which he had almost gotten; when *L. Scipio*, his successor, came with thirtene thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of *Amphissa* was presently forsaken by the inhabitants: but they had a Cattle, or higher Towne, that was impregnable; whereunto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embassadours had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalle of the *Antiochians*; entreating him to stand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining some tolerable Condition of peace. He gaue them gentle words: and willed them to perswade the *Antiochians*, that they should faithfully and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Consul made still the same answer, with which they had bene chased from Rome. The conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from warre: whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the Senate, or any helpful commoditie which time should afford. So they obtained halfe a yeares Truce: after which, the Winter was like to afford them another halfe yeares leisure of breathing. Hereof were not they more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time lost, which with-held the Warre from passing ouer into *Asia*.

The busines of *Antiochia* being thus laid aside: and the old Consul *Glabrio* sent home into *Italy*: the *Scipios* marched into *Thessaly*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace* vnto the Hellespont. Yet they considered, That hereby they must commit themselves vnto the loyalty of King *Philip*: who might either doe them some mischeite by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable advantage: or at the least, would be vnfaithfull, though he were not so courageous;

courageous, yet might he take such order with the *Thracians*, that euen for want of victualles, if by no greater inconuenience, they should be disgraciously forced to returne. He had promised them the vtmost of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some triall; by causing a Gentleman to ride Post vnto him, and obserue his doings as hee should take him on the sudden. This he was merrie at a feast, and drinking, when the Messenger came: whom he louingly bad welcom; and shewed him the next day, not onely what prouision of victualles he had made for the Armie, but how he had made bridges ouer the riuers, and mended the bad waies by which they were to passe. With these good newes *Gracchus* returned backe in half vnto the *Scipio's*: who entring into *Alacedon*, found all things in a readines, that might helpe to aduance their iourne. The King entertaigned them royally; and brought them on their way, euen to the *Hellepont*: where they staid a good while, vntill their Nauie was in readinesse to transpore them into *Asia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere; though, for the most part, little of importance. *Polyxenus*, the Admirall of *Antiochus*, was a banished *Rhodian*: true to the King; and desirous of reuenge vpon his Countreimen that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* hauing not as yet put to Sea; thought to doe somewhat vpon those that were so early in their diligence, before their fellows should arrive to helpe them. Yet went he craftily to worke; and sent word, as in great secrecie, to the *Rhodian* Admirall, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requittall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was belieued: and the *Rhodian* Admirall grew so carelesse, expecting til when he should receiue a watchword from *Polyxenus*; that he himselfe was taken by *Polyxenus* in his owne Hauens. The Kings Fleet setting forth from *Ephesus* by night; and, for feare of being discouered, reeling one day in harbour by the way; came the second night to *Samos*: where, by morning, it was readie to enter the Hauens. *Pausistratus* the *Rhodian* Admirall seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance, to bestow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Hauens; so to gard the mouth of it: for that he saw no likelihood of defending himselfe by Sea. But *Polyxenus* had already landed some companies, in another part of the Island: which falling vpon the backe of *Pausistratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboard. This could not be without great confusion: so as the enemies tooke him out of all order; and sunke or boarded all his Nauie, siue excepted, that by a sudden deuice made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Cresset vpon two poles, at the Booke-head: and then rowed forwards directly vpon the Enemy: who hauing not bethought himselfe what shift to make against such vnexpected danger of firing, was content to giue way vnto these desperate Gallies; for feare lest they should burne, together with themselves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had some losse by tempest: whereof *Polyxenus* could not take such advantage as he had hoped; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, He was driuen backe againe by the like foule weather. But the *Rhodians*, to shew that they were not discouraged, let forth twentie other Gallies: the *Romans* also with King *Eumenes* repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery, presented battaile to *Polyxenus* before the Hauens of *Ephesus*. When hee durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as cyther they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perswaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by stormes at Sea; and another while by strong resistance, made against them at Land.

*Eumenes* with his Fleet was compelled to forsake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdome. For *Antiochus* wasted all the grounds about *Elaa* and

and *Pergamus*: and leauing his sonne *Seleucus* to besiege the royall Citie of *Pergamus*, did with the rest of his Armie spoile the whole Countrie thereabout. *Attalus*, the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; hauing with him no better men to defend the Citie, than were they that lay against it. Wherefore hee had reason to stand in feare; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thousand Foot, and an hundred Horle of the *Acheans*: old souldiours all, and trayned vnder *Philopamen*; whose scholler, in the Art of war, *Diophanes* their Commander was. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the walles of *Pergamus*, which was an high Towne, the demeanour of the Enemy; began to didaine, that such men as they should hold him besieged. For *Seleucus* his Armie which was encamped at the hill-foot, seeing that none durst fallie forth vpon them, grew so carelesse: as other wise, than by spoyling all behind their backs, they seemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Countrie. *Diophanes* therefore spake with *Attalus*: and told him that hee would goe forth to visit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this aduenture; for he said, that the match was nothing equall. But the *Achean* would needes haue his will: and issuing forth, encamped not far from the Enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the besiegers; they wondered at first what his meaning was: but when they saw that he held himselfe quiet, they made a iett of his boldnes; and laughed to see with what a handfull of men he looked so stoutly. So they returned vnto their former negligence and disorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, hee commanded all his men to follow him, euen as fast as they wel might: and he himselfe, with the hundred Horle, brake out on the sudden vpon the Station that was next at hand. Verie few of the enemies had their Horles readie saddled, but more few, or none, had the hearts to make resistance: so as hee draue them all out of their Campe; and chased them as far as he might fairly aduenture, with great slaughter of them, and no losse of his owne. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had couered the wals of the Towne, men and women, to beholde this spectacle) were verie ioyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of these *Acheans*. Yet would they not therefore issue forth of their gates, to helpe the *Acheans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than hee had done before: and against him went forth *Diophanes* the second time; who quietly rested awhile in his old Station. When they had staid many houres, looking who should begin: *Seleucus*, in faire order as he came, withdrew himselfe toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moued not whilest the Enemy was in sight: but as soone as the ground between them hindred the prospect, he followed them in all hast, & soone ouertaking them with his Horle charged them in Rere; so as he brake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heeles, to their verie Trenches. This boldnes of the *Acheans*, and the basenes of his owne men, caused *Seleucus* to quit the feige, little to his honour. Such being the qualitie of these *Asiaticques*; *Philopamen* had cause to tell the *Romans*, That hee enuied their victorie. For when *Antiochus* lay fasting at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his souldiours berooke themselves to Riot, as it had bene in a time of great securitie: a good man of war might haue cut all their throates, euen as they were tripling in their victualing houles; which *Philopamen* said that hee would haue done, had he bin General of the *Acheans*; & not, as he then was, a private man. *Antiochus* was full of busines: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of trauaile, brought almost nothing to passe. He had bene at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leauing the *Romans*, did put himselfe with a few of his Horle and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his sonne as before hath bene shewed, and went to *Elaa*: whither hee heard that *Amylius* the Roman Admirall was come, to bring succour to *Eumenes*. There hee made an Ouerthrow of peace: about which to consult, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Amylius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul; this Treatie brake off. Then followed the Ouerthrow newly mentioned;

oned; which caused *Seleucus* to give over the seige of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, foure or fise Townes of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King; and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of fuen and thurte Saile, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victorie the *Rhodians* had no great cause to reioyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admirall of the *Syrians*, did them in manner as great hurt as they could docto *Apollonius*; and having the victorie taken out of his hand by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a retreat, that the *Rhodians* durst not farre adventure vpon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Praefaces vnto the war; the last and greatest was a victorie of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polyxenidas* the Kings Admirall. The battaile was fought by *Myonesius* a Promontorie in *Asia*: where *Polyxenidas* had with him fourescore and nine Gallies; and fise of them greater, than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanitie of those bragges, wherewith *Antiochus* vanted the last yeare, That his *Armada* should couer all the shores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fiftie Gallies; the *Rhodians* two and twentie: the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodian* more light-timberd and thin plankt, hauing all aduantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to helpe themselues by the same deuice; with which, fise of their Gallies had lately cleaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their prowes they ran vpon the *Enemie*: who declining them for feare, laid open his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Naue hoyle away: and hauing a faire wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet forie of their Gallies they left behind them: wherof thirteene were taken: all the rest burnt or sunke. The *Romans* and their fellows lost onely two or three ships: but got hereby the absolute Masterie of the Sea.

The report of this misadventure, may seeme to haue taken from *Antiochus* all vse of reason. For as if no hope had bene remayning, to defend those places that hee held in *Europe*: Hee presently with-drew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia*: which might easily haue bene kept, euen till the end of Winter following, and haue reduced the besiegers (if the siege had bene continued oblatinately) to termes of great extremitie. Hee also gaue ouer the seige of *Colephon*: and laying aside all thought saue onely of defence, drew together all his Armie; and sent for helpe to his father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Consul, without impediment, not onely came to the *Hellespont*; but had yielded vnto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* side. The Fleet was then also in readines, to transport him ouer into *Asia*: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that He landed quickly at his owne good ease; euen as if the Countrey had bene his already. The first newes that hee heard of the *Enemie*, was by an Embassadour that came to sue for peace. This Embassadour declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perswade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampacius*, and *Lysimachia*, had bene the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already giuen ouer *Lysimachia*; and was further purposed, not to strue with the *Romans* about *Lampacius* and *Smyrna*: what reason was there, why they should neede to trouble him with war? It was their desire, that any other Townes vpon the Coast of *Asia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at libertie, or other wise deliuered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of *Asia*: so as the bounds, diuiding them from the King, might not be vncertaine; and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough: the King would likewise beare halfe the Charges, wherewith they had bene in this war. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to be too insolent vpon confidence of their fortune; Hee expected their

their answer. These offers which to the Embassadour seemed so great, were iudged by the *Romans* to be verie little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should beare all the charges of the warre, since it began through his only fault: and that He should not onely depart out of those few Townes, which he held in *Asia* and *Ionis*; but quite out of *Asia* the lesse, and keepe himselfe on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embassadour therefore saw, that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in priuate: and to him he promised a great quantitie of gold, together with the free restitution of his sonne, who (it is vncertaine by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwise to the restitution of his sonne, than vpon Condition, That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a priuate man. As for the publicke busines: Hee onely said thus much, That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lysimachia*, and suffered the war to take hold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said He, tell your King in my name, that I would aduise him to refuse no Condition whereby he may haue peace.

The King was not any whit moued with this aduice. For seeing that the Consul demanded of him no lesse, than if he had bene already subdued: little reason was there, that he should feare to come to battaile; wherein he could loofe, as hee thought, no more, than by seeking to auoid it he must giue away. He had with him threecore and ten thousand Foot, and twelue thousand Horse; besides two and fiftie *Indian* Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or sythes, according to the maner of the Eastern Countries. Yet was hee nothing pleased, to heare that the Consul drew neare him apace, as one hastning to fight. But howsoever he was affected; Hee made so little shew of feare, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sick at *Eles*, He sent thither vnto him his sonne without ranfome: as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sicknes, and withall not desirous to retaine the yong Gentleman for a pledge of his owne safetie. Thus ought his bountie to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected, That herein he dealt craftily. For since he could haue none other ranfome of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe such a courtesie before the battell, as would afterwards haue bene little worth; than to slay vntill the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recouerie of his sonne: so as the ioy thereof was thought, to haue bene much auailable vnto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanity, He said onely thus much vnto those that brought him this acceptable Present, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by aduising him not to fight, vntill hee shall heare that I am in the Campe*. What he meant by this, it is hard to coniecture. *Antiochus* resolved to follow his counsaile: and therefore withdrew himselfe from about *Thyatira*, beyond the Riuer of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, vnto *Magnesia* by *Sipylus*: where encamping, He fortified himselfe as strongly as hee could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul; and late downe within foure miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them *Gallo-Greekes*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at first they slue some; and were anon, with some losse driuen backe ouer the Riuer. Two daies were quietly spent, whilst neither the King nor the *Romans* would passe the water. The third day the *Romans* made the adventure: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, vntill they came within two miles and an halfe of *Antiochus* his Campe. There, as they were taking vp their lodging, they were charged by threethousand, Horse and Foote: whom the ordinarie Corps du gard repelled. Foure daies together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without aduancing any further. The fift day the *Romans* came halfe way forward, and presented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul

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fulooke aduise what was to be done. For either they must fight vpon whatsoeuer disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrey of their friends, and therefore subject vnto many difficulties: vnlesse they would staine their honour by returning backe, to winter in a more conuenient place; and so deferre the war vntill the next Spring. The *Roman* souldiour was thoroughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the generall Crie, that this great Armie should be assailed, euen in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discouering the fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set vpon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loath to dilhearten his men, by seeming to stand in feare of the Enemy; resolved to put the matter to triall. So when the *Romans* tooke the field againe, and ordered their Battailles: He also did the like; and advanced so farre, that they might vnderstand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Armie consisted of foure Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latine*: in each of which were five thousand and foure hundred men. The *Latines*, as usually, were in the points; the *Romans*, in the maine battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme, were diuided into Maniples. The *Latins* had the leading: after them followed the *Principes*; at such distance as was vsual; and last of all, the *Triarij*. Now beside these, there were about three thousand Auxiliaries; partly *Acheans*; and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equal Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Vnto all (save some five hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Traians* were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the bankes of the river: yet foure Troops of horse were placed there; though such helpe seemed in a manner needlesse. Two thousand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Campe. The Consul had with him sixteene *African* Elephants, which hee bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they only would haue serued to discourage his men; as being sure to be beaten: the Indian being farre the greater, and more courageous beasts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much aduantage in number.

The Kings Armie being compounded of many Nations, diuersly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the severall kinds, in such wise as each might be of most vse. The maine strength of his Foot consisted in sixteene thousand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. These hee placed in the midst, and diuided into tenne Battalions: euery one hauing two and thirtie in File, and fiftie in Front. Betwene euery Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beasts, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their backs, and besides him that gouerned the Elephant, foure men in euery Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fiftene hundred Horse of the *Gallo-Greekes*: then, three thousand Barbd Horse: and Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Countrey, and accompanied by some others. All which Troopes of Horse, diuided in their severall kinds, doe seeme to haue followed one another in depth, rather than to haue bene stretched out in Front. Adjoining to these were sixteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings owne Regiment: called the *Argyaspides* or *Silver Shields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had serued vnder Great *Alexander*: then, twelue hundred Archers on horsebacke, three thousand light-armed Foote, two thousand and five hundred Archers of *Assyria*; with foure thousand slingers and Archers of the *Cirtians*, and *Elymans*. On the left-hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greekes* and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand Horse that were sent from *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seven hundred of diuers Nations,

Nations; and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called the *Kings Troupe*, being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In Front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon sat *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would serue to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Pisidians*, *Cyrtians*, *Elymans*, and many others, hauing also with them sixteene Elephants. *Antiochus* himselfe commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principall Captaines commanded ouer the *Phalangiers*.

The first onset was giuen by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horse, the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foot, *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatned by them both. For with howtings, and noyses, and some wounds, they were driuen out of the field; and running backe vpon their owne men, did the same harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horse following this aduantage, charged vpon the left wing: where they found no resistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shamefull to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seeme credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with such varietie of Auxiliaries, made little or no resistance, but all of them fled, in manner, as soone as they were charged. Onely the King, *Antiochus* himselfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaille: and seeing the *Latines*, that stood opposite vnto him, weakly flanked with Horse; gaue vpon them courageously, and forced them to retire. But *M. Amylius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Campe, issued forth with all his power to helpe his fellowes: and, what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renewe the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the *Romans* were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* discouered the approach, he not onely turned his Horse about, but ranne away vpon the spur without further tarience. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour, though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to haue lost in this battaille fiftie thousand Foot, and foure thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the *Romans*, there were not slaine above three hundred Foot, and foure and twentie Horse: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twentie.

*Antiochus* fled to *Sardis*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the same night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the custodie of *Sardis*, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithful. But the Townesmen and Souldiers were so dismayed with the greatnesse of the Ouerthrow, that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in those parts, without expecting summons, yielded vpon themselves by Embassadors: whom they sent to the *Romans*, whilist they were on the way. Neyther were many dayes spent, ere *Antiochus* his Embassadour was in the Campe: hauing none other errand, than to know what it would please the *Romans* to impose vpon the King his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother: who obtained leaue to make the answer, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, That hee should quite abandon his Dominions on this side of *Taurus*. For their charges in that warre they required fiftene thousand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of *Rome* should haue confirmed the peace; and the other twelue thousand, in twelue yeares next ensuing by euen portions. Likewise they demanded foure hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and some store of Corne, that was due to him vpon a reckoning. Now besides twentie hostages which they required, verie earnest they were to haue *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoon* the *Atolian*, with some others who had stirred vp the King to this warre, deliuered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily haue perceiued, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demands; as no great

art was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassadour had full committion, to refuse nothing that should be enjoyed. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to send immediately to Rome for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the meane while at Rome, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Volso*. The *Ætolians* desired peace, but could not obtaine it: because they would accept neyther of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make Warre vpon the *Ætolians*, the other, vpon *Antiochus in Asia*. Now though shortly there came newes, that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in battaile, and had submitted himselfe vnto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of *Asia* was not like to bee so thoroughly settled by one *Victorie*, but that many things might fall out wortheie to the *Romans* care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whome *Asia* fell by lot, had not his Province changed.

Soone after this came the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* to Rome, accompanied with the *Rhodians* and some others: yea by King *Eumenes* in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no disputation: it was generally approved. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned vp his owne deserts: and comparing himselfe with *Masaniissa*, hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountifull to him than they had bene to the *Numidian*, since they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Masaniissa* was onely such in title; and since both he and his father had alwayes bene their friends, even in the worit of the *Roman* fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what he would haue: He still referring himselfe to their courtesie; and they desiring him to speake plaine. At length he craued that they would bestow vpon him, as much of the Countre by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpose to keepe in their owne hands. Neyther thought hee it needfull, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giuing libertie to many of the Greeke Townes, that were on *Asia* side. For since the most of those Townes had bene partakers with the King in his Warre; it was no reason that they should be gainers by his ouerthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They desired the Senate to bee truly Patrons of the *Græcian* libertie; and to call to minde, that no small part of *Greece* it selfe had bene subiect vnto *Philip*, and serued him in his Warre: which was not alleadged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that *Philip* was ouercome. But the maine point whereon they insisted, was this, That the *Victorie* of the *Romans* against King *Antiochus* was so great, as easily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifullly gaue away so much, that euery one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the Warre against King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted vnto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe whereof exceeded in riches, not onely that of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, but of any ten that Rome had beheld vntill that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of *The African* had bene giuen vnto *P. Scipio*, it was thought conuenient by some, to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Asiatick*: which the fortune of his *Victorie* had no lesse deserved, though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

§. IX.

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The *Ætolians*, and the *Galgogreekes*, vanquished by the Roman Consuls *FVLVIVS* and *MANLIVS*. *MANLIVS* hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to haue pisse the bounds appointed as fatal to the *Romans* by *SIBYLLE*. Of *SIBYLLES* Prophecies; the Bookes of *HERMES*; and that Inscription, *SIMONI DEO SANCTO*. The ingratitude of Rome to the two *SCIPIOES*: and the beginning of faction among the Roman Nobilitie.

**M**ARC. *FVLVIVS* and *Cn. Manlius* had the same charge diuided betwene them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now styled *Asiaticus*, had lately vndergone. It was found more than one in his worke, to looke at once to *Greece* and to *Asia*. And for this reason was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted so long a Truce to the *Ætolians*. But since, in this long Interim of Truce, that haughty little Nation had not sought to humble it selfe to the Roman Maiestie, it was now to be brought vnto more lowlie termes than any other of the *Greekes*. The best was, that so great a storme fell not v unexpected vpon the *Ætolians*. They had foreseen the danger, when their Embassadors were vtterly denied peace at Rome: and they had provided the last remedie; which was, to entreat the *Rhodians* and *Asiaticians* to become intercessours for them. Neither were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well deuise, vpon helping themselves, euen by repurchase of Countreies lost, where they spied aduantage.

Poore King *Aminander* liued in exile among them, whilst *Philip* of *Macedon* kept, for him, possession of his Lands and Cattles. But the *Atthamians* (besides that manie of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) hauing bene long accustomed to serue a Mountaine Lord, that conuersed with them after an homelie manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, ysed by the Captaines of *Philip* his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their seruice toward his restitution. At the first there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which vnderooke the worke. Yet assurance, that all the rest would follow, made *Aminander* willing to trie his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand *Ætolians*, vpon the day appointed: at what time his two and fiftie aduenturers, hauing diuided themselves into foure parts, occupied, by the readie assistance of the multitude, foure the chiefe Townes in the Countre, to his vse. The fame of this good successe at first; with letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their best in helping forward the Action: made the Lieutenants of *Philip* vnable to thinke vpon resistance. One of them held the Towne of *Theium* a few daies; giuing thereby some leasure vnto his King to provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could onely tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home six thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all saue two thousand behind him, & so came to *Athenæum*, a little *Atthamian* Castle, that till was his, as being on the frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying ouer *Argitheæ*, that was chiefe of the Countre. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King, had the boldnesse to descend vpon *Argitheæ*, for that they might perceiue the *Atthamians*, all along the hill sides, readie to come downe vpon them, when they should be busie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat: specially when *Aminander* came in sight with his thousand *Ætolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back, from wards *Argitheæ*, and presently withdrew by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not fullred to depart in quiet, at their pleasure.

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The *Athamanians* and *Ætolians* way-layed them, and pursued them so closely, that their retreat was in manner of a plaine flight, with great losse of men and armes; few of those escaping, that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Countrey, vntill *Philip* his returne.

The *Ætolians*, hauing found the businesse of *Athamania* so easie, made attempt, in their owne behalfe, vpon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. These had belonged vnto their Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently reuolted, and became *Ætolian* againe. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had bene cuer belonging to the *Macedonian*, and so did still purpose to continue. These tooke armes at first: but soone layed them away; seeing their neighbours readie to fight with them in the *Ætolian* quarrell, and seeing their owne King so hastily gone, as if he meant not to returne.

Of these victories the ioy was the lesse; for that newes came of *Antiochus* his last ouerthrow, and of *M. Fuluius* the new Consull his halting with an armie into *Greece*. *Aminander* sent his excuses to *Rome*, praying the Senate, not to take it in despight, that he had recovered his owne from *Philip* with such helpe as he could get. Neither seemes it that the *Romans* were much offended to heare of *Philip* his losses: for of this fault they neither were sharpe correctors, nor earnest reprouers. *Fuluius* went in hand with the businesse, about which he came, and layed siege to *Ambracia*, a goodly Citie, that had bene the chiefe seat of *Pyrhus* his Kingdome. With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Ætolians*: yet could not to him be relieued, vnlesse they would adventure to fight vpon equall ground. To helpe the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the *Ilyrians* at sea, and readie to be driuen from their new conquest, by *Perseus* the sonne of *Philip*, who invaded the Countreies of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were vnable to deale with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly fought peace with the *Romans*, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the meane while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors came; who besought the Consull to graunt them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made strong resistance, and would not be terrified, by any violence of the assaillants, or danger that might seeme to threaten. The Consull had no desire to spend halfe his time about one Citie, and so he driuen to leaue vnto his succesor the honour of finishing the warre. Wherefore he gladly hearkened vnto the *Ætolians*, and bad them seeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it ouer-deare, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the same purchase. He also gaue leaue to *Aminander*, offering his seruice as a mediator, to put himselfe into *Ambracia*, and trie what good his persuasions might doe with the citizens. So, after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such, as was grieuous to the weaker, but not vsuflerable. The same Embassadors of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians* accompanied those of the *Ætolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this intercession, for that *Philip* had made verie grieuous complaint about the losse of those Countreies, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it hindered not the peace, which those good Mediatours of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earnestly sollicite. The *Ætolians* were bound to vphold the maiestie of the people of *Rome*, and to observe diuers articles, which made them lesse free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any people of *Greece*; they hauing bene the first that called these their Masters into the Countrey. The Isle of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achaens*, by listely preffing their owne right) that so they might haue possession along the coast of *Greece*, whilst they seemed to forbeare the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claime, there was set downe an Order so perplexed, as would necessarily require

require to haue the *Romans* Iudges of the controuerries, when they should arise. And hereof good vse will be shortly made: when want of eloimient elswhere, shall cause a more Lordlie Inquisition to be held, vpon the affaires of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

*Cn. Manlius*, the other Consull, had at the same time warre in *Asia*, with the *Gallagrees* and others. His Armie was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whole victorie, his acts were the consummation. Hee visited those Countreies on the higher side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the *Romans*: to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these there were some petty Lords, or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at warres, without regard of the great alteration hapned in *Asia*. From euery of these he got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those Prouinces, into which hee should els hee wanted an errand. He was cūen loaden with bootie, when, hauing fetcht a compasse about *Asia*, he came at length vpon the *Gallagrees*. These had long dominated ouer the Countrey: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terror of their forepassed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them vp in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately such triall, when they serued vnder King *Antiochus*, as made them to know themselves farre the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their fastie, that they dwelt vpon the Riuier *Haly*, in an Inland Countrey, where those enemies were not like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their owne Nation, that had bene friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yield: then was no counsaile thought so good, as to forsake their houses and Countrey, and, with all that they could carrie or drue, to betake themselves vnto the high mountaines of *Olympus* and *Margana*. These mountaines were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should vndertake the custodie. Being therefore well manned and vntailed for a long time; as also the naturall strength being helpt, by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consull would either forbeare the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled; and that finally, when he had staied there awhile, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this auailed not. For whereas the *Gallagrees* had bene carelesse of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if the stones would haue serued well enough to that purpose: the *Romans*, who came farre otherwise appointed, found greater aduantage in the difference of armes, than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily preuaile against casters of stones; especially being such as were these *Gallagrees*, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor hauing prepared their stones before hand, but catching vp what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally, the *Barbarians*, wanting defensive armes, could not hold out against the arrowes and weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driuen from a peece of ground, which they had vndertaken to make good, vp into their campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong downe the steepe rocks. Few of the men escaped alive: all their wiues, children, and goods, became a prey vnto the *Romans*. In the very like manner, were the rest of that Nation overcome soone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them saved themselves by flight, as hauing fairer way at their backes.

These warres being ended: *Fuluius* and *Manlius* were appointed, by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconsul his Prouince for another year. *Fuluius*, in his second year, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gaue peace to those whom hee had vanquished; as likewise to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for feare of the *Roman* armes. Hee drew from them all what profit he could: and laid vpon them such conditions, as hee thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto

he swore, and received the Kings oath by Embassadors, whom hee sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the matters of *Asia*, he tooke his way toward the *Hellepont*, loaden with spoile, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gallioyces* had in so many yeares extorted, from the wealthie Prouinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Armie of *Manlius* returne home, rich in money alone, or cattails, or things of needfull vse, which the *Romans* could have bene wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous household-stuffe, and slaves of price, excellent Cookes, and Multicians for banquets, and, in a word, with the feedes of that luxurie, which finally ouer-grew and choked the *Roman* vertue.

Lind. 39.

The Countrey of *Thrace* lay betwene *Hellepont* and the Kingdome of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his iourne homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he passed through them, without any such bootie as might prouoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stirre. But when *Manlius* came along with an huge traine of baggage; the *Thracians* could not so well containe themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* tooke it otherwise than verie pleasantly, to haue this *Roman* Armie robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angrie; seeing how little himselfe was regarded, and what great rewards were giuen to *Eumenes*. For he vnder stood, and afterwards gaue the *Romans* to vnderstand, that *Eumenes* could not haue abidden in his owne Kingdome, if the People of *Rome* had not made warre in *Asia*: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered vnto himselfe three thousand talents, and fiftie ships of warre, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*; promising morcouer to restore vnto him all the *Greece* Cities, that had bene taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference betwene him and *Eumenes*, when the warre began: he thought it no euill dealing of the *Romans*, after their victorie, to giue away not onely the halfe of *Asia*, but *Chersonesus* and *Lysimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas vpon himselfe they bestowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobilitie, to goe to *Rome* and begge Prouinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodiens* had lately done. He had entertained louingly the two *Scipios*, whom he thought the most honourable men in *Rome*; and was growne into neare acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby hee made himselfe acquainted with the warres in *Spain* and *Africke*. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* tooke a surer way. For the *Scipio's* had not the disposing of that which they wanne from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore saw the vpstart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himselfe; yea himselfe vnregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himselfe against *Antiochus*, or rather that hee had ioined with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might haue bene freed from his insolent masters. But what great argument of such discontentednesse the *Macedonian* had, we shall verie shortly be vrged to discouerie more at large. At the present it was beleued that the *Thracians* were by him set on, to assaile the *Romans* passing through their Countrey. They knew all advantages: and they fell, vnexpected, vpon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Armie; whereof part had alreadye pallid a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so farre advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to lesue behind: though both the getting, and the sauing, did cost many liues, as well of the *Barbarians* as of the *Romans*. They fought vntill it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves, not without as much of the bootie as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though lesse dangerous, before the

the Armie could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdome they had a faire march into *Epirus*; and so to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*; whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to assist him, did very bitterly taxe, as an vnworthy Commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that he made good answere, and was approved by the chiefe of the Senate. One clause is worthe of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to haue hindered the peace with *Antiochus*; they said, That with much adoe he was kept from leading his Armie ouer *Taurus*, and aduenturing vpon the calamitie threatened by *Sybil's* verses, vnto those that should passe the fatal bounds. What calamitie or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sybil's* prophetic threatned the *Roman* Captaine or Armie, that should passe ouer *Taurus*, I doe not conceiue. *Pompey* was the first, that marched with an Armie beyond those limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened vnto him the way, and had before hand wonne, in a fort, the Countreies on the other side of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gaue to one of *Antiochus* his race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we finde not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* suffered any losse, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sybil*. Indeed the accomplishment of this prophetic, fell our neare about one time, with the restitution of *Ptolemie* King of *Egypt*; that was forbidden vnto the *Romans* by the fame *Sybil*. It may therefore seeme to haue had reference, vnto the same things, that were denounced, as like to happen vpon the reduction of the *Egyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sybil* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tullie* noteth, forced at randome in the large field of Time, there to take root, and get credit by euent; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptolemie* to his Kingdome by *Gabinus* the *Roman*, should haue any way betokened the coming of our Sauiour: as some both ancient and moderne *Christian* Writers, haue bene well pleased to interpret *Sybil* in that prophetic. Of the *Sybil's* predictions I haue sometimes thought reuerendlie: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke, few men know) yet following the common beleefe and good authoritie. But obseruation of the shamefull Idolatrie, that vpon all occasions was advanced in *Rome* by the bookes of *Sybil*, had well preuailed vpon my credulitie, and made mee suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the iudgement of *Ensebius*: when that learned and excellent worke of *smaller Casaubon* vpon the *Annales* of Cardinal *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine error, making it apparent, That not only those prophecies of *Sybil*, wherein *Christ* so plainly was foretold, but euen the bookes of *Hermes*, which haue borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeited peeces, and at first entertained (whosoever deuised them) by the vnderiect zeale of such, as delighted in seeing the *Christian* Religion strengthened with foreine proofs. And in the same ranke, I thinke, we ought to place that notable Historie, reported by *Ensebius* from no meane Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, To *Simon* the holy God. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publike, should haue bene quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would not haue suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it bene true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then liued and flourished, would haue abstained from speaking any word of an Argument so famous. Wherefore I am persuaded, that this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad Criticisme, taken amisse in place of *SEMONI SANGO*: a title foure hundred yeares older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruuius* a Rebel, had many ages before bene consecrated *SEMONI SANGO*, that is, To the Spirit or Demi god *Sangus*, in whose Chapell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old *Roman* letters,

Lind. 35.

Tullie Diuina. l. 2.

Istac. Casaub. Exercit. at. 2. ad Annal. Bar. n. 10. &amp; 11.

Enseb. Eccl. hist. l. 2. c. 13.

letters, or by some spoile that Time had wrought vpon them; it might easily come to passe, that the words should be misse-read, *SIMONI SANCTO*, and that some *Christian* who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sanguis*, thereupon should frame the coniecture, which now passeth for a true Historie. Such coniectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their falshood is amended, and made more historically, than was conceived by the Author. But it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firme vpon a sure foundation) lean euer-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten, post.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbered among a few of the richest, which euer the Citie beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasurie, was made the last payment of those monies, which the Commonwealth had borrowed from priuate men, in the second *Punicke warre*. So long was it, that *Rome* had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memorie, of any danger. His Triumph of *Manlius* was desired by him, euen as long as he well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the Citie, vntill the heat of an Inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipios* were called, one after other, into iudgement, by two Tribunes of the People; men, only by this accusation, knowne to Posteritie. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that such vnworthy men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasurie, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Countrey. When therefore his day of answer came; he appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the middelt of the Assemblies, and offered himselfe to speake. Having audience, he told the People, That vpon the same day of the year he had fought a great battaile with *Hannibal*, and finished the *Punicke Warre* by a signall victorie. In memorie whereof, hee thought it no fit season to bragge at the Law; but intended to visit the *Capitoll*, and there give thanks to *Iupiter* and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weightie businesse of the Common wealth. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requesting, that if euer since the *seuenteenth* year of his life, vntill he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred vpon him, had preuented the capacitie of his age, and yet his desires had exceeded the greatness of those honourable places; then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their Citie might still be like to him. These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the people, euen the Officers of the Court, followed *Scipio*; leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their owne slaues and a Crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to iudgement, vntill for verie shame, as not knowing what else to doe, they granted him, vnrequested, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himselfe to a disgracefull triall: he willingly relinquished the Citie, and his vnthankfull *Romans*, that could suffer him to vndergoe so much indignitie. The rest of his time he spent at *Literum*: quietly, with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing *Rome* againe. How many years he liued, or whether he liued one whole year, in this voluntarie banishment; it is vncertaine. The report of his dying in the same year, with *Hannibal* and *Philopomen*, as also of his priuate behaviour at *Literum*, render it probable, that he outliued the Tribuneship of his accusers; who meant to haue drawne him backe to his answer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoeuer it was; the same Tribunes went more sharply to worke with *L. Scipio* the *Alatike*. They propounded a Decree vnto the People, touching monie received of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treasurie; That the

Senate

Senate should giue charge vnto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and iudicially determine, thereof. In fauour of this Decree an Oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed author of these contentions, and instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue: temperate, valiant, and of singular indutrie; frugal also, both of the publike, and of his owne; so as in this kinde he was euen faultie: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he vnmercifull and vnconscionable, in seeking to encrease his owne wealth, by such meanes as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poysoned with enue, troubled both himselfe, and the whole Citie, whilst he liued. His meane birth caused him to hate the Nobilitie; especially those that were in chiefe estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his owne ranke, men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whose Lieutenant he had bene at *Thermopylae*, was his Competitor for the Censorship, and likely to carrie it, he took an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious periturie, That he had not brought into the common Treasurie some vessels of gold and siluer, gotten in the Campe of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare vnto the *Scipios* grew partly (besides his generall spight at the Nobilitie) from his owne first rising, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from some checke, that was giuen vnto himselfe, in the *African* voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whose Treasurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his dislike of the Consuls bad husbandrie (judging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptorie manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of such double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he published, or for want of iudgement thinking unworthily of the vertue that was farre aboue him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with vttrue reports against his Generall; whose noble deeds confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought vpon by the *Scipios*, whilst it was nourished by their enemy, brake out vpon aduantage, especially against *L. Scipio*, his brother being dead, or out of the way. A euere inquire and iudgement being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was soone condemned in a summe of money, farre exceeding his abilitie to pay. For non payment, his bodie should haue bene layed vp in prison: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suit against the *African* to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the vse of the Citie, when there neither appeared any signe of his hauing bene beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had bene condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had bene against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and clients made such a collection for him, as would haue set him in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. He tooke no more than such of his owne goods, as were of necessitie vse, being redeemed for him by his neere friends.

And thus began the ciuile warre of the *Tongue*, in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not bene, or not bene much regardable, vntill now, since the *Punicke Warre*. Securitie of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient employment, were especiall helpes to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold vpon that great Worthie, to whose vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into so great securitie her extreme danger. But these factious contentions did no long while containe themselves within heat of wordes, and cunning practise. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in such quarrellsome businesse, grew to perfection, on, they that found themselves ouer-matched by their aduersaries, at this kinde of weapon, began to make opposition, first with clubbes and stones, afterward with swords; and finally, proceeded from frays and murders in the streets, vnto battaile in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Ladie of rare vertue, that in honour of her two sonnes was more commonly named *Mother of the*

*Gracchi*,

*Gracchus*, law those her two sonnes, whilst they were but yong, slaughtered in *Rome*, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not reuenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senatours began to take vpon them authoritie, more than was to them belonging. They conferred vpon the Consuls all the whole power of the Citie, vnder this forme, *Let the Consuls provide, that the Commonweale receive no detriment*. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *enemie to the State*, they thought to haue woon a great aduantage ouer the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus* a popular man, whom by such authoritie they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius*, a famous Captaine of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senatours: wherupon began the ciuile warres; which giuing vnto *Sylla*, who preuailed therein, meanes to make himselfe absolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæsar*, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obaine the like soueraigne power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was prouoked. It is true, that neuer any Consull had finally cause to reioyce, of his hauing put in execution such authoritie to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in passing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the Citie stand in need of a Soueraigne Lord: so the vehemencie of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were ouer-topped by voices in the House, did compell *Cæsar*, or giue him at least pretence, to right himselfe by armes: wherewith preuailling against his aduersaries, he tooke such order, that neither Senate, nor People, should thenceforth be able to doe him wrong. So by intestine discord, the *Romans* consuming all or most of their principall Citizens, lost their owne freedom, and became subiects vnto the arbitrarie government of One: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they tooke vpon them as the highest Lords on Earth, to doe euen what they listed. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto vnto compleat greatnesse, nor beleued of her selfe as if she had, whilst a King sate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and vpholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought vpon betimes. How it was effected, the sequelle will discouer.

## CHAP. VI. The second Macedonian Warre.

§. I.

*The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the 40 Romans, when the warre with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrell with Philip. They deale insensibly with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being overcome for warre, obtaines peace at Rome, by his sonne Demetrius; of whom thenceforth he becomes ietious.*



**A**FTER the ouerthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonweale of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were gouerned by the same Lawes and Magistrates, as they formerly had bene, before the arriual of the *Romans* in those parts: yet in verie truth (the publike declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vassalls to the People of *Rome*. For of those few Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or vnto Soueraigne power, in whome

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fouer it rest; namely, *To make Lawes*, *To create Magistrates*, *To arbitrate Peace and Warre*, *To beate Monie*; and *To reserve* (as the French call it) *le dernier resort*, or the last *Appeale*, the *Romans* had assumed foure; and the greatest of them fo absolute-ly, that is, *The Appeale*, or last resort, as euery pettie iniurie offered to each other by the fore-named Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Romans* Embassadors, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senatours themselves within *Rome*: from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Commonweales, declined, He or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities vter-ly dissolved. Neuertheless it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Officers of their owne ordaining: yet so, as neither their Lawes were of force, when the *Romans* interposed their will to the contrarie; neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especiall regard vnto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of seruitude the seuerall Estates of *Greece* did bow verie gently: either as being thankfull for their deliuerance from a yoke more sensibly grievous; or, as being skilfull in the art of flatterie, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chiefe hope of thriving; or, as being more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindfull of their owne honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, and being most obsequious vnto the *Romans*, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings: his conformitie vnto them in matter of warre and peace, together with the diuersion of their thoughts another way, giuing him leaue to vse his owne euen as he listed, vntill they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little auailable to him, that his Kingdome bordered vpon the Nations, by them not thoroughly subdued. For vpon the same reason (as well as vpon his owne high deserts) were they verie louing vnto *Masaniassa*, and to his Houe, vntill *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion settled in *Affrike*: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others: holding people in subiection vnto themselves, by the ministerie of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were vsfull and obsequious vnto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper; and shewed himselfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdome. But such magnanimitie was none otherwise construed by the *Romans*, than as want of due reuerence to their Estate, and a valuation of himselfe against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithstanding that hee had lately giuen passage to their Armies through his Countie, prepared the wayes for them, and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needfull, to transport them ouer the *Hellepont* into *Asia*, against *Antiochus*: yet vpon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the States of *Thessalie* and *Thrace*, he was commaunded to abandon the Cities of *Enus* and *Mavonia*, with all Peeces and Places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof manie of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, euen from the *Romans* themselves.

These Townes of *Enus* and *Mavonia* had bene part of *Lysimachus* his Kingdome: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the North-west, extended his dominion verie farre. He is thought to haue made himselfe Lord of *Transylvania*: in which Prouince it is said, \* That innumerable Medals of gold haue bene found, in the age of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crownes, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victorie*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he liued not to settle his estate in Europe) fell to *Selucus* Vicar by right of warre, wherein he vanquished and slue *Lysimachus*: as also, by the like right, *Ptolemeus Ceraunus* thought them his owne, when he had murdered *Selucus*. But the inundation of the *Gauls*, which the Kingdome of *Macedon* could not sustaine, did shortly and easily walk away from that Crowne,

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*Hist. of Strabo-  
rie by Marti:  
Euag. lib. 5.*

together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, and his successours: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The furie of the *Gauls* being over-past, those Countries which lately had bene oppressed by them, recovered their libertie; and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wild *Thracians*, to hinder their aduantages, and make vse of them, euen vpon *Macedon*. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, King *Philip* did provide the most conuenient remedies: by shutting vp the wayes, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdome, and by occupying *Lysimachia*, with some other Townes in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarks of his owne Countrey, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoued him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne citie: yet inasmuch as these Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of iustice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Atolians*, of wrongful vsurpation and oppression, in his hauing occupied *Lysimachia*. Hereto he made a good answer, That his Garrison did onely saue it from the *Thracians*: who, as soon as hee thence withdrew his men, did seize vpon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might haue said, touching *Enus* and *Marone*; That they were Places vnable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might haue entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not auayled him, in the disputation about *Lysimachia*: and in the present question, the *Romans* were not without their owne title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Countrey thereabout, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former warre; and since they, by their victorie had gotten vnto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he onely submitted his right vnto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it vnto their disposition, Whether *Enus* and *Marone* should be set at libertie, whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed vpon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lysimachia* and *Cherfonnesus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceiue, by the demerit of their Embassadors towards him: who sitting as Iudges betwene him and all that made complaint vpon him, gaue sentence against him in euerie controuersie. Neuertheless, he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, there to maintaine his right vnto these Townes; wherein he thought, that equitie (if it might preuaile) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the warre against *Antiochus* and the *Atolians*: wherein whatsoever he had gotten for himselfe, was now taken from him by their Embassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two Townes, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdome, which he had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his owne ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deale more? By such allegations either hee was likely to preuaile, or at leastwise to gaine time, wherein he might berinke himselfe what he had to doe. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equal to him, than had bene their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaued themselves, in pleading against him for their libertie, he tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature hee was verie cruell) gaue order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might haue little joy of the libertie by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Marone*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might sacke the Towne, and vse all cruelties of warre. This was done, but so ill taken by the *Roman* Embassadors, who had better notice, than could haue bene feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Majestie, to an account. He would haue remoued the blame from himselfe, and layed it euen vpon the *Maronites*; affirming, That they, in heart of their Factions, being some inclinable

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to him, other some to *Eumenes*, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one anothers throates. And hereof hee willed the Embassadors to inquire, among the *Maronites* themselves: as well knowing, that they who furnished were either his owne friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But hee found the *Romans* more seuer, and more thoroughly informed in the himselfe, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, That if he would discharge himselfe of the crime objected; he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate should thinke fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his spirits, and said that *Cassander* should be at their disposition: but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not bene at *Marone*, nor neare to it, heerequested them not to presse him; since it stood not with his honour, so lightly to giue away his friends. As for *Cassander*, because he should tell no tales; hee tooke order to haue him poisoned by the way. By this weelee, That the doctrine, which *Machiavel* taught vnto *Cesar Borgia*, To employ men in mischievous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they haue performed the mischiefe, was not of his owne inuention. All ages haue giuen vs examples of this goodlie policie, the latter hauing bene apt schoolers in this lesson to the more ancient: as the reigne of *Henrie* the eighth here in *England*, can beare good witness; and therein especially the Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same vniust Law that himselfe had deuised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an vnpleasant noise at *Rome*, and were like to haue brought vpon him the warre which hee feared, before hee was ready to entertaine it. Wherefore hee employed his younger sonne *Demetrius* as Embassador vnto the Senate: giuing him instructions, how to make answer to all complaints; and withall to deliuer his owne grievances, in such wise that if ought were amisse, yet might it appeare that hee had bene strongly vrged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacifie the *Romans*, and make all euen for the present. *Demetrius* himselfe was knowne to be verie acceptable vnto the Senate; as hauing bene well approved by them, when he was hostage in *Rome*; and therefore seemed the more likelie, to preuaile somewhat; were it onely in regard that would be borne vnto his person.

Whilst this businesse with the *Macedonians* hung in suspense, and whilst he, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likelie to diuert from himselfe some other way the *Roman* armes: the same Embassadors, that had bene Iudges betwene him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of *Greece*; and tooke notice of the controuersies, which they found betwene some Estates in the Countrey. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished *Lacedemonians* against the *Achaens*. It was objected vnto the *Achaens*, That they had committed a grieuous slaughter vpon many Citizens of *Lacedemon*: That vnto this crueltie they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walles of the Citie: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycorgus*. Hereto *Lycortas*, then Prator of the *Achaens*, made answer, That these banished *Lacedemonians*, who now tooke vpon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously knowne to be the men, who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamefully they laid the blame vpon others: the *Achaens* hauing onely called those vnto iudgement, that were supposed to be chiefe authors of a Rebellion against both them and the *Romans*; and these plaintives hauing slaine them, vpon priuate, though iust hatred, as they were comming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing downe the walles of *Lacedemon*, hee said it was most agreeable to *Lycorgus* his ordinance: who, hauing perswaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and libertie by their proper vertue, did inhibit vnto them all kinds of fortifications; as the

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Retraits and Nefts either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Vfurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these walles, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had also quite abolished *Lycorgus* his ordinances; and governed the Citie by their owne lawlesse will. As for the *Achaens*; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the best, or else would soone change them and take better, vnto the *Lacedæmonians*; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For conclusion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius* the chief of the Embassadors, That hee and his Countreimen held it strange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the *Romans*, to see themselves thus constrained, to answer and give account of their actions; as vassals and slaves vnto the People of *Rome*. For if they were indeed at libertie: why might not the *Achaens* as well require to be fastidied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did busie themselves, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon*? For if the *Romans* would stand vpon their greatnesse, and intimate, as they began, that the libertie of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratifie it: then must the *Achaens* haue recouise vnto those Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, and which without perurie could not be violated; as recuering, and indeed fearing, the *Romans* but much more, the immortal gods. To this bold answer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to replie. Yet taking fild vpon him, hee pronounced more like a Master than a Judge, That if the *Achaens* would not be ruled by faire meanes, and earne thanks whilst they might; they should be compelled with a mischief, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the *Achaens*; which groned to heare the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet Feare preuailed aboue Indignation: and it was permitted vnto the *Romans* to doe as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadors restored some banished and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, verie soone after, did make void all Indgements of death or banishment, that had beene laid by the *Achaens* vpon any Citizen of *Lacedæmon*; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the Citie and Territorie of *Lacedæmon*, should be suffered to continue a member of the *Achaen* Common-wealth; or taken from them, and made, as it had beene, an Estate by it selfe. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, That they held it to depend vpon their owne will, how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enioy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Council of *Achaia*, they discovered no lesse, as to them seemed, the loue which they bare vnto the *Achaens*, than the power which they had ouer them.

Into such slauerie had the *Greekes*, and all Kings and Common-wealths whatsoever, bordering vpon any part of the *Mediterran* Seas, reduced themselves; by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsaile and persuasions of many wife and temperate men among them; They had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*, and, by seeking Patronage, made meere vassals, to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policie lo preuaile with them, but their priuate passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath euermore bought reuenge at the price of selfe ruine, brought them from the honour which they enioyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearfull seruilitie.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who though he saw the *Greekes* verie farre from daring to stirre against those, by whom both hee and they were kept in awe; yet was hee not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans* by freeing from his subiection had made his implacable enemies) in heartie affection all the Countreie would be his, whensoever he should take armes, as short-

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lie he was like to doe. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignitie soone following. He had beene louingly vied at *Rome*, and heard with great fauour in the Senate. There being confounded with the multitude of obiections, whereto his youth, vnskillfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer: it was permitted vnto him, to reade such briefe notes as hee had receiued from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfactions; more for *Demetrius* his owne sake, as they then said and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodnesse in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the entreatie of his sonne, together with some infolence of his sonne, growing (as appeared) from this fauour of the *Romans*; did increase in *Philip* his hatred vnto *Rome*, and breed in him a calouise of his too forward sonne. To set him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadors from *Rome*; some bringing one commandement; some another; and some, requiring him to fulfill those things, which had beene imposed vpon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that obserued his countenance: and when hee had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that hee had done things vnwillingly, and would be obedient, no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadors young *Demetrius* was conuerfant: rather perhaps out of implicitie, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deale more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perseus*, the elder sonne of the King, should not succeed vnto his father; but that the Diademe should be conferred vpon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by meere fauour of the *Romans*. This offended not onely *Perseus*, but *Philip* himselfe: who suspected his younger sonne, as more *Roman* than his owne; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere wee proceed vnto the bitter fruits of this iealousie; it will not be amisse, to speake of some memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

## §. II.

The death of PHILOPOEMEN, HANNIBAL, and SCIPIO. That the military profession is of all other the most vnhappie: notwithstanding some examples, which may seeme to proue the contrarie.

He *Romans*, wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late beene so peremptorie with the *Achaens*; that they seemed not vnlike to take part against them, in any controuersie that should be moued. Hereupon the *Messenians*, who against their will were annexed vnto the *Achaen* Common-wealth, hauing long beene of a contrarie Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Societie, with purpose to set vp againe an Estate of their owne, secured from communion with any other. This was the deuice of some that were powerful in their Citie: who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpose, and not ouer-strongly affected in the businesse, were careful to seeke occasion of reducing things to such passe, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessitie of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achaen* League. And hereupon they began to doe some acts of hostilitie; whereby it was probable that blood should be drawne, and either side so farre exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Vpon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopomen*, then Pretor of the *Achaens*, leuied such forces as hee could in haste, and went against them. Many principall gentlemen of the *Achaens*, especially of the *Megalopolitans*, were soone in a readinesse to wait vpon him. Besides these, which were all, or for

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the most part, Horfe; he had some Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that vsually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, hee met with *Dinoocrates*, Captaine of the *Messenians*; whom hee charged, and forced to runne. But whilst his horsemen were too earnest in following the chase; there arrived, by chance, a supple of five hundred from *Messene*, which gaue new courage vnto those that fled. So the Enemies began to make head againe; and with the helpe of those, who very seasonably came to their aide, compelled *Philopomens* Horsemen to turne backe. *Philopomen* himselfe had long bene sicke of an Ague, and was then very weak: yet the greatness of his courage would not suffer him, to bee negligent of their safetie, which had so willingly aduertured themselves vnder his conduct. He tooke vpon him to make the Retreat: and suffering his horsemen to passe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the *Messenians*; whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching ouer-neare to him. But it fell out vnappily, that being cast to ground by a fall of his horse, and being withall in very weak plight of bodie, he was vnable to get vp againe. So the Enemies came vpon him, and tooke him; yet scarce beleeued their fortune to bee so good, although their eies were witnesses. The first messenger that brought these newes to *Messene*, was so farre from being beleued, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ran forth to meet him, and beheld the spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the Theater, that there they might satisfie themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the singular benefits by him done vnto them, especially in deliuering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his deliuerie. Contrariwise, *Dinoocrates* and his Faction were desirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would neuer leaue any disgrace, or iniurie, done to him, vnrerouged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong vault vnder ground, that had bene made for the custodie of their Treasure. So thither they let him downe fast bound, and with an engine laid an heauie stone vpon the mouth of the vault. There hee had not staid long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe vnto him, with a cup of poison, which *Philopomen* tooke in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe, when he heard an answer to his minde, he said it was well: and so with a cheerefull countenance, dranke his last draught. Hee was seuentie years old, and weakened with long sicknesse, whereby the poison wrought the sooner, and easily tooke away his life. The *Achaens*, when they missed him in their flight, were maruellously offended with themselves, for that they had bene more mindfull to preferre their owne liues, than to looke vnto the safetie of so excellent a Commander. Whilst they were deuiling what to doe in such a case: they got aduertisement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadors were forthwith dispatched vnto *Messene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in case that faire means would not serue. *Lycortas* was chosen Generall of the Armie against *Messene*: who comming thither, and laying siege to the Towne, enforced it in short space to yeeld. Then *Dinoocrates*, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands vpon himselfe, and made an end of his owne life. The rest of those that had bene partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds vpon the altar of *Philopomen*, that were carried home in solemne pompe to *Atgalepolis*; where they were all of them slaine at his funeral, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Q. Martins*, a Roman Embassador, was then in *Greece*; whence, vpon one occasion or other, the Roman Embassadors were seldom absent. He would haue entemed in this bulines of *Messene*, had not *Lycortas* made short worke, and left him nothing to doe.

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About the same time was *T. Quintus Flaminius* sent Embassador to *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the warre against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him, that he would deliuer *Hannibal*, the most spitefull enemy in all the world vnto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Prusias* (there in vnworthie of the Crowne he ware) did readily condescend: or rather (as *Luie* thinke) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliuer him aliuie to *Flaminius*. For vpon the first conference betweene the King and *Flaminius*, a troupe of Souldiours were directed to guard and enuiron the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captaine hauing found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had deuised some secret fallies vnder ground to saue himselfe from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedie: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing ouer him, as to saue himselfe from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way of escape, nor counsell to resort vnto, he tooke the poyson into his hand, which he alwayes preferred for a sure Anridore against the sharpest diseases of aduers fortune; which being readie to swallow downe, he vttered these wordes: *I will now (said he) deliuer the Romans of that feare, which hath so many years possessed them; that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victorie of FLAMINIUS ouer me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall neuer be numbred among the rest of his heroicall deedes: No; it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the World, how farre the ancient Roman vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the noblesse of their forefathers; as, when PERSEVS invaded them in Italie, and was readie to giue them battaile at their owne dores, they gaue him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poyson: whereas these of a later race haue employed FLAMINIUS, a man who hath heretofore bene one of their Consuls, to practise with PERSEVS, contrarie to the honour of a King, contrarie to his Faith giuen, and contrarie to the Lawes of Hospitality, to slaughter or deliuer up his owne Guest. He then cursing the perfon of *Prusias*, and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to reuenge his infidelitie, dranke off the poyson, and died.*

In this yeare also (as good Authors haue reported) to accompanie *Philopomen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the African: these being, all of them, as great Capitaines as euer the world had; but not more famous, than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedie we haue now finished, had he bene Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authoritie might haue commaunded such supplies, as the Warre which he vndertooke, required; it is probable, that he had torne vp the Roman Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly croft by a cowardly and enuious Faction at home; as his proper vertue, wanting publicke force to sustaine it, did lastly dissolue it selfe in his owne, and in the common miserie of his Countrey and Commonweale.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the enuie of our equals, and ieaousie of our Masters, be they Kings, or Commonweales, That there is no Profession more vnprosperous than that of Men of Warre, and great Capitaines, being no Kings. For besides the enuie and ieaousie of men; the spoiles, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation, and burnings, with a world of miseries layed on the labouring man, are so hatefull to God, as with good reason did *Atoniue* the Marshall of France confesse, That were not the mercies of GOD infinite, and without restriction, it were in vaine for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were also infinite. How soeuer, this is true, That the victories, which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serue vnder them, to Fortune, or to the cowardise of the Nation against whome they serue. For the most of others, whose vertues haue rayed them about the kuel of their inferiours, and haue surmounted their enuie: yet haue

haue they beene rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the *Romans* we finde many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Titinius*, *L. Amylius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we haue lately buried. Among the *Greekes* we read of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yealong before these times, it was a Legacie that *Daniel* bequeathed vnto his victorious Capitaine *Isab*. With this fare *Alexander* feasted *Pammenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereto *Valentinian* the Emperour inuited *Attius*; who, after many other victories, ouerthrew *Attila* the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battaile, for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that euer was stricken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, besides runne-awaies, an hundred and fourescore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told vnto the Emperour by *Prosimus*, That in killing of *Attius*, he had cut off his owne right hand with his left: for it was not long alter that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* slew *Attius*) murdered the Emperour, which hee neuer durst attempt, *Attius* liuing. And, besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Attius*, the glorie of the Westerne Empire was rather dissolued, than obscured. The same vnworthie destinie, or a farre worse, had *Bellisarius*; whose vndertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Iustinian*; and he died a blinde begger. *Nasus* also, to the great preiudice of *Christian* Religion, was disgrac'd by *Iuliane*. That Rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath bene well obserued in curie age since then, to wit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence haue the *Turkes* drawne another Principle, and indeed a *Turkish* one, That euerie warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of warre, than suffer his owne glorie to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Baiares* the second dispatch *Bassa Acomat*; *Selim* strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes, bring to ruine the most of their *Vissiers*. Of the *Spanish* Nation, the great *Gonsaluo*, who draue the *French* out of *Naples*: and *Ferdinando Cortese*, who conquered *Mexico*; were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrell. The Earles of *Egmond* and *Horn*, had no heads left them to wear garlands on. And that the great Captaines of all Nations, haue bene paid with this copper coine; there are examples more than too many. On the contrarie it may bee said, That many haue acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great abilitie in matter of warre. This I confesse. Yet must it be had withall in consideration, that these high places haue bene giuen, or offered, vnto verie few, as rewards of their militarie vertue; though many haue vsurped them, by the helpe and fauour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it vnregardable, That the Tyrants which haue oppressed the libertie of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which haue traitorously call downe their Masters, and stepped vp into their seats; were not all of them good men of warre: but haue vsed the advantage of some commotion, or many of them, by base and cowardlie practises, haue obtained those dignities, which vnderstandly were ascribed to their personall worth. So that the number of those, that haue purchased absolute greatnesse by the greatnesse of their warlike vertue; is farre more in seeming, than in deed. *Ptoleus* was a souldiour, and by helpe of the souldiours, hee got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but hee was a coward; and with a barbarous crueltie, seldome found in any other than cowards, hee slue first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that neuer had done him wrong, before his face, and after them *Mauritius* himselfe. This his bloudie aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid vnto him againe by *Nerolius*: who tooke from him the Imperiall Crowne, vnjustly gotten; and set it on his owne head. *Leontius* laid hold vpon the Emperour *Iuliane*, cut off his nose and eares, and sent him into banishment: but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge hee had left his owne men of warre. *Iuliane*, hauing recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*; and barbed him after the same

- same fashion. *Philippicus*, commanding the forces of *Iuliane*, murdered both the Emperour and his sonne. *Anastasius*, the vassall of this new Tyrant, surpris'd his Master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastasius*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for hauing wrested the Scepter out of his hands, hee enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endless, and a needlesse worke to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodosius*; how many others haue bene repayed with their owne crueltie, by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thousand, hoping of Capitaines to make themselves Kings, haue by Gods iustice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinarie, and perhaps the best way of thriving by the practise of armes, is to take what may be gotten by the spoyle of Enemies, and the liberalltie of those Princes and Cities, in whose seruice one hath well deserued. But scarce one of a thousand haue prospered by this course. For that obseruation, made by *Salomon*, of vnthankfulness in this kind, hath bene found belonging to all Countries and Ages: A little Citie, and few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poore and wise man therein, and he deliuered the Citie by his wisdom: but none remembered this poore man. Great Monarchs are vnwilling to pay great thanks, least thereby they should acknowledge themselves to haue bene indebted for great benefits: which the vnwisest sort of them thinke to fauour of some impotencie in themselves. But in this respect they are oftentimes couened and abused: which proues that weakenesse to be in them indeede, whereof they so gladly flunne the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountifull in giuing thanks; yet so, as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Capitaines haue made, by enriching themselves with the spoyle of the enemy, they are very inquisitiue to search into it, and to strip the well-deseruers out of their gettings: yea most iniuriouly to rob them of their owne, vpon a false supposition: that euen they whose hands are most clean from such offences, haue purloyned somewhat from the common Treasurie. Hereof Ineed not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipios* being so lately recited.
- In my late Soueraignes time, although for the warres, which for her owne safetie shee was constrained to vndertake, her Majestie had no lesse cause to vse the seruice of Martiall men both by Sea and land, than any of her Predecessors for many yeares had, yet, according to the destinie of that profession, I doe not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldest and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwife honoured, for any seruice by them performed. And that her Majestie had many aduic'd, valiant, and faithfull men, the prosperitie of her affaires did well witness, who in all her daies neuer receiued dishonour, by the cowardlie or infidelitie of any Commander, by her selfe chosen and employed.
- For as all her old Capitaines by Land died poore men, as *Milbey*, *Ran'el*, *Drenrie*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Leyton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Cunsable*, *Bourcher*, *Barkely*, *Bingham*, and others: so those of a later and more dangerous imployment, whereof *Deuice* and *Yere* were the most famous, and who haue done as great honor to our Nation (for the meanes they had as euer any did: those I say) with many other braue Collonels, haue left behinde them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many trauailes and wounds) no title nor estate to their posteritie. As for the *L. Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie* *L. Willoughbie* of *Eresby*, two verie worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Estates.
- That her Majestie in the aduancement of her Men of warre did sooner beleuee other men than her selfe, a discale vnto which many wise Princes, besides her selfe, haue bene subiect, I say that such a confidence, although it may seeme altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weaknesse. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where

where the prosperous Actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actions are so vnprofitable and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, & among all Nations, is this, that those which are nearest the person of Princes (which martial men seldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnifie a Profession farre more noble than their own, seeing therein they should only mind their Masters of the wrong they did vnto others, in giuing lesse honour and reward to men of farre greater deservings, and of farre greater vse than themselves.

But his Majestie hath already payed the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieving by Pensions all the poorer sort, he hath honored more Martiall men 10 than all the Kings of England haue done in this hundred years.

He hath giuen a *Crownet* to the Lord *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable seruice, as well in the yeare 1588, as at *Caliz*, the *Islands*, and in our owne Seas; hauing first commanded as a Capitaine, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Majestie hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* and *Burley* into Earldomes, and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knollys*, *Russel*, *Carew*, *Pamers*, *Arundel* of *Warder*, *Gerald*, and *Chichester*, Barons, for their governments and seruices in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elsewhere.

### §. III.

PHILIP making prouision for warre against the Romans, desires hardly with manie of his owne subiects. His negotiation with the Bastarne. His crueltie. He suspecteth his sonne DEMETRIUS. DEMETRIUS accused by his brother PERSEVS; and shortly after slain, by his fathers appointment. PHILIP repenteth him of his sonnes death, whome he findeth to haue bene innocent: and intending to reuenge it on PERSEVS, he dieth.

**V**INTVS MARTIVS the Roman Embassador, who trauailed vp and downe, seeking what worke might be found about Greece, had receiued instruction from the Senate, to vse the most of his diligence in looking into the Estate of *Macedon*. At his returne home, that he might not seeme to haue discovered nothing, hee told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatsoever they enjoyed him; yet so, as it might appeare, that such his obedience would last no longer, than mere necessitie should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which he was deuiuing. Now it was so indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithfull obsequiousnesse to the Romans, and forsooke their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with safetie of their honour, if they could finde conuenient meanes; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparant) by what meanes soeuer. He was in an ill case: as hauing been already vanquished by them; hauing lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; hauing subiects that abhorred to heare of Warre with *Rome*, and hauing neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto vrged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could deuise against the necessitie which hee daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gaue him cause to suspect, that they would doe but bad seruice against the Romans, hee compelled to forsake their dwellings, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Countrey, whence these were transplanted, he filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whose faith he thought a great deale more assured, against those enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he deuided vpon alluring the *Bastarne*, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the river 40 of

of *Danubius*, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, besides other great rewards, would helpe them to root out the *Dardanians*, and take possession of their Countrey. These were like to doe him notable seruice against the Romans: being not only stout fighting men; but such, as being planted in those quarters by him, would beare respect vnto him alone. The least benefite that could be hoped by their arrival, must be the vtter extirpation of the *Dardanians*; a People alwayes troublesome to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, whensoever they found aduantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perswade those *Bastarnes*, by hope of spoyle, and other incitements, vnto a more desperate Expedition, through *Illyria*, and the Countreys vpon the *Adriaticke* Sea, into *Italie* it selfe. It was not knowne who should withstand them vpon the way: Rather it was thought, that the *Scordisci*, and peradventure some others, through whose Countreys they were to passe, would accompanie them against the Romans, were it onely in hope of spoyle. Now to facilitate the remove of these *Bastarnes* from their owne habitations, into the Land of the *Dardanians*, vpon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious journey vnto them, that carried with them their wives and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countreys through which they were to passe. And thus hee sought meanes to strengthen himselfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the Romans, nor were knowne vnto them; since he was not like to finde assistance from any ciuile Nation, about the whole compasse of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But these deuises were long ere they tooke effect: so as the *Bastarne* came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the ouerthrow of that purpose. In the meane time he neglected not the trayning of his men to warre, and the exercise of them in some small Expeditions, against those wilde people that bordered vpon him, and stood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsailes and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell vpon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wills to forsake their auncient dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meetest for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it selfe within wordes: hee hauing done them no great wrong in that alteration, other wise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long liued: which also he did vnwillingly, being himselfe ouer-ruled by necessitie, that seemed apparant. This euill therefore would soone haue bene determined, had not his cruell and vindictiue nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from iust sorrow: but imputed all to traitorous malice; and accordingly sought reuenge where it was needefull. In his rage hee caused many to die: among whome were some eminent men; and few or none 40 of them delectuall. This encreased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more generall; when the King in a barbarous and base furie, mistrusting all alike whome hee had iniured, thought himselfe vnlike to be safe, vntill he should haue massacred all the children of those parents, whome tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his vnmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical than perhaps hee could haue desired, gaue men cause to thinke (as they could not in reason thinke otherwise) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heauen, he felt the like miserie in his owne children. It is hard to say what the Romans intended, in the extraordinary fauour which they shewed vnto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger sonne. It may 50 well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissention betwene the brethren, but onely to cherish the vertue and towardlinesse of *Demetrius*; like as we finde it in their Histories. But their notable fauour towards this young Prince, and his mutuall respect of them, bred extreme jealousy in the fathers head. If any custome of the Romans, the manner of their life,

life, the fallion of their apparrell, or the vnlighty contriuing and building (as then it was) of the Towne of *Rome*, were jelled at in ordinarie discourse and table-talk. *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praying them, euen in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conuersion with their Embassadors, as often as they came, gaue his father cause to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counsaile held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his deuices with his elder sonne *Perseus*: who fearing so much leaſt his brother should ſtep betwene him and the ſucceſſion, conuerted wholly vnto his deſtruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perseus* was then thirtee yeares olde; of a ſtirring ſpirit, though much deſectiue in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by ſixe 10 yeares, more open and vnwarie in his actions, yet thought old and craftie ynough, to entertaine more dangerous practises, than his free ſpeeches diſcouered. The jealous head of the King hauing entertained ſuch ſuſpitions, that were much encreaſed by the cunning practise of his elder ſonne, a ſlight occaſion made the fire breake out, that had long layne ſmothered. A Muſter, and ceremonious luſtration of the Armie, was wont to be made at certaine times with great ſolemnitie. The manner of it at the preſent was thus. They cleft in twaine a bitch, and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way, which the Armie was to paſſe. This done, the Armes of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the verie firſt original, were borne before the Armie. Then fol- 20 lowed the King betwene his two ſonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whome all the reſt of the *Macedonians* followed. Hauing performed other ceremonies, the Armie was diuided into two parts: which, vnder the Kings two ſonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, vſing poles, and the like, in ſtead of their pikes and accuſtomed weapons. But in this preſent ſkirmiſh there appeared ſome extraordinary contention for the victorie: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Capitaines did ouer-carnestly ſeek eache to get the vpper hand, as a betokening of their good ſucceſſe in a greater trial. Some ſmall hurt there was done, and wounds giuen, euen with thoſe ſtokes, vntill *Perseus* his ſide at length recoyled. *Perseus* himſelfe was forrie for this, as it had bene ſome bad pre- 30 ſage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good vſe. They were of the craftier ſort: who perceiving which way the Kings fauor bent, and how all the courſes of *Demetrius* led vnto his owne ruine, addreſſed their ſeruices to the more malicious and craftie head. And now they ſaid, that this victorie of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint againſt him; as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that ſolemn paſtime. Each of the brethren was that day to ſeall his owne companions, and each of them had ſpyes in the others lodging, to obſerue what was ſaid and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaued himſelfe ſo indifferently, that he was taken and well beaten by three or foure of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of dores. After ſome ſtore 40 of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would goe viſit his brother, and ſee what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting ſuch of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet he would leaue none of his traine behind, but forced them alſo to beare him companie. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themſelues ſecretly to preuent all danger. Yet was there ſuch good eſpiall kept, that this their coming armed was forthwith made knowne to *Perseus*: who thereupon tumultuouſly locked vp his dores, as if he ſtood in feare to be aſſaulted in his houſe. *Demetrius* wondered to ſee himſelfe excluded, and ſa- 50 red verie angrily with his brother. But *Perseus*, bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whoſe murderous purpoſe was detected, ſent him away with entertaine- ment, no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accuſed the younger vnto the father of them both, Much there was alledged, and in effect the ſame that hath bene here recited, ſue that by miſconſtruction all was made worſe. But the maine point of the accuſation, and which

which did aggrauate all the reſt, was, That *Demetrius* had vnder-taken this murder, and would perhaps alſo dare to vnder-take a greater, vpon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom he knew that he ſhould be defended and borne out. For *Perseus* made ſhew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; becauſe he bore a due reſpect vnto his father, and was forrie to ſee him ſpoiled, and daily robbed of ſome what by them. And for this cauſe he ſaid it was, that they did animate his brother againſt him: as alſo that they fought how to winne vnto *Demetrius* the loue of the *Macedonians*. For prooſe hereof he cecited a letter, lent of late from *T. Quintius* to the King himſelfe: whereof the contents were, That he had done wiſely in ſending *Demetrius* 10 to *Rome*; and that he ſhould yet further doe well to ſend him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honorable traine of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counſell was giuen by *Titus*, of purpoſe to ſhake the allegiance of thoſe, that ſhould wayt vpon his brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become ſeruants to this young Traytor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made anſwere, by rehearſing all paſſages of the day and night foregoing, in ſuch manner as hee remembered them, and had conceiued of them: bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that conuerted matters of Paſtime, and what was done or ſpoken in wine, to ſuch an accuſation, whereby he fought his innocent brothers death. As for the loue which the *Romans* did beare him; He ſaid that it 20 grew, if not from his owne vertue, at leaſt wiſe from their opinion thereof: ſo as by any impious practiſe, He were more like to loſe it wholly, than to encreaſe it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not ſuch paſſions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; beſides thoſe that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinarie Iudges. The King pronounced like a father, though a iealous father, That he would conclude nothing vpon the exceſſe or error, whatſoeuer it were, of one day and night, nor vpon one houres audience of the matter, but vpon better obſeruatiou of their liues, manners, and whole carriage of themſelues both in word and deed. And herein he may ſeeme to haue dealt both iuſtly and compaſſionately. But from this time forward, he gaue himſelfe ouer wholly 30 to *Perseus*: vſing ſo little conference with his younger ſonne, that when he had matters of weight in hand, ſuch eſpecially as concerned the *Romans*, He liked neither to haue him preſent, nor neare vnto him. About all, he had eſpecial care, to learne out what had paſſed betwene *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, *Phloetes* and *Apelles*; men whom hee thought no way intereſſed in the quarrells betwene the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they ſaw the more in grace. Theſe brought home with them a letter, ſaid to be written by *Titus* (whoſe ſcale they had counterfeited) vnto the King. The contents where- 40 of were, A deprecation for the young Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthfull and ambitious deſires had cauſed him to enter into practiſes vnliſſible, againſt his elder brother; which yet ſhould neuer take effect, for that *Titus* himſelfe would not be author, or abettor, of any impious deuice. This manner of excuſe did forcibly perſwade the King, to thinke his ſonne a dangerous traytor. To ſtrengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gaue *Demetrius* in cuſtodie, made ſhew as if he had pitied the eſtate of the vnhappy Prince; and ſo wrung out of him his ſecret intentions, which he ſhortly diſcouered vnto *Philip*. It was the purpoſe of *Demetrius* to ſlie ſecretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not onely to liue in ſafety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could finde at home, of bettering ſuch claime as he had in reuerſion vnto the 50 Crowne of *Macedon*. Whatſoeuer his hopes and meanings were, al came to nought through the falſhood of *Didas*; who playing on both hands, offered vnto the Prince his helpe for making the eſcape, and in the meane while revealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* reſolved to put his ſonne to death, without further ex- pence of time. It was thought behouefull to make him away priuily, for feare leſt

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the *Romans* should take the matter to heart, and held it as proofe sufficient, at least, of the Kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the warre. *Lidus* therefore was commanded to rid the vnhappie Prince out of his life. This accursed Minister of his Kings vnadvised sentence, first gaue poyson to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon hee sent a couple of *Russians*, to finish the tragedie: who villanously accomplished their worke by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of *Asia*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not bene found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne blood. The houses of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* fell eyther with themselves, or euen vpon their heeles; by intestine discord and ieaousities, grounded on desire of soueraigne rule, or feare of loosing it. By the like vnnatural hatred, had almost bene cut off the lines of *Ptoleme* and of *Seleucus*: which though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grievously diltempered. Contrariwise, it was worthe of extraordinary note, how that vpiant family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raised it selfe to marvellous greatness, in very short space, from the condition of meere slaueerie: whereof a principall cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their pietie. Neyther was *Philip* ignorant of these examples; but is said to haue propounded the last of them, to his owne children, as a patterne for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason to doe: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But hee was himselfe of an vmercifull nature; and therefore vnmeet to bee a good perswader vnto kindly affection. The murders by him done vpon manie of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his blood-thirstie appetite hee delightfully had committed vpon manie innocents, both strangers, & subjects of his owne, did now procure vengeance downe from Heaven, that rewarded Him with a draught of his owne Poyson. After the death of his sonne, He too late began to examine the crimes that had bin objected; and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found hee nothing that could giue him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to thinke, that malice had not bene contriuer of the whole proceesse. His only remaining Son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which hee tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition: as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remove of those dangers, which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no lesse to be feared than at other times, when hee, as hauing accomplished the most of his desires, left off his vsuall trouble of mind, and carelesse of making prouision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times; by those that well vnderstood the difference, betweene a rising and a setting Sunne. As for old *Philip*, hee was left in a manner desolate: some expecting his death, and some feare enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy, and filled his head with suspitious imaginations; the like wherof hee had neuer bene slow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew, eyther well to whom, nor perfectly wherof to complain. One honourable man, a Cousen of his, named *Antigonus*, continued true to *Philip*, that hee grew thereby hateful to *Perseus*: and thus becoming subiect vnto the same ialous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This counsailler, when hee found that the anger conceived against *Perseus* would not vent it selfe, and giue ease to the King, vntill the truth were knowne Whether *Demetrius* were guiltie or no of the treason objected; as also that *Philetes* and *Apelles*, (the Embassadors which had brought from *Rome* that Epistle of *Flaminius*, that serued as the greatest euidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery in the busines: made diligent inquirie.

inquire after the truth. In thus doing, hee found one *Xychus*, a man most likely to haue vnderstood what false dealing was vsed by those Embassadors. Him hee apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented vnto the King: saying that this fellow knew all, and must therefore bee made to vtter what hee knew. *Xychus* for feare of torture, vttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himselfe, that hee had bin employed by the Embassadors in that wicked peece of businesse. No maruell, if the Fathers passions were extreme, when hee vnderstood, that by the vnnatural practise of one sonne, hee had so wretchedly cast away another, farre more vertuous, and innocent. Hee raged exceedingly, against himselfe, and withall against the Authors of the mischiefe. Vpon the first newes of this discouerie, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italia*. *Philetes* was taken: and either so farre as hee could not denie it when *Xychus* confronted him, yeelded himselfe guiltie, or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now growne stronger, than that he should need to flee the Countrey: yet not so stout as to aduenture himselfe into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the kingdome, towards *Thrace*, whilst his father wintered at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his vngracious sonne; tooke a resolution, to aliene the Kingdome from him, & conferre it vpon *Antigonus*. But his weake bodie, and excessive greife of minde, so disabled him in the trauell hereto belonging; that ere hee could bring his purpose to effect, he was constrained to yeild to nature: He had reigned about two & fortie yeares: alwayes full of trouble, as vexed by others, and vexing himselfe, with continuall wars, of which that with the *Romans* was most vnhappie, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise Prince would haue desired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the euill that betell him, he might thanke his owne peruerse condition: since his vnle King *Antigonus*, had left vnto him an estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it easie for him, to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsaile. Wherefore hee was iustly punished: by feeling the difference betweene the imaginarie happinesse of a Tyrant, which hee affected, and the life of a King, wherof hee little cared to performe the dutie. His death, euen whilst yet it was only drawing neare, was foresignified vnto *Perseus*, by *Calligenes* the Philitian; who also concealed it awhile from those that were about the Court. So *Perseus* came thither on the suddaine, and tooke possession of the kingdome: which in fine hee no lesse imprudently lost, than hee had wickedly gotten.

#### ¶ IIII.

How the *Bastarns* fell vpon *Dardania*. The behaviour of *PERSEVS* in the beginning of his Reigne. Some warres of the *Romans*: and how they suffered *MASANISSA*, cruelly to oppress the *Carthaginians*. They quarrell with *PERSEVS*. They allow not their Confederates to make warre without their leave obtained. The Treason of *CALLICRATES*; whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to *Rome*, than in former times. Further quarrels to *PERSEVS*. He seeks friendship of the *Asians*, and is withstood by *CALLICRATES*. The *Romans* discover their intent of warring vpon him.

IMmediately vpon the death of *Philip*, came the *Bastarns* into *Thrace*: where order had bin taken, long before, both for their free passage, and for the indemnitie of the Countrey. This compact was friendly obserued, as long as none other was knowne than that *Philip* did liue, to recompence all that should be done, or sustained, for his seruice. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; & not heard withall, that he tooke any care what became of the enterprize: then was all daft

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and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford so good markets vnto these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Bastarnæ* would not be contented with reason, but became their owne caruers, Thus each part hauing lost the rich hopes reposed in *Philip*: grew carefull of thriving in the present; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blows; and the *Bastarnæ* had the vpper hand, so as they chased the *Thracians* out of the plaine Countreies. But the victors made little vlew of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some overthrow, receiued by them in assaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extreme bad weather, which is said to haue afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, fave thirtie thousand, which pierced on into *Dacia*. How these thirtie thousand sped in their voyage, I doe not find. It comes that by the careless vying of some victories, they drew losse vpon themselves: and finally tooke that occasion, to follow their companions backe into their owne Countrey.

As for *Perseus* he thought it not expedient, in the noueltie of his Reigne, to embroyle himselfe in a warre so dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to proue. Wherefore he wholly gaue his mind to the settling of his Estate: which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himselfe, as the condition of his affaires should require, eyther for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion: he quickly tooke away the life of *Antigonus*. To winne loue of his people; he came personally to heare their causes in iudgment (though herein hee was so over-diligent and curious, that one might haue perceived this his vertue of iustice to be no better than feined) as also he gratified them with many delightfull spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. Aboue all he had care to auoide all necessitie of warre with *Rome*: and therefore made it his first worke, to send Embassadours thither, to renew the league; which hee obtained, and was by the Senate saluted King, and friend vnto the State. Neyther was he negligent in seeking to purchase good will of the *Greeks*, and other his neighbors: but was rather herein so excessively bountifull, that it may seeme a wonder, how in few yeares, to his vtter ruine, hee became so griping and tenacious. His feare was indeede the murthering passion, which over-rul'd him, and changed him into so manie shapes, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his owne. For prooue this, there is requirite no more, than the relation of his actions past and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, busie in wars against the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered *Syria*; subdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Libyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as cuer since the victorie) a heauie hand: and suffered *Masaniissa* to take from them what he liked. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient vassals to *Rome*, were afraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were bound by an article of peace, except it were with leaue of the *Romans*. *Masaniissa* therefore had great advantage ouer them: and was not ignorant how to vse it. Hee could get possession by force, of whatsoeuer he desired, ere their complaining Embassadours could bee at *Rome*; and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated, to leaue things as they found them.

So had Hee once dealt before, in taking from them the Countrey of *Emporia*: and so did hee vse them againe and againe; with pretence of title, where hee had anie; otherwise, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Masaniissa* had wonne some land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wanne from *Gala*, and within a while, restored to the right owners, for loue of his Wife *Sophonissa*, and of *Adrabal* his Father-in-law. This did *Masaniissa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans*, to whose judgment the case was referred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Estate, to vse all manner of submissiue obedience to *Rome*.

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They had scarcely this digested iniurie, when *Masaniissa* came vpon them againe, and to take from them aboute leuentie to wnes and Castels, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embassidors they made lamentable complaint vnto the *Roman* Senate. They threwe downe grievously they were oppressed by reason of two articles in their League: That they should not make warre, out of their owne lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were so, that they might lawfully withstand the violence of *Masaniissa*, invading their Countrey, howe-foeuer he was pleased to call it his: yet since hee was confederate with the *Romans*, they durst not presume to beare defence armes against him, but suffered themselves to be eaten vp, for feare of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they entreated, that eyther they might haue fairer iustice; or be suffred to defend their owne by strong hand; or at least, if right must wholly giue place to fauour, That the *Romans* yet would bee pleased to determine, how farr forth *Masaniissa* should bee allowed, to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they, that the *Romans* would let them vnderstand, wherein they had offended since the time that *Scipio* gaue them peace; and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment, as they themselves in honour should thinke meete: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such Iudges; than continually to liue in feare, and none otherwise draw breath, than at the mercie of this *Namidian* Hangman. And herewithall the Embassadours threw themselves prostrate on the ground, weeping, in hope to moue compassion. Here may we behold, the fruites of their enuie to that valiant house of the *Burchinians*; of their irresolution, in prosecuting a war so important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their halfe pennie-worthing, in matter of expense,

when they had aduentured their whole estate, in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they seruants, euen to the seruants of those men, whose fathers they haue often chased, slaine, taken, and sold as bondslaves in the streets of *Carthage*, and in all Cities of *Africa* and *Greece*. Now haue they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* so often and so earnestly desired. Only they want peace with *Masaniissa*; once their mercinarie, and now their master, or rather their tormentor; out of whose cruell hands, they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they see flourishing in such prosperitie as might haue bin their own. But the *Romans* had farre better entreated *Varro*, who lost the battell at *Cannæ*; then *Hannibal* that wanne it: was vsed by the *Carthaginians*; they had freely bestowed, euerie man of them, all his priuate riches, vpon the Common wealth; and employed their labours for the publike, without craving recompense: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extreme want, to set out an armie into *Spain*, at what time the enemy lay vnder their owne walls. These were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, hauing fought against their betters, much patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pittifull behaviour bred peradventure some commiseration, yet their teares may seeme to haue beene mistrusted, as proceeding not lesse from enuie to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their owne calamitie. They thought themselves able to fight with *Masaniissa*: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a litle while, enter into coparisons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained no such leaues as they sought, of defending their owne right by armes: but contrariwise, when without leaue obtained they presumed so far, the destruction of *Carthage* was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they receiued a gentle answer; though they had otherwise litle amends.

*Gulussa* the sonne of *Masaniissa* was then in *Rome*; and had not as yet craved audience. Hee was therefore called before the Senate; where hee was demanded the reason of his coming; and had related vnto him the complaint, made by the *Carthaginians* against his Father. He answered, That his Father, not being thoroughly aware of anie Embassadours thither sent from *Carthage*, had

had therefore not giuen him instructions, how to deale in that busines. Only it was knowne, that the *Carthaginians* had held counsell diuerse nights, in the Temple of *Aesculapius*: whereupon he himselfe was dispatched away to *Rome*, there to entreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the *Romans* and of his Father might not bee ouermuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the People of *Rome*. This answer gaue little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replied, that for *Masaniissa*'s sake, they had done, and would doe, whatsoeuer was reasonable; but that it stood not with their iustice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* those lands, which by the covenants of the league, were granted vnto them freely to enioy. With this milde rebuke they dismissed *Galaissa*; bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willing him to tell his father, that he should doe well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian warre* was euen ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing, too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians*, (for feare of vrging them vnseasonably to rebellion) or *Masaniissa*, at whole hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Masaniissa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for feare, partly for hope of better vantage in the future; by *Masaniissa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was vnlikely) that they should bee vanquished; hee made none other account, than that all *Africke* round about him and *Carthage* therewithall should bee his owne.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romans* had not bene vnmindfull of *Perseus*. They visited him daily with Embassadours; that is, with honourable spies to obserue his behaviour. These hee entertained kindly at first, vntill (which tell our ere long) hee perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*; neyther would they take any satisfaction, vntill the *Bessians* were thence gone; though hee protested, that hee had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no lesse ill contented with good offices, by him done to sundrie of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which they said (that he did vnto other some). Where hee did harme to anie; they called it, making warre vpon their friends: Where hee did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The *Dolopians*, his subiects, vpon what occasion it is vncertaine; rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew *Euphranor*, whom hee had appointed their gouernour. It seemes that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the *Macedonian*: and therefore vnlikely to haue presumed so farre, vnlesse eyther they had bin extremely prouoked; or else were secretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatsoeuer it was that bred this outrage in them: *Perseus* did soone allay it, and reclaime them by strong hand. But the *Romans* tooke verie angrily, this presumption of the King: euen as if he had invaded some Countie of their *Italian* confederates, and not corrected his owne Rebels at home. Faine they would haue had him to draw in the same yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereto hee had humbled him by his necke, they could not themselves haue done the part of *Masaniissa*, though *Eumenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had bene wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the league betweene them were such, as made it vnlawfull, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their license first obtained.

To the same passe they would also faine haue reduced the *Greekes*, and generally all their adherents euen such as had entred into league with them vpon equall termes: whom usually they rewarded with a frowne, whensoever they presumed to right themselves by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Acheans* had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne caruers; and whose hope of extraor-

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dinarie fauour at *Rome* caused them the more willingly to referre their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to haue chastised the *Messenians* by warre; *T. Quintus* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking such a worke in hand, without his authoritie: yet by his authoritie he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they rephended, euen with Lordly threats, when they tooke vpon them to carrie any bulinesse of importance, by their owne power, without standing vnto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who neuertheless, vpon submission, were apt enough to doe them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute libertie, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in vsurping the practise of armes, which belonged only to the Imperiall Citie. In learning this hard lesson, they were such vnward scholars, that they needed, and not long after felt, verie sharp correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed vnto their Masters. For the *Roman* Senate, being desirous to humble the *Acheans*; refused not only to giue them such aide as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweene them; but further, with a careless insolencie, rejected this honest and reasonable petition, that the Enemie might not be supplied from *Italie*, with victuals or armes. Herewith not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argives*, *Lacedaemonians* or *Corinthians*, would revolt from the *Acheans*; they themselves would thinke it a bulinesse no way concerning them. This was presently after the death of *Philopamen*: at what time it was beleueed, that the Common wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much distresse; were it not vpheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithstanding, when *Lyortus* Praetor of the *Acheans* had vtterly subdued the *Messenians* farre sooner than was expected; and when as not only no Towne rebelled from the *Acheans*, but manie entred into their corporation: then did the *Romans*, with an ill fauoured grace, tell the same Embassadours, to whose petition they had made such bad answere (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie) that they had strictly forbidden all manner of succour to bee carried to *Messene*. Thus thinking, by a fained grauitie, to haue serued their owne turnes; they manifested their conditions: both to set on the weaker, against the stronger and more suspected; and also to asume vnto themselves a Soueraigne power, in directing all matters of warre, which dissemblingly they would haue seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting anie of them to make warre, whether offensive or defensive; though it were against meere strangers; without interposing the authoritie of the Senate and People of *Rome*: vnlesse peradventure sometimes they winked at such violence, as did helpe towards the accomplishment of their owne secret malice. Now these *Roman* arts howsoeuer manie (for gainfull or timorous respects) would seeme to vnderstand them; yet were they generally displeasing vnto all men endued with free spirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the most turbulent Citie in *Greece*, hauing neyther subiects of their own that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring anie into subiection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practise their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mightie. So they kept themselves in grace with the *Romans*, remained free from all trouble, vntill the warre of *Antiochus*: being men vnfit for action, and thereby innocent, yet beeing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-crauers for the vanquished. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for those other Common weales and Kingdomes, that with ouer nice diligence stroue to preserve their liberties and lands, from consuming by piece-meale: they were to be deuoured whole, and swallowed vp at once. Especially the *Macedonian*, as the most vnpliant, and wherein manie of the *Greekes* beganne to haue affiance, was necessarily to bee made an example, how much better it were better to bow than to breake.

Neyther

Publ. legat. 51.  
c. 13.

Neither *Perseus*, nor the *Romans* were ignorant, how the *Greekes* at this time stood affected. *Perseus* by reason of his neare neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his subjects, could not want good information, of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philippeian* had long since foretold, of the miserable subiection, whereinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger: but as being tenderly sensible of their libertie, felt themselves grieved with the present subiection, wherto already they were become obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the *Romans*: yet all of them had the care, to choose among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Countre, and would for no ambition, or other seruile respect, bee flatterers of the greatnesse which kept all in feare. Thus it seemed likely, that all domestickall conspiracies would soone bee at an end; when honestie and loue of the Commonweale, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this careful provision for the safetie of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not thoroughly aduertised: eyther because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadors, whom all men knew to be little better than Spies, or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traytors (of whom euerie Citie in *Greece* had too manie) as were men vnregarded among their owne people, and therefore more like to speake maliciously than truly; or perhaps because the Embassadors themselves, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their owne desires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which manie know, from those that are feared or flattered by manie. The *Acheans* being to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the same businesse; chose one *Callicrates*, among others, to goe in that Embassage. By their making choise of such a man; one may perceiue the advantage, which mischituous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vildesires, haue against the plaine sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome businesse of the weale publike. For this *Callicrates* was in such wise transported with ambition; that hee chose much rather to betray his Countre, than to let any other bee of more authority than himselfe therein. Wherefore instead of well discharging his credence, and alladging what was meetest in iustificacion of his people; hee vttered a quite contrarie tale; and strongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppress both the *Acheans*, and all the rest of *Greece*, with a farre more heauie hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to looke vnto the setting of their authoritie, among his froward Countreimen; if they ment not wholly to foregoe it. For now there was taken vpa custome, to stand vpon points of confederacie, and lawes: as if these were principally to bee had in regard; any iunction from *Rome* notwithstanding. Hence grew it that the *Acheans* both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the *Romans* with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be so, if He, and some other of his opinion, might haue their wils: who caused not to asseme, That no Columnes or Monuments erected, nor no solemn oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obseruance of Confederacie or statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrarie. But was euen the fault of the *Romans* themselves, That the multitude refused to giue eare, vnto such perswasions. For howsoeuer in popular Estates, the sound of libertie vsed to bee more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which vnderooke the maintenance of an argument, seeming neuer so bad, were sure by their so doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would increase

increase apace, and they became the preualent faction. It was therefore strange, how the *Fathers* could so neglect the aduicement of those, that sought wholly to enlarge the amptitude of the *Roman* maiesty. More wisely, though with seditious & rebellious purpose, did the *Greekes*: who many times, yea & ordinarily, conferred great honors, vpon men otherwise of little account or desert; only for hauing vttered some braue words against the *Romans*. The *Fathers*, hearing these & the like reasones, wherewith he exhorted the to handle roughly those that were obnoxious, & by cherishing their friends, to make their partie strong; refused to follow this good counsaile, in euery point, yea to depreesse al those that held with the right, & to set vp their own followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thecesserforth more peremptorily with the *Acheans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present vnto al cities of *Greece*, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of *Lacedemon*) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of *Callicrates*, they aduised all men, to be such, and so affected, as he was, in their feuerall common-weales. With this dispatch, *Callicrates* returned home a ioyfull man: hauing brought his Countre into the way of ruine, but himselfe into the way of preferment. Neuertheless he forbore to vant himselfe, of his eloquence vsed in the Senate. Only he so reported his Embassage, that all men became fearefull of the danger, wherwith he threatened those that should presume to oppose the *Romans*. By such arts hee obtained to be made Pretor of the *Acheans*: in which Magistracy, as in al his courtes following, hee omitted nothing, that might serue to manifest his readie obsequiousnes vnto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the *Romans* by threatening termes wane manie flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so *Perseus* on the other side, thinking by liberrall gifts, and hopeful promises, to assure vnto himselfe those that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honestier than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* distracted with factions: some holding with the *Romans*; some with the *Macedonian*; and some few, respecting only the good of the Estates whereto they liued. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not sufferable. That a King, no better than their vassall, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses: wherof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall afford them iust occasion to make war vpon him. *Perseus* hauing finished his businesse among the *Dolopians*, made a iournee to *Apollonia* his temple at *Delphi*. He tooke his armie along with him; yet went, and returned, in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worfe for his iournee, but the good affected towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, hee dealt himselfe; to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadors or letters: praying them, That the memorie of all wrongs whatsoever, done by his father, might bee buried with his father; since his own mening was to hold friendship sincerely with al his neighbors. The *Romans* perhaps could haue bene pleased better, if he had behaued himselfe after a contrarie fashion, and done some acts of hostilitie in his passage. Yet as if he ought not to haue taken such a iournee, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the loue of the *Acheans*: which his father had so lost, that by a solemn decree, they forbade any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. It was jealousie perhaps, no lesse than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoeuer *Philip* had by manie vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arats*, giuen them cause to abhor him: yet in the publike administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, bin to them so beneficiall, that not without much adoe and at length, without any generall consent, they refused to forsake him. Wherefore it was needfull, euen for preseruacion of concord among them, to vse all circumspection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a Countre to wards

wards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of war, and when all danger of innovation was past; was vnciuill, if not inhumane, as nourishing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And herofe the *Acheans* reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the Kingdom of *Macedon*: yet vnderstanding what would be due to them, if they should aduenture thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to passe, that their bondmerit, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their masters could not fetch them, ranne daily away, in great numbers: exceedingly to the losse of such, as made of their slaues very profitable vse. But *Perseus* took hold vpon this occasion: as fitly scruiing to pacifie those, whose enmitie faime he would haue changed into loue. He therefore apprehended all these fugitiues, to send them home againe: and wrote vnto the *Acheans*, That as for good will vnto them, he had taken paines to restore back their seruants; so should they do very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not runne away againe. His meaning was readily vnderstood, and his letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly reuerbered by the Pretor, before the Councell. But *Callistratus* took the matter very angrily, and bad them be aduised what they did; for that this was none other, than a plaine deuice, to make them depart from the friendship of the *Romans*. Herewithall heooke vpon him, somewhat liberally, to make the *Acheans* before hand acquainted with the war, that was coming vpon *Perseus*, from *Rome*. He told them, how *Philip* had made preparations for the same wars, how *Demetrius* had bin made away, because of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perseus* had, since his being King, done manie things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly He rehearsed all those matters, which were afterwards alleged by the *Romans*; the inuasion of the *Balsarna*, vpon the *Dardaniens*; the Kings iourne against the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally his peaceable behauiour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his partie. Wherefore he aduised them, to expect the euent of things, and not ouer-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good answer was made by the Pretors brother: That *Callistratus* was too earnest, in so light a matter; and that, being neyther one of the Kings cabinet, nor of the *Roman Senate*, he made himselfe too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well knowne, that *Perseus* had renewed his league with the *Romans*; that hee was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that He had louingly entertained their Embassadors. This being so: why might not the *Acheans*, as well as the *Atolians*, *Thessalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greeks*, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanitie required? Neuertheless *Callistratus* was growne a man so terrible, by his *Romane* acquaintance, that they durst not ouer-lustily gain say him. Therefore the matter was referred vnto further deliberation: and answere made the whilst, That since the King had only sent a letter without any Embassadour; they knew not how to resolve. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to doe as they thought most reasonable and conuenient. But when *Perseus*, herewith not contented, would needs vrge them further, and send Embassadors: then were they faime, without a nic good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and denie to giue audience: which was prooue sufficient (to one that could vnderstand) of the condition wherein they liued. For hearkning to this aduice of *Callistratus*, they were sooner after highly commended by a *Roman* Embassadour: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended warre vpon the *Macedonian*; though hitherto no cause of warre was giuen.

Linc lib. 43.

§. V.

§. V.

How *EVMEDES* King of *Pergamus* was busied, with *PHARNACES*, the *Rhodiens* and others. His hatred to the *Macedonian*: whom hee accerseth to the *Roman Senate*. The Senate honours him greatly, and condemnes his enemies the *Rhodiens*; with the causes thereof. The vniuersall stoutnesse of the *Macedonian* Embassadors. *PERSEUS* his attempt vpon *EVMEDES*. The brotherly loue betwene *EVMEDES* and *ATTALVS*. *PERSEUS* his deuice to perswade some of the *Roman Senators*: whereupon they decree warre against him, and send him defiance. Other things, concerning the issue of this warre.

**E***VMEDES* King of *Pergamus* had beene troubled, about these times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Antiochus* his neighbours. Hee had taken the right courle; in making first his complaint to the *Romans*: by whom he was animated with comfortable words, & promise, That they, by their authoritie, would end the busines, to his content. But in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings *Prusias* and *Antiochus*, hee ended the warre himselfe; and brought his Enemies to seeke and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to giue them. After this being at good leisure, hee beganne to consider, how the affaires of *Macedon* stood vnder *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus* was verie great: and therefore hee was glad to vnderstand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the same his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now besides his ancient and hereditarie quarrell with the *Macedonians*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his owne honours (whereof the *Greekes*, prodigall in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to wax euerie where pale: whilst *Perseus*, either by his currying fauour, or by the enuie borne to the *Romans*, had gotten their best liking and wilhes. For despite of this indignitie, Hee flured vp the *Lycians* against the *Rhodiens* his old friends: and in helping these rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open warre. But small pleasure found hee, in these poore and indirect courses of reuenge. The *Lycians* could not bee saued by his patronage, from seuerer and cruell chastisement, giuen to them by the *Rhodiens*. This rendered him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of hostilitie, little different from robberies, made him hateful to those which loued him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not only continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the *Acheans*, as too vncircumfered, misbecoming them to giue, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. All this (which hee needed not to haue regarded, had hee not bene too vainly ambitious) betell him, especially for his being ouer-seruiceable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdom, which if it fell the libertie of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redresse hereof; hee thought it vaine to strue any longer with bountie, against such an aduersarie, as by hopefull promises alone, without any great performance, had ouer-topped him in the general fauour. And therefore hee resolved euen to ouerturne the foundations of this Popularitie, by inducing the *Romans* utterly to take away from the eyes of men, this Idol, The *Macedonian* Kingdom, which all so vainly worshipped. Neyther would it proue a difficult matter, To perswade those that were alreadye desirous rather he was like to bee highly thanked, for setting forward their wilhes; and perhaps to be recompensed with some peece of the Kingdom: as he had bin rewarded, for the like seruice, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

Polyb. Legat. 58. c. 18.

Polyb. Legat. 74. c. 18.

Linc lib. 43.

To this end, He made a second voyage to *Rome*: where though hee had little to say which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange noueltie, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death of

of Demetrius; the expedition of the *Basilinna* into *Dardania*; that of *Perseus* himselfe against the *Dolopians*; and to *Delphi*; the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*; his intermedling in buisinesse of his neighbours; his riches; and his great productions: were all the materiall points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only He defended vnto particulars, hauing searched into all (as he professed) like vnto a Spie. Hee said, That *Perseus* had thirtie thousand foot, and siue thousand Horse of his owne; monie in a readinesse to entertaine tenne thousand mercenaries for tenne yeares; armes, to furnish a number thrice as great; The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him soldiers as manie as he should require; and that hee prepared victuals for tenne yeares, because he would not bee driuen, eyther to liue vpon spoile, or to take from his owne subiects. Herewithall Hee prayed them to consider, that King *Seleucus* the sonne and successor of *Antiochus* the great, had given his daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Prusias* of *Bithynia*, by earnest suite, had gotten to wife the sister of *Perseus*; and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quart. rs. Neyther spared Hee to tell them, (though seeming loath to vtter it plainly) That euen the enie to their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to beare of amitie with *Philip*, were now growne maruellously well affected to his sonne. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might eyther bee denied, or iustified (as that hee had procured the death of some 20 which were friends to the *Romans*; and that hee had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his Kingdom or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplify vnto the most: saying that hee thought it his due to forewarne them; since it would bee to Himselfe a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in *Italie* making war vpon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great follie, to beleuee that the *Romans* stood in feare of *Perseus*, least he should set vpon them in *Italie*. Neuerthelesse forasmuch as they loued not to make war without faire pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thanks were giuen to *Eumenes*, who had 30 euery way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. Now thought it were so, that He told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seeme greater. For if vpon anie relation made by their owne Embassadors, or vpon tales deuiled by their flatterers and spies, that he had warred against *Perseus*, ere Hee had committed any open act of hostilitie against them, their iniustice, and oppression, would haue bene most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger breathing them so terrible; that such a Prince as *Eumenes*, came out of his owne Kingdom, as farre as from *Asia*, to bid them looke to themselves: who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtaine their own right and 40 securitie? Toward this iustification of the warre, and magnifying the necessitie that enforced them thereto, their more than vsuall curiositie, in concealing what *Eumenes* had vttered in the Senate, when they could not but vnderstand that their errand was well knowne; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors were at *Rome*, prouided of answers to the words, which they knew before hand that hee would speake; and with matter of recrimination. The vanitie, eyther of Him, or of some about him, seemes to haue disclosed all: when the warrenesse of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearefull apprehension; against which, it behooued their wisdom to neglect no possible remedie. Wherefore carelesse audience was giuen to the *Rhodian* Em- 50 bassadors; who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had euer bene, and a prouoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodian* had with great pompe conueighed by Sea vnto *Perseus*, his bride *Laodice*, which friendly office as the *Macedonian* bountifully required, so the *Romans* despitfully accepted.

cepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as alreadie vanquished, were setting themselves in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*: Embassadors came from *Rome* with strange newes which gaue new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to aliene quire from their owne protection anie people or Nation by them vanquished; and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned vnto those of *Rhodes*, not as mere vassals, but as dependants and associates. For prooffe hereof, they referred the melues vnto the commentaries of the ten Embassadors, whom they had sent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the victorie against King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Atanassa*, The *Atolians*, 10 and all other Kings or Estates, that were beholding to *Rome* for increasing the number of their subiects, had cause to find themselves agrieved if they wel considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their subiects might easily bee made their fellowes, whensoever it should please the Senate; though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate, which was only to plague the *Rhodians*, for their good will to *Perseus*, by setting them and the *Lycians* together by the eares. The *Fathers* could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, vpon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embassadors; which indeed more nearly touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needes take it) conspired against him, because of his loue to 20 *Rome*.

But the *Macedonian* Embassage they heard not so carelesly as angrily: though peraduenture it well contented them to find cause of anger. For whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to giue them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might fauour of hostilitie; but that, if his trauaile in this kind proued vaine, then would hee be ready to defend himselfe by armes, and stand to the chance of warre, which often falls out contrarie to expectation. These big words may seeme to haue proceeded from the vehemencie of *Fluplus*, that was chiefe of the Embassadors; rather than from 30 instruction giuen by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* himselfe might, at this time, thinke to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to doe by any submission. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now cast vpon him, as on the greatest hope of deliuerance from the *Roman* seruitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps vtterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discouraging his too much weaknesse of spirit, vnanswerable to a worke of such importance. Wherefore He, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not verie bad, but subiect (in appearance) to Fortune; which might haue bene his, had hee knowne how to vse it.

40 Now that this brauerie (as better it may bee termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings owne heat; it appears by his daring to aduenture some after, on a practise that more iustly might anger the *Romans*, and giue them fairer shew of reason to make war vpon him. It was knowne that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, and there doe sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his owne hands of a most mischievous enimie. So there were appointed three or foure stout ruffians to do the murder: who placing themselves behind a broken mud wall on the side of a verie narrow path leading vp from the Seato the Temple; did thence assault the King, whom they sorely bruised 50 with great stones, and left for dead. They might haue finished their worke; such was the opportunitie of the place which they had chosen; but feare of being apprehended, made them; without staying to see all sure, liee in such halt, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discover them. *Eumenes* was conueighed away to the little Ile of *Ae-*

gina, where he was cured being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* tooke upon him as king, and either took or would have taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of state) *Stratonice* the daughter of King *Ariarathes*, whom hee then thought the widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbered among the rare examples of brotherly loue, That when the King returned aloue home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, received none other checke, than that *He should forbear to marrie with the Queene, untill hee were well assured of the Kings death*. More than this, *Eumenes* neuer spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, vnto the same brother, both his wife and Kingdome. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the King his brother: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in especiall fauour, when *Eumenes* fel into their hatred) were in good readinesse, to haue transferred the Kingdome from his brother to him. By such concord of brethren was the Kingdome of *Pergamus* rayfed and vpheld: as might also that of *Macedon* haue bene, if *Demetrius* had liued and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was verie glad when he vnderstood, that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had suaded all from discouerie. But as hee was deceived in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* liued: so was hee beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment, which hee vainly esteemed the lesse materiall. For He had written to one *Praxa* a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertaine the men whom he sent about this busines: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius* a Roman Embassador then attending vpon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius* a Citizen of *Brundisium*: who comming newly from the court of *Macedon*, laden with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himselfe. *Brundisium* was the ordinarie port, for ships passing betweene *Italie* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a faire house; wherein hee gaue entertainment, being a wealthie man, to Embassadors, and other honourable personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, iourning to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitalitie, he was commended to *Perseus*, and inuited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whose manie courtesies to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his comming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings secrets. The summe of all was, That hee must needs doe a turne, in giuing to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare qualitie, sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this employment: for feare least the vertue of this medicine should bee tried vpon himselfe. But being once at libertie; he discouered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had neuer seene before, nor was like to see againe: and therefore, besides that the Kings deniall ought to be as good as such a fellows affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe; and in like sort concerning the attempt vpon *Eumenes*: denying to haue had any hand, cyther in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such obiections were not to be made vnto a King, to proue the rightfulness of making war vpon him; but rather vnto a subiect pleading for his life in judgment. But howsoeuer the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger prooffe (which might haue bin easie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very futeable to these practises. Neyther did the Senate greatly stand so to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royall Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private offences; it gaue him no priuiledge: they judging him to haue offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they were not good reason. For if hee might

might not lawfully make warre vpon *Eumenes* their confederate; that is, if Hee might not send men, to wait the Kingdome of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the townes: might he send *Ruffians* to murder the King? If it were no lesse breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword: was it lawfull for him to doe it by Poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed warre against him; and sent Embassadors to denounce it vnto him, vnto hee would yeeld to make such amends as they should require. Hee seemed, at this time, to haue bene so confident, in the generall fauour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances; that if he desired not warre, yet he did not feare it: or at least he thought by shew of courage, to make his enimies the more calme. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being wearie they departed without audience. Then called he them back; and bad them doe their errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters, which they had long bene collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that He had entertained long and secret conference in the Isle of *Samothrace*, with Embassadors sent to him out of *Asia*, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which they contemptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to giue defiance. Better they might haue stood vpon the euidence, brought against him by *Rammius* and *Praxa*. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground wheron to build: of which otherwise they were delituite; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, welbeloued, and well friended. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a rage, calling the *Romans*, Greedie, Proud, Insolent, and vnderminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better then meere spies. Finally, he promised to giue them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That hee would no longer stand to the league, made betweene them and his father, and renewed by himselfe indeed onely for feare: but wished them to defend to more equal conditions, wherupon he, for his part, would aduise, as they might also doe for theirs.

In the forme of the league betweene *Philip* and the *Romans*, as it is set downe by *Polybius*, we finde no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconuenience in the future; excepting those which he immediatly performed. But *Luic* inserts a clause, whereby he was expressly forbidden, to make any warre abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* confederats were included in this peace: whereby euery one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entring shortly into league with *Rome*, did so binde the Kings hands, that he could no more make warre abroad, than if he had bene restrained by plaine couenant. And thus might that seeme an Article of the peace, which neuer was agreed vpon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would vrge this point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not beare defensive armes, without their permission: then had *Perseus* very iust reason to find himselfe agrieved. For since they had allowed his father, without controule, to make warre in *Thrace*, (whilest they themselves were vnacquainted with the *Thracians*) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become vnlawfull for him to chastise his owne Rebels, or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such allegations he maintained the right of his cause, in very milde sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league, as vnlikt; hee ministred occasion vnto the Embassadors, to giue him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message; he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdome in three dayes. But either hee should haue bene lesse vehement; or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serue him to vndertake the warre; hee should courageously haue managed it, and haue fallen to worke immediatly, whilest the Enemy was vnpreparaed; not haue lost opportunitie, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

Polyb. Liber 5.

Liv. lib. 33.

## p. VI.

The Romans solicit the Greekes, to ioyne with them in the warre against PERSEVS. How the Greekes good affected in that warre. The timorouse of PERSEVS. MARTIUS a Roman Embassador. deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field; and winnes part of Thessalie. The forces of LICINIUS the Roman Consul: and what assistants the Romans had in this warre. Of Tempe in Thessalie; and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might haue had; but lost by his feare. PERSEVS braues the Romans; fights with them; knowes not how to vse his victorie; sues for peace; and is denied it by the vanquished. PERSEVS hauing the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the countrey lying without Tempe. The Boetians rebell against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the warre against PERSEVS. They vex the Greekes their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes prouision; hauing heard their complaints. The slauing of Alabanders.

SO long had the Romans beene seeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian warre, that well they might haue bin readie for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in prouisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the warre; whereof if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together, seemed more than sufficient. This opportunitie of making their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were vnprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or hauing reason to beleue, that their owne strength was such as would preuaile in the end; they hastily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their vncadence a small helpe, towards examining the disposition of the Greekes, and others; who multatierwards dearly pay for any backwardnesse found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to feare, that all of the Greekes or other Easterne people should conspire together, and take part with the Macedonian: such was the dissension betwene their severall estates; howsoever the generalitie of them were inclined the same way. Neuerthelessse Embassadors were sent to deale with them all; and to craue their helpe against PERSEVS, or rather to demand it, in no lesse ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it against Philip and Antiochus, in warres pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embassadors vied as gentle words, for fashions sake; as if they had stood in doubt, that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greekes were now growne well acquainted with such Roman courtiesse: and vnderstood, that not only such as made refusal, euen when they had done their best, lest it should bee ill taken, as if they had bailed in some part of their dutie. It is strange that men could bee so earnest to set vp the side, whereof they gladly would haue scene the ruine. The vulgar fort was euen where added to PERSEVS, of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently Roman; they wanted not opposers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea the wisest and most honest, who regarded onely the benefit of their Countrey, wished better to PERSEVS then to the Romans. And of this number, Polybus the chiefe of Historians was one: who though hee \* judged the victorie of PERSEVS, like to proue hurtfull vnto Greeces, yet wished hee the Romans ill to thriue, that so the Greekes might recouer perfect libertie: for his endeuours in which course, hee was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears, that

\* Polyb. Legat. 73. 78. & 80.

\* Polyb. Legat. 77.

that an extraordinary feare, and not onely reuerence of the Imperiall Citie, made the Achaeans, and other Estates of Greece, thus conformable to the Romans. The occasion of this their feare, may be iustly imputed vnto the timorous demeanour of PERSEVS himselfe. He had vnderaken a war, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own kingdom, but vnto all that were oppressed by the Romans. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought ouer sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him; than he began to speake the enemy faire, and sue for peace at Rome. Since therefore it was knowne, that euerly small thing would serue to terrifie him; and consequently, that it should at all times be in the Romans power, by giuing him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take reuenge at leisure vpon thole which had assisted him: little cause was there, why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his armie; taking by force or composition, some few townes; and soliciting all to ioyne with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, he sought all meanes of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit vnto the Roman Embassadors. Q. Martius, the chiefe of those Embassadors, and a man of more finenes in cunning then was vsuall among the Romans, made shew of inclination to the Kings desire: and gaue out such comfortable words, that the King intreated, and obtained a meeting at the Riuer Peneus. There did Martius very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Whereof though PERSEVS made none other answer, than the same which they could haue made for him; yet the Embassadors, and especially Martius, took it in good part, as therewith satisfied; and aduised him to giue the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently bee done; a truce was agreed vpon. Thus had Martius his desire; which was to make the King lose time. For PERSEVS had all things then in readines, and might haue done much, ere the Roman armie could haue bin in Greece. But by the interposition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; he iusted a most convenient season, of winning vpon the enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had bin with some victory: publishing a copie of the disputation between him and the Romans, whereby he gaue men to vnderstand, how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of peace. Hee sent Embassadors also to the Rhodians, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not onely to let them know how much he was superior in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take vpon them, as moderators, to compound the differences between him and the Romans, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodnes of his cause, hee should be denied peace. These were poore helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing vpon points of Honor, was no better than meere vanity: his owne safety being the vtmost of his ambition. This his fearefulness might seeme excusable, and the blame thereof to appertaine vnto the Greekes; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a necessitie, that was partly their own: had it not bin his office, who took vpon him as their Champion, to giue such a manly beginning to the warre, as might incourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more queris from him, and were carefull, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The Rhodians, among whom he had many stout partizans, desired him not to craue any thing at their hands, in which they might seem to do against the good liking of the Romans. The Boetians also, who had entred of late into a strict society with the Macedonian; renounced it now, and made the like with the Romans: to whom further, in a fort, they yielded themselves as vassals. Neither was Martius contented to accept their submission vnder a general forme; but caused their severall towns to make couenant apart, each for it selfe; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little common-weales, they might not (were they neuer so desirous to rebell) haue such force to doe hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, vnder the Citie of Thebes. This work, of separating the Boetians from

from *Thebes* their their head; was more than *Agesslaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would suffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedemonians*, so far more available to *Thebes*, being destitute of helpe from abroad, was the vertue of *Epaminondas* and a few braue Citizens; than was the societic with King *Perseus*, against a number not so great as followed the *Lacedemonians*.

*Martius* brought this to effect, whillett the King sat still, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the Citie; where vaunting what hee had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reprobud it as dishonest) employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as he should thinke expedient. Touching the Embassadors which *Perseus* had sent; audience was giuen to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded: but neither excuse, nor intreatie, would serue their turne; the Senate being resolu'd before hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the Citie, and had thirtie daies respite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they who came laft on the same errand, did their mteffage without the walles, in the Temple of *Belona* (the usual place of giuing audience to open Enemies, or to such Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome, enter the Citie) and had only the short warning of eleuen dayes, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poore courtlie seruice alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if hee had meant none other but good earnest: but it was a likely mean, both to keepe a long while from *Perseus* the knowledge of his businesse, and to stagger his resolution, when he should need it most firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius*, the Roman Consul, was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as soone, as the *Macedonian* Embassadors were with their King at *Pella*. Which though it were enough to haue rouz'd *Perseus*, and haue made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was hee content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himselfe tributary to the Romans; and to redeeme their good will with some part of his kingdom: that so he might enjoy the rest; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the stoutest counsaile prevailed: which also was the wisest; and so would haue proued, had it bene stoutly and wisely followed. He now began, as if the warre had not begunne vntill now; to doe what should haue bin done long afore. He caus'd all his forces to be drawn together, and appointed their Rendezous at *Citium*, a towne in *Macedon*. All being in readines, he did royall sacrifice, with an hundred beafts, to I know not what *Mi-nerua*, that was peculiarly honored in his Country: and then, with all his Courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to *Citium*. His armie he found consisting of nine and thirtie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse: whereof about twelue thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were strangers of sundry Nations, most part *Thracians*; therof his owne *Macedonians*. These hee animated with liuely speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancestors, the insolencie of the Romans, the goodnesse of his cause, the greatnesse of his prouisions, and the many aduantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of *Macedon* there came likewise messengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their feuerall abilities. He gaue them thanks: but answered, That his owne prouisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne kingdom he issued forth into *Thessalie*: knowing that the Romans were to passe through that countrey, in their iourney towards him. Some townes of *Thessalie* opened their gates vnto him, without making offer to defend themselves: some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wanne by force. Of these last was *Styssa*; a towne thought impregnable, and therefore, not more stoutly then proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gaue contumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a fallie; which the

the Townemen rashly made, and being driuen backe, receuued the *Macedonians*, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All crueltie of warre was practis'd heere: to the greater terror of the oblitrate. So *Velatiae* and *Connus* (towns of much importance, especially *Connus*, which stood in the freights of *Ossa*, leading into *Tempe*) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the king marched on wards to *Sycrium*, a towne seated on the foot of mount *Ossa*; where he rested a while, expecting newes of the Enemy.

*Licinius* the Consul brought with him only two Roman Legions: being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother, came to him in *Thessalie*, with foure thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from euery part of *Greece*, such aide as the feuerall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send; which from the most of them was very little. Of the kings abroad; *Masaniassa* sent thither his sonne *Misagones*, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twentie Elephants. *Antiochus* the *Cappadocian*, by reason of his affinitie with *Eumenes*, was friend to the Romans, and had sent to Rome his yong sonne, there to be brought vp: yet hee did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps because *Eumenes* himselfe began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise aduised than he had bene in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the Romans. *Antiochus*, and *Ptoleme* (though *Ptoleme* was then yong, and vnder Tutors) had busines of their owne; the Syrian meaning to invade the *Aegyptian*: yet each of them promised helpe to the Romans, which they cared not to performe. *Gentius* the *Illyrian* was inclinable to the *Macedonian*: yet made good countenance to the Romans, for feare. It was a prettie trick, where with *Ms. Lucetius*, the Roman Admirals brother, serued him, for this his counterfeiter good will. This king had foure and fittie shippes, riding in the haue of *Dyrrachium*, vncertaine to what purpose: all which *Lucetius* tooke away, after a very kind fort; making shew to beleue, That for none other end than to serue the Romans, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this fleet. But whatsoeuer *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his kingdom and himselfe, in the end of this war; by offering, rather then giuing, his helpe to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what he brought ouer the sea, *Licinius* came into *Thessalie*: so tyred with a painfull iourney, through the mountainous country of *Athamania*, which stood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perseus* had been ready, attending his descent into the Plaines, the Romans must needs haue taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himselfe and his wearied armie, by the riuer *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender helpe, that could enable him to deale with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolu'd; to abide where he then was, and keepe his trenches, vntill his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himselfe in the meane while, to haue gotten quiet entrance into the Countrey. The land of *Thessalie*, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the Romans, than any part of *Greece* besides: as hauing bene freed by them from a more heauie yoke of bondage to the *Macedonians*, when there was little hope or expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautifull valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often vsed at large, to signifie the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of it selfe was no great: but adding to it those huge mountaines, *Ossa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poesie) with their Spurs or branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Thessalie*. And this way were the Romans to enter into *Macedon*: yflesse they would make an hungrie iourney, thorow the countrey of the *Dassaretians*, as in the former warre with *Philip*, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. *Perseus* therefore had no small aduantage, by being master of the freights leading into *Tempe*: though far greater

greater he might haue had, if by mispending of time he had not lost it. For in defending the ragged passages of these mountaines, he was able to put the *Romans* often to the worke; yea to winne vpon them (for a while) every yeare more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionlesse he might haue done far greater things, had he seized vpon the freights of *Aous*, which his father once kept, and defended all the countrie behind the Mountaines of *Pindus*. Surely not without extreame difficultie, must the *Romans* haue either traueled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to bee found; or else haue committed their armies, and all things thereto needfull, vnto the mercie of seas that were very dangerous; if they would haue sought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: vpon neither of which courses they once deuised, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present warre. It may perhaps be said, that the *Greekes*, and others, whom the King must haue left on his backe, would haue made him vnable to defend any places too farre from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the *Thessalians*, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The *Ætolians*, vpon whom the *Albanians* depended, grew into suspicion with the *Romans* (as we shall finde anon) euen as soone as they met with *Perseus*. The *Boeotians*, how politickly sooner *Marcius* had wrought with them, aduertured themselves desperately in the *Macedonians* quarrell: what would they haue done, if he at first had done his best? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himselfe, after a while began to wauer, when they saw things goe better with *Perseus*, then they had expected. So that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any braue performance in the beginning; and encreased the number of his well-willers, yea and bought downe with money (as he might haue done) some of his enemies, and among them *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head; then might the *Romans* perhaps haue bin compelled to forsake their imperious patronage ouer *Greece*; and to render the libertie, by them giuen, entire; which otherwise was but imaginarie. Such benefit of this warre, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason haue bene expected at first, from greater advantages. But as a fearefull companie running from their enemies, till some riuier stay their flight; are there compelled by mere desperation to doe such actes, as done, while the battell lasted, would haue wonne the victorie: so fell out with *Perseus*. In seeking to auoid the danger of that war, whereof he should haue fought the honor; hee left his friends that would haue stood by him, and gaue them cause to prouide for their owne safetie: yet being overtaken by necessitie, he chose rather to set his back to the mountaines of *Tempe*, and defend himselfe with his proper forces; than to be driuen into such miserie, as was inescapable, if he gaue a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Thessalie*, it is hard to shew particularly; for that the historie of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the summe.

The Consul hauing no desire to fight, vntill such time as all his forces were arriued; kept within his trenches, and lay still encamped by the Riuier of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Larissa*. That which perswaded the Consul to protract the time; did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter vnto a hasty triall. Wherefore he invited the *Romans* into the field; by walling the land of the *Phereans* their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignitie; he grew bold to adventure euen vnto their trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his advantage in horse would make the victorie his owne. At his coming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yea way terrified; as knowing themselves to bee safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horse, and with them some light armed foot, to entertaine skirmish. The Capitaine, and some other of these were slaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*,

found it reasonable to hazard battaile. Thus day after day, a while together, *Perseus* continued offering battaile: which they still refused. Hereby his boldnes much encreased; and much more, his reputation: to the griefe of those, who being too farre come to make a conquest, could ill digest the blame, that fell vpon them by their enduring these brauadoes. The towne of *Styracum*, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelue miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any conuenient watering in that long march, which vsed to take vp foure houres of the morning; but he was faine to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both wearie and thirstie when they came to fight. For remedie of these inconueniences, he found out a lodging, seuen miles neerer to the Enemie: whom he visited the next day by the Sunne rising. His comming at such an vnusuall houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in so much as though hee brought with him onely his horse and light armature, that were vsuit to assaile the trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessary, and resolved to giue checke to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many braue Captaines, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to trie their fortune: he himselfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readinesse. The honor of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the victorie in a manner entire, (though the *Thessalians* made a good retreat) with little losse of his owne. But hee discouraged his weaknesse ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counsaile giuen by one of his owne temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great feare lest he should assaile their Campe; and to that purpose, vpon the first newes of his successe, his Phalanx was brought vnto him by the Captaines, though vsient for: he neuertheless tooke it for sound aduice, which indeed was timorous and base, To worke warily, and moderate his victorie; by which meanes it was said, That either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it bin greater; and had hee wonne the *Roman* Campe, his friends would haue bene the more, and the bolder. But ouer-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in suing for it, euen when he had the victorie, what else did hee, than proclaim vnto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keepe him from yielding to the *Romans*, whensoever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the ioy of his victorie would admit none of these considerations. Hee had slaine of the *Roman* horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot hee had slaine about two thousand: losing of his owne no more than twentie horse and fortie foot. The *Roman* Campe, after this disaster, was full of heavinesse and feare: it being much doubted that the enemie would set vpon it. *Eumenes* gaue counsaile to dislodge by night, and remove to a surer place beyond the Riuier *Peneus*. The Consul, though ashamed to professe, by so doing, in what feare he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the losse past, than by standing on proud tearmes, to draw vpon himselfe a greater calamitie. So hee passed the Riuier in the dead of the night, and incamped more strongly on the further side. The *Ætolians* were sorely blamed for this losse: as if rather a trayterous meaning, than any true feare, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the *Greekes* followed them. Five of them, that were men of speciall marke, had ben obscured, to be the first which turned their backs: an obseruation likely to cost them deere, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thessalians*, their vertue was honored with reward: so as the *Greekes* might learne, by examples of either kinde, that if they would hunne indignation, or incurre fauour; then must they adventure no lesse for their Lordes sake, than gladly they would doe for their own libertie. Thus farred it with the Consul and his armie: *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former dayes error; which how great it was, hee not vntill then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safetie; whither they could neuer haue

haue attained, if the King had either pressed his victorie, or giuen better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to haue rowted them, whilst they were conuincing themselves to the other side of *Peneus*. But it was vaine to tell what might haue been done: since there was no remedie. The *Romans* were beaten, euen the flower of their Citie, the Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Pretors, Consuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather vp the spoiles of them without resistance, as yielding themselves ouercome. With such braue words did the King set out the glory of his action; diuiding the spoiles among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to haue made his honor sound. He came nearer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopselus*, a place in the mid-way betwene *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to presse them somewhat harder. Neuertheless hee was easily perswaded to vnder the occasion, which he seemed to haue, of obtaining peace. Therefore hee sent vnto the Consul, and offered to yield vnto the same conditions, wherein his father had been bound to the *Romans*; if the war might so take end. It were needlesse, heere againe to shew the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the Consul no greater power, than to grant a truce, whilst Embassadors might goe to *Rome*: it resting in the Senate and People to approve the conditions, and ratifie the league. And of such a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no small discommodity redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of peace there was none; saue that *Perseus* would yield both his Kingdome and Person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to bee so resolute in aduersitie. On the other side, it argued a very faint heart in *Perseus*, that hauing receiued an answer so peremptorie, he still persisted, making vaine offers of greater tribute. Finding that the peace, which he so much desired, could not be purchased with money, the king withdrew himselfe backe to *Sycyrium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the comming of *Misagenes* the sonne of *Misamis*, with the aid before mentioned. This distance betwene the King and them, caused the *Romans* to waxe the more bold in making their haruest: about which businesse they ranged ouer all the fields. Their carelesse demeanour gaue him hope to doe some notable exploit: which hee attempted, both vpon their Campe, and vpon those that were abroad. The Campe he thought to haue fired on the sudden: but the alarme being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprise. As for the forragers, he had a good hand vpon them, if he could haue withdrawn it, and giuen ouer in time. But whilst he strove to force a garrard, he was visited by the Consul; by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is diuers) in a great battaile, he was ouercome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few dayes, to fall backe into *Macedon*; as being naturally giuen to feare danger, euen where none was: whereby what losse he felt will appeare hereafter. He left all behinde him, saue only *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and consequently an easie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went straight vnto *Comus*; hoping to haue taken it, and so to haue gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned backe vpon the *Perrhabian* and others; from whom hee wanne some townes, and among the rest, *Larissa*. There were sundrie townes thereabout, bearing the same name of *Larissa*: so that this which the Consul tooke, may seeme, not to haue belonged vnto the *Thessalians*; vnlesse, perhaps, after his victorie, *Perseus* did greater actes than we finde recorded, and got some part of *Thessalie*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to giue a precise account, for that the histories of them are greatly defective. One may thinke it strange, that the *Boeotians*, whom a *Roman* Embassador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his

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owne will, should not be afraid of a *Roman* armie, then on foot in *Greece*, and a *Nauie* on their coast. But more strange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the art of *Martius*; were more true to *Rome*, than other petty townes, which by that same distraction of the *Boeotians*, became within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had beene. The causes hereof were to haue beene sought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were thoroughly punished by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admirall: who got so much by spoiling them, that hee would haue brought others to rebell in like sort, if by extreme oppression hee could haue driuen them so farre. Neither was *Licinius* the Consul vndiligent in the same kinde. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is said in generall; That in the warre which he made, he \* cruelly and countously demeaned himselfe.

\* *Lib. 43.*

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the yeare following; *Hosilius* the Consul, and *Hortensius* the Admirall, or Pretor of the Fleet. *Hosilius* shewed more of his industrie, in picking quarrels with the confederats of *Rome*, than in prosecuting the warre against the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* war vpon his kingdome, after that the Consul had fought passage in vaine ouer certain mountaines, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner, \* free from it. He was troubled indeed on that side which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Consul felt thither with an armie of foure thousand, and who, by leaues made vpon the Confederates, doubled this his armie. But *Claudius* thinking to haue taken *Vesana*, a border towne of *Illyria*, by treason, came thither in such carelesse order, that the inhabitants which had made shew of treason, with purpose onely to traine him into danger; falsed forth vpon him, ouerthrew him, and chased him so farre, that hardly hee escaped with a fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of *Vesana* shortly after became *Roman*: which howsoever it happened, *Perseus* very loone recovered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys*, a *Thracian* king, securing him on the one side of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirote*, revolted from the *Romans*, on

\* *Polyb. Lib. 70.*

the other. *Perseus* likewise made a painfull journey into *Ætolia*: where hee was promised to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the strongest Citie in that Region. Of this hope though hee were disappointed by those of the *Roman* faction; yet in his returne home, hee tooke in *Sperantia*; and shortly heard good newes, That *Ap. Claudius* was againe thoroughly beaten by *Cleues*, one of his Lieutenants. Such successe had the *Macedonian* war vnder *Hosilius*. The same Consul offended much the *Greekes*, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadors made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For these Embassadors traueling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, gaue out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who fought not by might and maine to aduance their busines, than of those which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to haue accused by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopemen*; and together with him, his sonne *Polybius*, who loone after was Generall of the *Achaean* horse, but more notable by that excellent historie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which hee well and honorably discharged. The summe of the accusation should haue beene; That these were not heartie friends vnto the *Romans*, but such as abstaied from raising troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie, than for any loue to the common quiet. But since no colour of truth could bee found, that might giue countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and giue gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*. They demanded hostages; and found some in the Councill that approved the motion: as also among the *Acarnanians*, there were that entreated to haue *Roman* garrisons bestowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions tooke effect. They of the *Roman* faction, accused not only such as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*,

*Polyb. Lib. 74.*

*domum*, but also the good *Patriotes*; making it no lesse then a matter of treason, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who soundly to'd these pick thanks of their base flatterie; rating them openly in such sort that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, even in presence of the Embassadors. Thus was all full of accusations and excuses: among which the Embassadors caried themselves, as men that could beleue none ill; though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and published, to this effect: That it should be free for all men, to refuse obedience to any *Roman* Magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present warre, vntlesse it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meete. Of this decree the whole cuntry was glad: for it was, or seemed, a good remedie of many inconueniences. But they that standing on priuiledge hereof, refused to fulfill euery commandement, were numbered among the *Patriotes*; which in the end of this warre, proued little better, if not worse, than to haue bene traytours. The Senate was diuinen to set downe this order; by reason of the many and vehemēt complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magistrates, and especially by the Admiralls, *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great summe of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loued not to haue their subiects oppressed. *Hortensius* being still in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embassages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to seek redress of injuries, or to offer their seruices: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a towne of the lesser *Asia*, there was presented vnto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base peece of flatterie. These *Alabanders* brought three hundred horsemens targets; and a crowne of gold, to bestow vpon *Iupiter* in the Capitol. But hauing a desire to gratifie the *Romans* with some exquillite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would bee singular; and being not able to reach vnto any great performance: they built a Temple, vnto the Towne *Rome*, and appointed anniuersarie games to bee celebrated among them, in honour of that Goddess. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemie*, and the like vaine men, that would bee thought gods; or at the shamelesse flatterie of such as bestowed vpon men, and not the most vertuous of men, diuine honours; when hee sees a Towne of houses, wherein powerfull men dwell, worshipped as a Goddess, and receiuing (without sorne of the grieues, or shame of the present) the title of *Deitie*, at the gift of such a rascall Citie as *Alabanda*?

§. VII.

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§. VII.

Q. MARTIVS the *Roman* Consul, with extreame difficultie and danger, enters into *Tempe*. The cowardize of *PERSEVS* in abandoning *Tempe*. The towne of *Dium* quitted by MARTIVS; repaired and fortified by the King. The *Romans* attempt many places, with ill success. Their affaires in hard estate. MARTIVS a cunning and a bad man. POLYBIUS sent Embassador to MARTIVS from the *Achaens*. POLYBIUS his honest wisdome beneficiall to the *Achaens*. King *EVMEDES* grieues auers from the *Romans*. PERSEVS negotiates with ANTIOCHVS and EVMEDES. His false dealing with GENTIVS King of *Illyria*; whom hee draves into the *Roman* warre. He sends Embassadors to the *Rhodiens*; who vainly take vpon them to be arbitrators betwene him and the *Romans*. PERSEVS leaues a mightie succour of the *Bactrians*, by his wretched parsimonie.



FTER two yeares of the *Macedonian* warre, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the warre began; which had been thought likely to reforme all those Countries, and bring them to what passe the *Romans* desired; as it did in the end. *Perseus* had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he liued in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* side; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily: and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were before wholly *Roman*, to suspect what the issue of the war might proue, and therupon to become wise for themselves. Contrariwise, *Licinius* and *Hosilius* the Consuls, had one after the other spent their time in vaine, seeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquest, by many losses received. The *Roman* Admiralls had so demeaned themselves, that many towns, even of the best affected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the *Roman* side; and the armie much lessened, not only by casualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Consul himselfe (for they laid the blame one vpon the other) in licencing the souldiers to depart. *Quintus Martius* the new Consul, who succeeded vnto *Hosilius*, was to amend all this: which neuertheless was more than he knew how to doe: though he brought with him a strong supplie of men. He began hotly to set the warre on foot, which a long time had slept. And he began the right way: not seeking to force the streights that were surely guarded, but taking paines to clime the mountaines, which were thought able to forbid all passage ouer them, without helpe or need of any custodie. The King heard of his approach; and being vncertaine what way he meant to take, distributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might giue entrance, or permit ascent. But the Consul proceeded in his iourney: with hope, either not to bee discovered by the Enemy, or to breake through all opposition, or at leastwise, to fight on as conuenient ground, as they should haue that lay to stop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a safe retreat. He sent before him foure thousand of his most expedit foot, to discouer the wayes. Two dayes was this company troubled, in overcoming the difficultie of no more than fifteene miles: after which they had fight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a safe peece of ground; and sent backe word to the Consul, where they were; intreating him to hasten vnto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit dismayed at his arriuall, but met him, and fought with him, two or three dayes together; each returning to their owne Campe at night, with little losse on either side. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gaue scarcely roome vnto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all therett were beholders. In this case it was impossible to get forwards: yet a shame to returne. Wherefore *Perseus* tooke the only course remaining; and indeed the best. Part of his men he left with *Pepilius*, to attend vpon the *Macedonians*: whilst hee, with

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with the rest, fetcht a compasse about, and sought out wayes that neuer had bene troden. Herein he found extreame difficultie: which notwithstanding he overcame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such journeyes, through places vnfit for habitation: he was compelled, by labour of hand, to make pathes where none were, yea where Nature might seeme to haue intended, that none should be. So sleepe he found the descent of the mountaines, in this way which he took: that of seuen miles, which they traueled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themselves downe, as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with rockes, that stood one ouer another, so vp-right, and cumbersome to get downe; that their Elephants were afraid of the goodie prospect, and casting their gouernours, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed, foure miles of this grieuous journey, there was nothing more desired by the fouldiours, than that they might be suffered to creepe backe againe, the same way which they had come. But shift was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kinde of bridges, like vnto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was ioyned to the edge of the cliffe; the other sustained by two long postes, fastened in the ground below. Vpon these two postes, or poles, which indeed (not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastened two rafters, answerable in length to the distance, between the higher and the lower fall, so as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with planks and turfe; that they might seeme continuent with the ground, so to make the beasts aduenturous, to goe vpon them. If there were a Plaine of any good extent from the foot of a rocke, to the next downhill; then might the bridge be shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretie way, vpon one of these; the postes vpholding the frame were cut asunder; thereby causing him to sincke downe vnto the next bridge; whence he was conueyed, in like manner, to the third, and onward still, to the very bottome. Thus went they downe sliding, some on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an euery valley. By this it appeares, how thoroughly provided the *Romans* vsed to be in their journeyes, of things needfull in all occasions: as also what insupportable paines they tooke in this descent, about the conueyance of themselves and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they rested; staying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly, or perhaps neuer, should haue overtaken them, if the Enemie had followed, and set vpon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies journeyes were like vnto the first: save that custom, and the nearnesse to their wayes end without meeting enemies, caused them the better to endure the labour.

*Perseus* could not be ignorant of the *Romans* comming towards him: since they fought with his men vpon the passage, three dayes together; he lying so night, that he might well neare haue heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with feare; that he neither stirred to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Consul, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsaile, late hearkning after the euent. Foure only passages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the first by *Connus*; which the *Romans* were vnable to force; the second and third were the same which *Martius* had attempted in vaine, and another like vnto it: the last, by the Citie of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All these were sufficiently guarded; and who-soeuer would seek any other way, must be faine to take such paines as *Martius* had vndergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, save through the valley it selfe; into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood vpon the foot of the huge mountaine *Olympus*, about a mile from the sea: of which mile, the river *Hylcon* becoming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, tooke vp the one halfe; the rest being such as might easily haue bene fortified. Besides all these, there was in the middle of *Tempe*, a passage which ten men might easily keepe; where

the spurs of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew neare to the verie banks of *Peneus*, a goodly and deepe riuer which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had bene: more easie, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublesome journey: if *Perseus* could haue seene his owne aduantages. For the *Roman* armie was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable trauell: but must needs haue either perished for want of victuals, or bin enforced to returne the same way that it came, if the King had made good the freight of *Dium*. To haue returned, and climbed vp with their Elephants and carriages, against those rockes, from which, with extreame labour, they could hardly get downe, it seemed a matter of impossibilitie: especially considering, how the enemies, from above their heads, would haue beaten vpon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore bee thought strange, that the *Romans* did not rather take their journey into *Macedon*, from the side of *Illyria*, whence that kingdome had often bin invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*; whence, after that they were there arrived, there was no means to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they despaired to winne. But the cowardize of *Perseus*, did commend the counsaile by them followed, as wise. For he no sooner heard that the Enemie was come ouer the mountaines into *Tempe*; than he fired like one out of his wits; saying, That he was vanquished, & had lost all without battaile. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away in haile; and straight wayes abandoned the Towne. In the same vehemencie of amazement, he sent a strait commandement to *Thessalonica*, that the Arsenall there should be set on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treasures there should be cast into the sea: as if the *Romans* were like presently to be masters of these two Cities. *Nicias*, who was appointed to drowne the treasure, performed it hastily as wel as he could: though soone after, his matter grew sorie for the losse; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Diuers from vnder the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire on the Kings Arsenall, deferred the execution; foreseeing that repentance might follow: and so he prevented the damage. Whether *Nicias*, for his absolute and blinde obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his carefull prouidence, merited the greater commendation, or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of their seruice was this. *Perseus* growing ashamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this battie direction; caused them both to be blaine. Also those poore men, which had fetcht his treasure out of the sea by their diuing, were payd their wages after the same sort: that so there might be no witnesses of the Kings base folly. Such end must they feare, who are priuie to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perseus* would haue gone surely to worke, for the hiding of his fault; then must he so royally haue behaued himselfe, that no man might beleue him capable to be the author of any vnworthy act or counsaile. But his vertue was of no such capacite. He thought it enough to lay the blame vpon others. And therefore, hauing called *Hippias* away (the Captaine which had topped the Consul on the top of the mountaine) and *Arsilepiodatus*, from defence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed he rated them openly saying, that they had betrayed vnto the Enemie the gates and barres of *Macedon*. Of this reproch if they would discharge themselves, by laying it vpon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they haue sped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The Consul *Martius* had great cause to reioyce, for that the King so hastily relinquished his possession of *Tempe*, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the *Roman* armie, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist, for want of victuals. He tooke *Dium* without resistance, & thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein hauing traueled about a dayes journey, and gotten one towne that yeelded, he was compelled, by meere lacke of food for his men, to returne backe towards *Thessalie*. His fleet came to him, in this time of necessitie, well appointed to haue holpen him

in the war: but having left behinde, at *Magnesia*, the ships of burthen, which carried the provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been carefull to occupy the Castles about *Tempe*, which were forsaken by the *Macedonians*: for by those waies, only might come be brought into the army. To meet the sooner with this corne, which was desirously expected, he forooke *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which foolish journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more, than a little the longer fasting had bin worth. It is probable, that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountains: for otherwise it had bin madnes to put himself on such an enterprise, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or fight of the Enemy, he should be faine to quit it. Howsoever it was: men thought him a coward, or at least a bad man of warre; since he thus recoyled and gaue off, when it most behoued him to haue prosecuted the action.

By vnderstanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollecte himself; vnderstood his owne error; sought to hide it by such poore means as haue bin shewed; and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the town of *Dium*, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped strongly by the riuer *Enipeus*: meaning thereby to stop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Lesse diligence, more timely vsed, would haue bin enough, not only to haue deliuered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to haue giuen him such a noble victory, as might cause the *Romans* to seek a good end of the war vpon faire conditions, and not to begin againe in halte. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Consul an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the towne of *Heraclea*, standing on the riuer of *Peneus*, five miles from *Dium*, was taken by force; or rather by a trick of climbing vpon mens heads, somewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made such defence as it could; and was not giuen vp for feare. After this *Martius* did set a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would haue taken it againe, and haue driuen the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like so great: his chiefe care, being to provide for his wintering. He sent the Admirall to make attempt vpon the sea-townes, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias* and others. All these were assayed: but in vaine. The fields about *Thessalonica* were wasted; and some companies, that sundrie times aduenced forth of the towne, were still put to the worse. As for the towne it selfe; there was danger in comming neere it, either by land or sea; by reason of the engines, which shot from the wals, and reached vnto the fleet. Wherefore the Admirall letting faile from thence, ranne along by *Aonia*, and *Antigonea* (landing neare to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt) vntill he came to *Palene*, in the territory of *Cassandrea*. There King *Eumenes* ioyned with him, bringing twentie ships of warre: and five other were sent thither from King *Prusias*. With this assistance of strength, the Admirall was bold to trie his fortune at *Cassandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the towne: which while the *Romans* were filling vp, question was made, what became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not vpon the bank. By this occasion, it was learned, that there were arches in the town wal filled vp with that earth, and couered with one single row of brick. Hence the Admirall gathered hope of making way into the towne, by sapping the wals. To this worke he appointed such as he thought meetest: giuing an alarme to the other side of the towne, thereby to shadow his attempt. The breach was soon made. But while the *Romans* were shouting for ioy, & ordering themselves for the assault: the Captaines within the towne perceived what was done; & salying forth vnexpected, gaue a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch & the wall; of whom they slew about six hundred & suffered few to escape vnwounded. This disaster, & the want of good successe on that part of the towne which king *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the meane while entering the towne by sea) caused the siege to beake vp. *Torone* was the next place which

which the Admirall thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: wherunto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Captaine, was gotten before his comming, with such forces, as were not only sufficient to haue defended the Towne, if the Admirall had layed siege to it, but to keepe the land about it from spoyle; or at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay deare for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melthra*; whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without worke) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terror of his appearing suddainly ouer their heads, caused the besiegers to dilodge in all 10 halt, setting their Campe on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, so farre was their abilitie short of their Enterprises, euer since their Consul (whether dauidly, or carelessly) most vnlike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harme befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining Historie of this Warre. For *Martius* perswaded the *Rhodians*, by *Agessipolis* their Embassadour, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other business of lesse importance, That they should doe well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seeke to finish the Warre. Now, although *Polybius* doe most probably coniecture, that 20 this was rather a malicious deuce of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their oppoling the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an armie on foot: yet since he made shew of feare, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his feare seeme not counterfeit. And so were the *Rhodians* moued to thinke of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtesie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embassadour, comming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that (shortly after the Embassadours of *Perseus*, & of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did set out their business at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good 30 fleet, which the *Macedonian* had gotten, than with the honor of some victory, wherein he had lately slaine great numbers of the *Roman* horse. Thus much we finde intimated: though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome*, to view the estate of *Martius* his army. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Admirall, wanting men; and for those few that he had, wanting both money and clothes: and *Ap. Claudius* the Pretor, who lay on the frontiers of *Illyria*, so vnable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extreme danger, so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seeme, that some blow had bin taken on the *Illyrian* side, which made al to halt; or at least, 40 that the *Romans* with greater losse, than is before spoken of, had been driuen from some of the Townes which they besieged.

Now although it were so, that *Martius* in very few of his actions, behaued himselfe like a man of war: yet in exercise of Cunning, which one hath most aptly termed, a crooked or sinister kinde of wisdom, he dealt as a craftie matter, with a relesse working diligence. This indeed neither proued his sufficiency, nor commended his honestie: since thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit, and neuertheless, out of enuie, vaine-glory, or such delight as weake and busie headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his country. At such time as *Perseus*, by the successe of his doings against *Hellinus*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade *Thessalie*, *Archo*, *Lycois*, and other good Patriotes among the *Acheans*, iudged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the *Romans*, as in a time of aduersitie, whom in prosperitie they loued not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* proposed a decree which passed: That the *Acheans* should send their whole power into *Thessalie*, and participate with

Polyb. Legat.  
78.

the Romans in all danger. So the armie was leuied; and Polybius, with others, sent Embassadors vnto Martius, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleasure. Polybius found the Consul busied in seeking passage through Tempe into Macedon. He went along with the armie; and awaited the Consuls leisure, till they came to Hieraclea; where finding the time convenient, hee presented the Decece, and offered the seruice of his Nation, wherein sooner it should be commanded. Martius tooke this very kindly; but said, that he needed now no manner of helpe. Forthwith Polybius dispatched home his companions, to signifie thus much: tarrying himselfe behind in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to Martius, that App. Claudius desired, or rather imperiously required, of the Acheans, five thousand men, to be sent him into Epirus. It was manifest, that Appius had need of these men; and that if he were strong in field, he might doe notable seruice, by distracting the forces of Perseus. But the Labyrinthian head of Martius could not allow of such plaine reason. He called vnto him Polybius, to whom he declared, that Appius had no need of such aide: and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wife take order that the men might not bee sent, nor the Acheans be put to such needlesse charges. Away went Polybius; mulling, and vnable to resolue, whether it were for loue to the Acheans, that the Consul was so earnest in this busines; or rather for enuie, and to hinder App. Claudius from doing any thing, since himselfe could doe nothing. But when Polybius was to deliuer his opinion in the Councell, touching this matter: then found hee a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne selfe, and those of his partie. For as he was sure to incurre the great indignation of the Consul, if he should neglect what was given him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by Martius vnto him in priuat, would proue no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to helpe Claudius, alleging that he had no need. In this case therefore, he had recourse vnto the decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessitie of doing what the Roman Commanders should require, vnlesse by special order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of Appius was referred vnto the aduice of the Consul: by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the Acheans were sauer, of more than an hundred and twentie talents: though Polybius himselfe ranne into danger of Appius his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countries behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the Romans with many a long yeares imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policie of Martius, that King Eumenes grew cold in his affection to the Romans; or whether this King began when it was too late, to stand in feare, lest the fire, which hee himselfe had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his owne lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to ouerwey all other passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, haue not precisely affirmed any certaintie. One report is, that Eumenes did not so much as giue any helpe to Martius: but comming to haue ioyned with him, in such friendly manner as he did with the former Consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leaue behind him certaine horse of the Gallogrecques, being requested to haue doncit. If this were true; and that his brother Attalus tarrying behinde with the Consul, did the Romans good seruice: then is the reason apparent, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to Eumenes, and the loue to Attalus. But it is more generally relieued; that Eumenes gaue a willing care to Perseus his desire of accord, for mere desire of gaine. And it might well bee, that courtousnesse drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. Howsoeuer it befall; Perseus caused Eumenes to be founded, and found him so tractable, that he was hold to sollicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his aduertisements, both to Eumenes, and to Antiochus, was: That there could be no perfect loue, betwene a King and a free Citie: That the Romans had quarrell alike to all Kings, though

though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and vsed the helpe of one against another; That Philip was oppressed by them, with the helpe of Attalus; Antiochus, with the helpe of Philip and Eumenes; and now Perseus assailed, with helpe of Eumenes and Prusias. Herewith he willed Eumenes to consider, that when Macedon was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in Asia, which lay next at hand; yea, that alreadie they began to thinke better of Prusias, than of him. In like sort he admonished Antiochus, not to looke for any good conclusion of his warre with the Egyptian, so long as the Romans could make him giue ouer, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compell the Romans, to surcease from their war vpon Macedon; or else to hold them as common enemies vnto all Kings: Antiochus lay farre out of the Romans way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. Eumenes was more nearely toucht; and as hee felt part of this to bee true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should giue answer; hee began to offer a bargain of peace for money. He thought the Romans to be no lesse weary, than Perseus was afraid. Wherefore he promised, for his owne part, That if he might haue fifteene hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this Warre, then would he remaine a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the Romans to consend vnto peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to giue hostages. Perseus liked well to receiue the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine haue peace with Rome, and not with Eumenes only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost: but hee would lay downe the money in the Temple at Samothrace: whence it should be deliuered vnto Eumenes, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of Samothrace was Perseus his owne: and therefore Eumenes thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in Pella. Besides, his labour deserued somewhat, howsoeuer the busines might happen to succeed: so that needs he would haue part of his wages in prest. Thus the two Kings did no more, than loose time; and Eumenes grew suspected of the Romans, as a Traitor.

After the same manner dealt Perseus with King Gentius the Illyrian. He had attempted this Illyrian before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without money he could not surre. Hereunto Perseus loued not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serue at the last cast, to deliuer him from all his feares. But when the Romans had gotten within Tempe, then did his feare vrge him to prodigalitie; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents, which Gentius demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soone made, and pledges on both sides deliuered for performance. This was openly done by Perseus; to the end that all his armie might haue comfort, by such access of strength to their partie. Presently vpon the bargain made, Embassadors were sent to Rhodes, from both Perseus and Gentius: who desired the Rhodians, to take vpon them, as arbitrators, betwene Perseus and the Romans, and to bring the Warre to an end. The Rhodians thinking that Martius the Consul was no lesse desirous of peace than the Macedonian, arrogantly promised, That they, by their authoritie, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the Roman Senate, hearing proud words, to the same effect, from the Rhodiack Embassadors; gaue an answer, as disdainefull, angrie, and menacing, as they could deuise: so as this vaine glorie of the Rhodians was thoroughly chafed; and more thoroughly should haue beene, if their submission had not beene as humble, as their tollie was proud. Such vse of Gentius his friendship, made Perseus; without laying out one ounce of Silver. Now faine he would haue hastened this young and rash Illyrian to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. Pantaclus, the Macedonian Embassadour, who remained with Gentius, exhorted him

him daily to begin the Warre by land and sea, whilest the *Romans* were vnprouided. But finding what it was that made call to fight, he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon tenne Talents were sent to *Pantauchus*: who deliuered it to the young King, as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and sealed vp with the seale of the *Illyrians*; but carried by *Maedonians*, and not too fast. Before this money came into *Illyria*, *Genius* had layed hands vpon two *Roman* Embassadors, and caft them into prison. Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their load to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of necessitie to make warre with the *Romans*, whether hee were hyed thereto, or not.

Lin. lib. 19.  
Plutarch. in  
vit. Amyl.

There came about the same time, through *Illyria*, to the aide of *Perseus*, vnder one *Clondicus* a pettie King, tenne thousand horie and renne thousand foot, of the *Gauls*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarna*. These had before hand made their bargaine; and were to receiue present pay at the first. At their entrie into the Kingdome, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Captaine to come visit him, whome he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had sent money to give the souldiors their pay in hand, according to his bargaine? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy mailer, That the *Gauls* will not stirre one foot vntill they haue gold, was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* hercupon tooke counsaile: if to vtter his owne opinion, before men to wile that they would not contradict him, were to take counsaile. He made an inuectiue against the inciuillie and auarice of the *Bastarna*: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Five thousand horse of them hee said would be as manie as he should need to vse; and not so manie, that he should need to feare them. It had bene well done, if anie of his counsaillers would haue told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole armie of them, since without anie danger to the Kingdome, they might be let cut by the way of *Panabes* into *Theffalie*: where wasting the Country, and filling themselves with spoile, they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, euen for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable seruice, whether they were anie victors, or not. This, and a great deale more, might haue bene alledged; if anie man had dared to give aduice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had bene with them before, was sent againe, to let them know the Kings minde. He did his errand: vpon which followed a great murmur of those manie thousands that had bene drawne so farre to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now againe, Whether hee had brought the money along with him, to pay those five thousand, whome the King would entertaine. Hereto, when it was perceiued, that *Antigonus* could make no better answer, than shifing excuses; the *Bastarna* returned presently towards *Danubius*, wasting the neighbour parts of *Thrace*; yet suffering this craftie messenger to escape vnhurt: which was more than he could haue well expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preserve his money for the *Romans*, without diminishing the summe. Out of this painefull Office he was vrie soone discharged by *L. Amylius Paulus* the new Consul: who in fiftene dayes after his setting forth from *Italie*, brought the Kingdome of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed ouer it a King so foolish and so cowardly.

## VIII.

Of *L. Amylius Paulus* the Consul: his journey. He forceth *Perseus* to discompe: He will not hazard a battaile with anie disadvantage. Of an Escoppe of the *Atome*. *Perseus* vs his superstition. The Battaille of *Pydna*. *Perseus* his flight. He forsakes his Kingdome: which hastily yields to *Amylius Paulus* at *Samothrace*. He yeelds himselfe to the *Roman* Admirall, and is sent prisoner to *Rome*.

**B**y the Warre of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with anie danger, yet the indignitie so moued them; that either they decreed that Province to *L. Amylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot; betwene him and this fellow Consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it vpon him; than that so worthie a man was aduanced to the dignitie of a second Consulship. They refused to propound vnto the Senate anie thing that concerned his Province; vntill by Embassadors, thither sent to view the Estate of the Warre, it was perfectly vnderstood, in what condition both the *Roman* forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the present remained. This being thoroughly knowne to the Consul, hee altered the vote; the Senate appointed a strong supply, not onely to the Consul, but vnto the Naue, and likewise to the Armie that lay betwene *Illyria* and *Epirus*; from which *App. Claudius* was remooued, and *L. Antius* knit thither in his place. *Amylius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the People, as was the custome, spake with much grauitie and authoritie. Hee requested those that thought themselves wile enough to manage this Warre, either to accompanie him into *Macedon*, and there assist him with their aduice; or else to gouerne their tongues at home, and not take vpon them to give directions by hearesay, and censure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, That he would blame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father *L. Amylius*, who died valiantly in the Battaille of *Carus*, might well be liuing in some of their memories: which was thought to make them conforme themselves the more gladly vnto the instructions giuen by a wise and resolute Consul.

Plutarch. in  
vit. Amyl.

All his businesse within the Citie being dispatched, *Amylius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his journey; with an especiall hope of men, that he should finish the Warre: though that he should finish it so soone and happily, was more than could haue bene hoped of in a misfard. He came to *Brundisium*: whence, when the winde came fauie, he set his seaie bracke of day; and arrived safely at the Isle of *Corcyra* before night. Thence passed he to *Delphos*, where, hauing done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fift day he set forwards to the Campe; and was there in five dayes more. So are there but five of the fiftene dayes remaining; in which he finished the Warre.

*Perseus* lay strongly encamped at *Dium*; hauing fortified the labour of men and of women to fortifie the banks of *Enipeus*, where it was reported to be the weather. So as there was little hope, or none to give him; and consequently as little possibility to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconvenience troubling the *Romans*, and much disabling them to make attempt vpon *Dium*, was lacke of fresh water. For there were no moles betwene *Dium* and *Tempe*; at the way lying betwene the Sea shoote and the foot of *Olympus*, without anie Brooke or Spring breaking forth on that side. But *Amylius* found present remedie for this, by digging Wells on the shoare; where hee found sweet Springs; as commonly there is

no thoure that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking vp his lodging anie neare to the enemy, than the Towne of *Heraclea*, on the Riuer of *Teneus*, where he had watered at pleasure, but could performe no seruice of anie worth. Yet when the *Roman* Campe had such means to lye close to the *Macedonian*, as it presently did; the passage onward, being defended as hath bene shewed, seemed no lesse difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessarie to search another way: which by enquire was soone found out. There was a narrow passage ouer *Olympus*, leading into *Perrabia*; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a faire journey. *Martius* either had not been informed hereof; or durst not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his souldiers to make the adventure; they fearing least it would proue such a piece of worke, as had bene their march ouer *Ossa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater indurtrie, courage, and abilitie, to command. He had reformed, even at his first coming, manie disorders in the *Roman* Campe: teaching the souldiers, among other good lessons, to be obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had bene their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now he appointed about five thousand men to this Enterprise: whereof he committed the charge vnto *Scipio*, *Amphilus*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his owne sonnes by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a sonne of *Scipio* the *African*; the other, by one of the *Edy*. *Scipio* tooke with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretans*; but his maine strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, vpon the mountaine, consisted in a manner wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at some distance, they might doe notable seruice against those that should climbe vp vnto them; yet when the darknesse tooke away their ayme, they were like to make a bad nights worke, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the buisinesse about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* tooke a wrong way, towards the fleet, where victuals were provided for their journey: it being noised, that they were to runne along the coast of *Macedon* by sea, and wast the Countrey. All the while that they were passing the Mountaines (which was about three dayes,) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set vpon *Perseus* where he lay; rather to diuert the Kings atention from that which was his maine Enterprise, than vpon anie hope to doe good, in seeking to get ouer *Empeus*. The Channell of *Empeus*, which receiued in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountaines, was exceeding deepe and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay welcare all drie, yet it serued not for those that were weightily armed to fight vpon. Wherefore *Amphilus* employed none save his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light armature had advantage at farre distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perseus* had rayled on his owne banke, did also beat vpon the *Romans*, and gaue them to vnderstand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet *Amphilus* persisted as he had begun; and recontinued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might haue serued to teach the *Macedonian*, that some greater worke was in hand: since otherwise a good Captaine, as *Amphilus* was knowne to be, would not haue troubled himselfe with making such brauadoes, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* looked onely vnto that which was before his eyes: vntill his men, that came running fearfully downe the Mountaine brought word into the Campe, that the *Romans* were following at their backes. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himselfe no lesse (if not more) amazed than anie of the rest. Order was forthwith giuen to dislodge; pr. rather, without order, in all tumultuous haste, the Campe was broken vp, and a speedie retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were so, that they which had custodie of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plaine force; *Scipio* and *Fabius* had verie good successe in their journey. It may well be, that they slept vntill the *Romans* came

came somewhat neare to them; and then taking alarme, when their arrowes and slings could doe little seruice, were beaten at hande strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them haue bene true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon*: which had bene effected by *Martius* in the yeare fore going; but was closed vp againe, through his not prosecuting so rich an opportunity.

*Perseus* was in extreame doubt what course to take, after this vnhappie beginning. Some gaue aduice, to manne his Townes, and so to linger out the Warre: hauing bene taught by the last yeares example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But farre worse counsaile prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King resolved to put all at once to hazard of battaile: fearing belike to put himselfe into anie one Towne, least that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not ouer-carefully reliued. This was euen the same that *Amphilus*, or anie inuador, should haue desired. So a place was chosen neare vnto *Pydna*, that serued well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewise on the sides of it some peeces of higher ground, fit for the archers and light armature. There beabode the coming of the enemy; who layed not long behind him. As soone as the *Romans* had sight of the Kings Armie; which, with greater feare than discretion, had halted away from them, forsaking the Campe that was so notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to giue battaile immediately; doubting least otherwise the King should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Consul; praying him not to loose occasion by delay. But *Amphilus* told him, That hee spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to haue patience. The *Romans* were tyred with their journey; had no Campe wherein to rest themselves; nor anie thing there, save onely the bare ground whereon they trode. For these and the like respects, the Consul made a stand; and shewing himselfe vnto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of battaile; gaue charge to haue the Campe measured out and entrenched behinde the Armie; wherinto, at good leysure, hee fell backe, without anie manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped, both by the *Romans*, and by the *Macedonians*, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their owne Generall too blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the King, he excused himselfe by the backwardnesse of the enemy; who advanced no further, but kept vpon ground seruing ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That euening (which followed the third of September, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeare bene Prætor, foretold vnto the Consul, and (with his good liking) vnto the armie, an Eclipse of the Moone, which was to be the same night: willing the souldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might be knowne long before it was seene. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in such Eclipses, to beat Pannes of Brasse and Balons, as wee doe in following a swarme of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moone great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpicius* converted their superstition into admiration of his deepe skill, when they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noyse as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fætion, than for that they were terrified therewith as with a prodigie betokening their losse; since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses doe signifie, or cause, anie alteration in ciuile affaires; and matters that haue small dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthe of obseruation it is, how superstition captiuates the wisdom of the wisest, where the helpe of true Religion is wanting. *Amphilus*, though hee were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moone,

Moone, that it was no supernaturall thing, nor about the reach of humane understanding, so as he should need to trouble himselfe with anie devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his dutie to this Moone, and congratulating with sacrifice her deliuerie, as soone as she shone out bright againe: for which, hee is commended euen by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish deuotion; yet is it like, that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for Warre, was partaker the next morning in a Sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no lesse foolish. For a great part of the day was vainely consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with anie Sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good lucke in the entrailes of the beals. At length, in the bellie of the one and twentieth Sacrifice, was found a promise of victorie to *Emilius*; but with condition, That hee should not giue the onser. *Hercules* was a Grecke, and partiall, as nearer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Roman*. Wherefore it had bene better to call vpon the new Goddesse, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or vpon *Romulus*, founder of their Citie, on whom the *Romans* had betowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authentically vpon *Mars* the father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of militarie affaires; and who therefore would haue limited his fauour, with no iniunctions contrarie to the rules of Warre.

Now concerning the Battaille; *Emilius* was throughly persuaded, that the King meant to abide it; for that otherwise hee would not haue stayed at *Pydna*, when, as a little before, his leysure serued to retire whither hee list, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that hee might wait vpon aduantage, without making anie great haste. Neyther was it to bee neglected, that the morning Sunne was full in the *Romans* faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoone. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Emilius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likelyhood of fighting that day. But about tenne of the clocke in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which whereto neither of the Generalls had ouer earnest desire. A horse brake loose at watering; which two or three of the *Roman* souldiers followed into the riuer, wading after him vp to the knees. The *Kings* men lay on the further banke; whence a couple of *Thracians* ranne into the water, to draw this horse ouer to their owne side. These fell to blowes, as in a priuate quarrell; and one of the *Thracians* was slaine. His countreimen seeing this, hastened to reuenge their fellows death, and followed those that had slaine him ouer the riuer. Hercupon company came in, to helpe on each part, vntill the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the armies to be carefull of the euent. In fine, each of the Generalls placed his men in order of battaille, accordly as the manner of his Countrie, and the armes, wherewith they serued, did require. The ground was a flat leuell, save that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what aduantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Consul encouraged their men with liuely words: which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the King hauing finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himselfe into *Pydna*: there to doe sacrifice, as hee pretended, vnto *Hercules*. It is the lesse maruaile, that hee durst adventure battaille, since hee had bethought himselfe of such a stratageme: whereby to saue his owne person. As for *Hercules*, hee liked not the sacrifice of a coward: whose vnreasonable deuotion could be no better than hypocritie. For hee that will pray for a good Haruest, ought also to Plow, Sow, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battaille, hee found it no better than lost: and he, in looking to his owne safetie, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

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The acts of this day, such as we finde recorded, are, That the *Roman* Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the *Macedonian* *Phalanx* did so stoutly presse on wards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Emilius* was therat much astonished; That the *Feligni* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were ouer-borne, many of them slaine, and the Squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out aduerse to the *Romans*; and which the Consul beholding, is said to haue rent his coat-armor for griefe. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his deuoyre; the victorie might haue bin his owne. That which turned the fortune of the battaille, was the same which doubtlesse the Consul expected, euen from the beginning: the difficultie, or almost impossibilitie, of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilest some of the *Romans* small battaillons pressed hard vpon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessarie (if the *Macedonians* would follow vpon those which were put to the worke) that some files hauing open way before them, should aduance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This comming so to passe, admonished the Consul, what was to be done. The long pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little vse, when they were charged in flanke by the *Roman* Targettiers; according to direction giuen by *Emilius*, when hee saw the front of the Enemies great battaille become vnequall, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the vnequall resistance which they found. Thus was the vse of the *Phalanx* proued vnauailable against manie small squadrons, as it had bene formerly in the battaille of *Cynocephalus*: yea, this forme of embattailing was found vneruiceable against the other, by reason, that being not euerie where alike distressed, it would breake of it selfe; though here were little such inconuenience of ground, as had bene at *Cynocephalus*.

*Perseus*, when he saw his battaille begin to route, turned his bridle presently, and ranne amaine towards *Pella*. All his horse escaped, in a manner, vntouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witnessing the little good seruice which they had done. As for the poore foote; they were left to the mercie of the Enemy: who slew about twentie thousand of them; though hauing little cause to be furious, as hauing lost, in that battaille, onely some fourescore, or sixscore men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, ouertook the king & his company in a wood; where they fell to railing at the horse-men, calling them cowards, traytors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himselfe: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: euerie one as his owne occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to lessen. For hee fell to deuising vpon whom he might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was most due to himselfe: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At his comming to *Pella*, he found his Pages and household seruants, readie to attend him, as they had bin wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battaille, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholike time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldnesse to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their vnreasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in feare, lest they that refused to come at his call, should shortly dare some greater mischief; he stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends hee had with him onely *Euander* (who had bene employed to kill *Euменes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewise about six hundred *Cretians*; more for loue of his money, than of him. To these he gaue of his plate, as much as was worth about

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fiftie talents, though shortly he cozened them of some part thereof; making shew as if hee would haue redeemed it; but neuer paying the money. The third day after the battaile hee came to *Amphipolis*; where hee exhorted the townsmen to fidelitie, with teares; and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed *Euander* to speake what himselfe would haue vttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chiefe care, to looke well to themselves. Vpon the first fame of the ouerthrow, they had emptied their towne of two thousand *Thracians* that lay there in garison: sending them forth vnder colour of againefull employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to bee ridde of the King; they plainly bade *Euander* be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde to tarry: but embarking himselfe and the treasure which hee had there, in certaine vessels that hee found in the riuer *Strymon*; passed ouer to the Isle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to liue safe, by priuiledge of the religious Sanctuarie therein.

These miserable shifts of the King make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the kingdome fell into the power of *Amphilus*, within so few dayes after his victorie. *Pydna* which was nearest at hand, was the last that yielded. About fixe thousand of the souldiours, that were of sundrie Nations, fled out of the battaile into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindring all deliberation and consent. *Hippius* who had kept the passage ouer *Ossa* against *Martius*, with *Pantaneus*, who had bene sent Embassadour to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the first that came in: yielding themselves and the Towne of *Berea*, whither they had retired out of the battaile. With the like message came others from *Thessalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Townes of *Macedon*, within two dayes: the losse of the head bereauing the whole bodie of all sense and strength. Neither did they of *Pydna* stand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forsaken his Countrey: but opened their gates vpon such termes, that the sacke of it was granted to the *Roman* armie. *Amphilus* sent abroad into the Countrey, such as hee thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: hee himselfe marching towards *Pella*. Hee found 39 in *Pella* no more than three hundred talents; the same whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a little while hee shall haue more.

It was soone vnderstood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuarie, in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his owne letters to the Consul, confirming therof. He sent these letters by persons of such meane condition; that his case was pittied, for that he wanted the seruice of better men. The scope of his writing was, to desire fauour: which though hee begged in termes ill becoming a King; yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, *KING PERSEVS to the Consul PAVLVVS*; the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retaine the Title, refused to make answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby hee craued and obtained, that some might bee sent to conferre with him about matters of his present estate. Neuertheless in this conference, hee was maruailous earnest, that hee might be allowed to retaine the name of King. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had so carefully preferred his treasure, vnto the very last: flattering himselfe with such vaine hopes as these; That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him haue his desire to liue at ease, and bee called King. Yeait seems that hee had indeede, euen from the beginning, a desire to liue in this 50 Isle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his consultations about the war he was dehorted by his friends, from seeking to exchange his Kingdome of *Macedon*, for \*such a paltrie Iland; and for that hee offered to lay vp the money which *Enne-*

\* *Lin. lib. 42.*

nes demanded, in the holie Temple that was there. But hee findes it otherwise. They vrge him to giue place vnto necessitie, and without more ado, to yeeld to the discretion and mercie of the people of *Rome*. This is so farre against his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Presently there arriues at *Samothrace* *Cn. Octavianus* the *Roman* Admirall, with his fleet: who assayes, as well by terrible threats, as by faire language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole, wherein, for feare of imprisonment, he had imprisoned himselfe. When all would not serue, a question was moued to the *Samothracians*; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiuing into it one that had violated the like holie priuiledge of

10 Sanctuarie, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quicke. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and send word to the King, That *Euander*, who liues with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact committed at *Delphi*, whereof vnlesse he can cleare himselfe in iudgement, he must not be suffered to prophane that holie place, by his abiding in it. The reuerence borne to his Majestie, now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himselfe is charged with the same crime. But what will this auale, when the minister of the fact being brought into iudgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? *Perseus* therefore willett *Euander* to haue consideration of the little fauour that can be expected at the *Romans* hand,

20 who are like to be presidents and cuerseers of this iudgement: so as it were better, to die valiantly, since none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cause; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion *Euander* seemes to like well: and either kills himselfe, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get payson wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had flocked to *Perseus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, save his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leaue him vpon this occasion, will tell perillous tales, and say, That the King hath lost the priuiledge of this holie

30 Sanctuarie, by murdering *Euander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirme so much, who shall dare to gainsay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and euen that also lyable to dispute, which preserues him from capitulatie; hee purpoeth to make an escape, and flye, with his Treasures, vnto *Corys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one shippe; who easily was persuaded to waite the King thence. With all secrecie the Kings money, as much as could be so conueyed, was carried aboard by night; and the King himselfe, with his wife and \* children (if rather it were not true, that hee had with him onely \* *Philip* his elder sonne, who was onely by adoption his sonne, being his \* brother by nature) with much ado got out at a window by

40 a rope, and ouer a mudd wall. At his comming to the Sea side, hee found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretians* had played a *Cretian* trick, and was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to waxe cleare day, whilst *Perseus* was searching all along the shoare: who had layed so long about this, that he might feare to be intercepted ere hee could recover the Temple. Hee ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging: and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, least he should be taken; hee hid himselfe in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ranne vp and downe making enquire; till *Octavianus* made proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoever, abiding with their maister in *Samothrace*, should haue their liues and libertie, with all to them 50 belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they should presently yeeld themselves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whom the King had giuen the custodie of his children, deliuered them vp to *Octavianus*. Lastly, *Perseus* himselfe,

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*Plutarch. in vit.  
Rom.  
Lin. lib. 45.  
Liv. lib. 42.*

with his sonne *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him; rendered himselfe, and made the *Roman* victorie complete. If hee had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of liuing, than of reigning therein; hee might well haue brought this Warre to an happier end. Now, by dimiding his cogitations, and pursuing, at once, those contrarie hopes of sauing his Kingdome by armes, and himselfe by flight; hee is become a spectacle of miserie, and one among the number of those Princes, that haue beene wretched by their owne default. Hee was presently sent away to *Amynius*; before whom hee fell to the ground so basely, that hee seemed thereby to dishonour the victorie ouer himselfe, as gotten vpon one of abject qualitie, and therefore the lesse to bee esteemed. *Amynius* vsed to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for hauing, with so hostile a minde, made Warre vpon the *Romans*. Hereto good answer might haue beene returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearefull silence. Hee was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul tearmed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercie of the People of *Rome*. After these good words, being inuited to the Consuls Table, and respectfully entreated, hee was committed prisoner to *Quintus Ailius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian* Warre, after foure yeares continuance: and such end therewithall had the Kingdome of *Macedon*, the glorie whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then knowae, was now translated vnto *Rome*.

## §. IX.

GENTIUS, King of the *Illyrians*, taken by the  
*Romans*.



\* Called now  
*Suntari*.

About the same time, and with like celeritie, *Anicius* the *Roman* Prætor, who succeeded vnto *App. Claudius*, had the like successe against King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Armie of fiftene thousand; with which hee was at *Lissus*, readie to assist King *Perseus* as soone as the money should come, whereof hee had receiued onely tenne Talents. But *Anicius* arrested him on the way; fought with him; ouercame him; and draue him into \* *Scodra*. This Towne was verie defensible by nature, besides the helpe of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seeme vnpossible to be wonne, in anie not a verie long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late victorie; and therefore presented his Armie before the walls, making countenance to giue an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easily haue defended themselves within the Towne, would needes issue forth and fight. They were, it seemes, rather passionate than courageous: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadors; by whome, at first, hee desired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had layed violent hand on the *Roman* Embassadors, to haue recourse to such mediation. But hee thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harme done by him, than the casting of those Embassadors into prison; where they were still alieue. Hauing obtained three dayes respite, hee passed vp a Riuer, within halfe a myle of the *Roman* Campe, into the Lake of

*Scodra*.

*Scodra*, as it were to consult the more priuately; though indeede, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Caracanthus* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to returne into *Scodra*. He sent messengers crauing access vnto the Prætor: before whome hauing lamented his follie past (which, excepting the dishonestie, was not so great as his follie present) he fell downe humbly, and yielded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his Kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, and friends, were presently giuen vp. So this Warre ended in thirtie dayes: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun; vntill 10 *Perperna*, one of the Embassadors that had beene imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had passed.

## §. X.

How the *Romans* behaued themselves in *Greece* and *Macedon* after their victorie ouer *PERSEVS*.

20 **N**OW began the *Romans* to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to looke tyrannically vpon those that had beene vnmanly toward them before, whilst the Warre with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadors were still at *Rome*, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with bad grace; saying, That they were sent from *Rhodes*, to make an ouerture of peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this Warre was no less grievous to the *Romans* themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and manie others: but that now they were verie glad, and in behalfe of the *Rhodians* did congratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had beene expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for loue to *Rome*, but in fauour of the *Macedonian*; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (courtous of the charge) to haue Warre proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadors were so affrighted, that in mourning apparel, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from *Rome* being knowne at *Rhodes*, all that had beene anie while auerle from the *Romans* in 40 the late Warre of *Macedon*, were cyther taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that slew themselves for feare, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and lesse would haue done, if olde *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not vttered a milde sentence, and aduertised the Senate, That in decreeing Warre against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that \* rather the wealth of that Citie, which they were greedie to ransacke, than anie iust cause, had moued them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the Warres of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whome, none of anie marke remained alieue, saue those that had beene of the *Roman* Faction. All 50 which notwithstanding, manie yeares passed, ere, by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the societie of the *Romans*: a fauour which, till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselves better without it, as equal friends.

With the like, or greater seueritie, did the *Romans* make themselves terrible in  
Sicily 3 all

\* *causa in ora,*  
*apud Salust. de*  
*Contra. Catul.*  
*line.*

all parts of Greece. *Amphilus* himselfe made progresse through the Countrey; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure; yet not forgetting to make them vnderstand what power he had ouer them. More than six hundred of the chiefe citizens in *Demetrias* were slaine at one time by those of the *Roman* faction, and with helpe of the *Roman* souldiours. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul, the redresse was such, as requited not the paines of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed vnto the *Romans* the libertie of their Countrey, he sealed like a King, with exchequie cheare; yet so, that hee had all things verie cheape in his Campe: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in sending provisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadors likewise were sent from *Rome*; some, to giue order for settling the estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate than was vsuall in such cases; and some, to visit the affaires of Greece. The Kingdome of *Macedon* was set at libertie by *Amphilus* and the Embassadors, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this libertie was such as the *Romans* vsed to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had been payed vnto the Kings, was lessened by halfe. As for the rest; the Countrey was diuided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobilitie were sent captiue into *Italie*, with their wiues and children, as manie as were aboute fiftene 20 yeares old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated, and new giuen by *Amphilus*. Such mischief the Senate thought it better to doe, at the first alteration of things in this Prouince, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leaue anie inconuenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greekes*, that were not subiects to *Rome*; the things done to them could deserue no better name than meere tyrannic, yea and shamelesse perjurie; were it not so, that the familiar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation seeme of no validitie. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the *Greekes*, called before them all such men of note, from euerie 30 quarter, as had anie way discovered an vsuericable disposition towards the *Romans*. These they sent to *Rome*; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that respect, though they were no subiects, yet wanted there not colour, for vinding them as traytors, or at least as enemies. But since onely two men were beheaded, for hauing bene openly on the *Macedonian* side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriotes* were no lesse afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyrannie. With the *Acheans* these Embassadors were to deale more formally: not so much because that Commonwealt was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, hauing no Commission to make or denounce Warre) and like to proue 40 vntaughtable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of signe, by letters, or otherwise, whereby anie one of the *Acheans* could be suspiciously charged to haue held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also so, that neither *Callierates*, nor anie of his adherents, had bene employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their seruice to the *Romans*, but onely such as were the best *Patriotes*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to vse the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for feare of *Rome*, the season serued fitly to ranke the *Acheans* with the rest. And hereto *Callierates* was verie 50 vrgent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were not now taken, hee and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischievous deuices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadors came among the *Acheans*: where one of them, in open assemblie of the Nation, spake as *Callierates* had before instructed him. Hee said, That some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other means befriended *Perseus*. This

This being so, he desired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence giuen, he would name vnto them. After sentence giuen (cried out the whole assembly) what iustice were this? name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well doe, we will soone condemne them. Then said the *Roman* boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as had led their armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence; then I shall thoroughly answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Vpon these words of *Xenon* the Embassador laid hold, and said that euen so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not vntill he had cited about a thousand; willing them to appeare, and answer before the Senate. This might euen be tearmed the captiuitie of Greece; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their loue vnto their Countrey; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that vertue, and regard of the publike libertie, should dwell together in any of the *Greekes*. At their comming to *Rome*, they were all cast into prison: as men already condemned by the *Acheans*. Many Embassages were sent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondered, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since 20 honestie had bene thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senat, that these men were neither condemned by the *Acheans*, nor yet held to be offenders. But in stead of better answer it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrey, that these men should returne into *Achaia*. Neither could any sollicitation of the *Acheans*, who neuer ceased to importune the Senate for their libertie, preuaile at all; vntill after seuentene yeeres, fewer than thirtie of them were enlarged, of whom that wise and vertuous man *Polybius*, the great Historian was one. All the rest were either dead in prison; or hauing made offer to escape, whether vpon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of iayle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death 30 as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done vpon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being desirous to preserue the *Macedonian* Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the souldiours, gaue order, That the whole Countrey of *Epirus* should be put to sacke. This was a barbarous and horrible crueltie; as also it was performed by *Amphilus* with mischievous subtiltie. Hauing taken leaue of the *Greekes*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to vse the libertie bestowed vpon them by the people of *Rome*; he sent vnto the *Epirots* for tenne of the principall men out of euerie Citie. These hee commaunded to deliuer vp all the gold and siluer which they had; and sent along with them, into euerie of their 40 Townes, what companies of men he thought conuenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gaue secret instruction to the Captaines, that vpon a certaine day by him appointed they should fall to sacke euerie one the Towne whereinto hee was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, spoyled by the *Roman* souldiours; and besides other acts of hostilitie in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thousand of that Nation made slaues. It may be granted, that some of the *Epirots* deserued punishment, as hauing fauoured *Perseus*. But since they, among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had bene already sent into *Italie*, there to receive their due; and since this Nation, in generall, was not onely at the present 50 in good obedience, but had, euen in this warre, done good seruice to the *Romans*: I hold this act so wicked, that I should not beleue it, had anie one Writer deliuered the contrarie. But the truth being manifest by consent of all, it is the lesse meruailous, that God was pleased to make *Amphilus* childlesse, euen in the glorie of his triumph, how great foucer otherwise his vertues were.

In such manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victorie, with the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad; it will appear by the efficacy of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*: whereof before we speake, we must speake somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadors came.

## §. XI.

The Warre of *ANTIOCHUS* upon *Egypt*, brought to end by the Roman Embassadors.



**A**NTIOCHUS the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reign and life. He died the six and thirtieth year after he had worne a Crown, and in the seuenteenth or eighteenth of *Ptolemie Epiphanes*: while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Iulius*) of *Iupiter*. He left behinde him three sonnes, *Seleucus Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*, and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had giuen in marriage to *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, King of *Egypt*. *Seleucus* the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his sonnes, reigned in *Syria* twelue yeares, according to *Eusebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpicius*: though *Iosephus* giue him but seuen. A Prince, who as hee was slouthful by nature, so the great losse which his father *Antiochus* had receiued, tooke from him the meanes of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeares before his birth, *Daniel* gaue this judgement, *Et stabit in loco eius vilissimus & indignus decore regis*. And in his place (speaking of *Antiochus* the father of this man) shall start up a wilde person, unworthy the honor of a King. Vnder this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the High Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect. What time as the holy Citie was inhabited with all peace, because of the godlinesse of *ONIAS* the Priest, it came to passe, that euen the King did honor the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Machabees*, of *Simon* of *Beniamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the treasures of the Temple: and of *Heliadorus* sent by the King to reioyce with; of his miraculous striking by God; and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his successor *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the reign of this King, that the bookes of the *Machabees* take beginning. Which bookes seeme not to be deliuered by one and the same hand. For the first booke, although it touch upon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his storie, nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother and successor of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Machabees* (who died in the hundred threecore and seuenteenth yeare of the *Greekes* in *Syria*) that first booke treateth. The Author of the second booke, although he take the storie somewhat further off, by way of a Proeme, yet hee endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeare of the *Gracian* raigne, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slaine by *Judas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practise of *Iafon*, the brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Seleucus*, perswaded with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successor for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Iansenius* and other graue Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arion* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadors to the *Jewes*, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greekes*, *Jonathan* the brother and successor of *Judas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himselfe directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadors, whom hee employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arion* had sent to *Onias* the High Priest, whereto *Iosephus* addes,

Strab. lib. 6.  
108. l. b. 35.

Euseb. in Cron.  
App. de bell. Syr.  
Ant. 12. cap. 5.

Dan. 11. v. 21.

Mac. cap. 3.

Mac. 1. x. 2.  
Super Eccl. 1. 5.

addes, that the name of the *Lacedemonian* Embassador was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her claws.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seuen and thirtieth year of the *Greekes* in *Syria*. Hee was the second sonne of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdom by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also hee vsurped from his brothers sonne.

*Ptolemie Philometor*, his Nephew by his sister *Cleopatra*, being then very yong, had bene about seuen yeares King of *Egypt*.

*Ptolemie Epiphanes*, the father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Egypt* foure and twentie yeares; in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip of Macedon*, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to diuide his Kingdom between them, whilst he was a childe. But they found such other busines, ere long, with the *Romans*, as made them giue ouer their vniuit purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gaue, with his daughter in marriage, vnto this *Ptolemie*, the Provinces of *Celestria*, *Phenice*, and *Iudea*, which he had wonne by his victorie ouer *Scopas*, that was Generall of the *Egyptian* forces in those parts. Neuertheless, *Ptolemie* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he liued in the greater securitie. Hee left behinde him two sons; this *Ptolemie Philometor*, and *Ptolemie Physcon*, with a daughter, *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the yonger, by whom she was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Egyptian* Kings.

*Ptolemie Philometor*, so called (that is, the louer of his mother) by a bitter nickname, because he slew her, fell into harred with his subiects, and was like to be chased out of his kingdom: his yonger brother being set vp against him. *Physcon* hauing a strong partie, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himselfe in *Memphis*, crauing succour of King *Antiochus* his vnckle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who vnder colour to take vpon him the protection of the yong Prince, sought by all meanes possible to possesse himselfe of that kingdom. He sent *Apollonius* the sonne of *Mnethens* Embassador into *Egypt*, and vnder colour to assist the Kings Coronation, hee gaue him instructions to perswade the Gouvernours of the yong King *Philometor*, to deliuer the King his Nephew with the principall places of that kingdom into his hands; pretending an extraordinarie care and desire of his Nephewes safetie and well doing. And the better to answere all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came he althought the coast of *Syria*, to *Ioppe*, and from thence on the sudden he turned himselfe towards *Jerusalem*, where by *Iafon* the Priest (a Chaplin fit for such a Patron) hee was with pompe and solemnitie receiued into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predecessour of *Epiphanes*, that impious traitor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, ruler of the Temple, when he would haue deliuered the treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Governor of *Celestria* and *Phenicia*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heauen; the said *Apollonius* being broken by the Angell of God, and recouering againe at the prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrifie others from the like vngodly practises. Presently vpon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Iafon*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtaine the Priesthood for himselfe, offered vnto the King three hundred and threecore talents of siluer, with other rents and summes of money. So he got his desire, though he not long enioyed it.

This naughtie dealing of *Iafon*, and his being ouer-reached by another, in the same kinde, calls to minde a by-word taken vp among the *Achaens*, when as that mischieuous *Colletter*, who had bene too hard for all worthe and virtuous men, was beaten at his owne weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus.

One

One fire than other burnes more forcibly,  
 One Wolfe than other Wolves does bite more sore;  
 One Hawk than other Hawks more swift does fly.  
 So one most mischievous of men before,  
 CALLICRATES, false knave as knave might be,  
 Met with MENALCIDAS more false than he.

And euen thus fell it out with *Iafon*: who within three yeares after, was betrayed, and ouerbidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Priesthood for himselfe: *Iafon* thereupon being forced to flie from *Ierusalem*, and to hide himselfe among the *Ammonites*.

From *Ierusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phoenicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and with a mightie armie of land-forces, *Hee went about to raigne over Egypt*, that he might haue the dominion of two Realmes, and entred *Egypt* with a mightie companie, with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Raie, and moued warre against *PTOLEMAEVS* King of *Egypt*, but *PTOLEMAEVS* was afraid of him and fled, and many were wounded to death. *He wanne many strong Cities, and took away the spoiles of the Land of Egypt*. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecie of *DANIEL*, *He shall enter into the quiet and plentifull Provinces, and he shall doe that which his Fathers haue not done, nor his Fathers Fathers*. Neuer indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* so great a victorie ouer the *Egyptians*, nor took from them so great riches. For hee gaue a notable overthrow to the Captaines of *Ptolemie*, betwene *Pelusi* and the hill *Cafius*, after which he entered and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *ANTIOCHVS* had smitten *Egypt*, he turned againe and went up towards *Israel* and *Ierusalem* with a mightie people, and entered proudly into the Sanctuarie, and tooke away the golden Altar, and the Candlestick for the light, and all the Instruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the pouring Vessels and the Bowler, and the golden Basins, and the Vase, and the Crowne, and the golden Apparell. He tooke also the Silver, and the Gold, and the 30 precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his owne Land, after he had murdered many men.

It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* warre, that *Antiochus* tooke in hand this *Egyptian* businesse. At what time he first laid claime to *Celestria*; justifying his title by \* the same allegations which his father had made; and diffidly auerring, that this Prouince had not beene confiscated ouer to the *Egyptian*, or origin in dowrie with *Cleopatra*. Easie it was to approue his right vnto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all *Egypt*. The *Athians*, *Rhodiens*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greekes*, pressed him, by feuerall Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was; that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receiue their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolemies*, then should the warre be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when hee saw, that it was an hard peece of worke to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine warre, than by the terror of his armes, threatening destruction vnto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present; leauing the *Ptolemies* in very weake estate; the younger, almost ruined by his inuasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

But how weake sooner these *Egyptians* were, their barred was thought to bee so strong, that *Antiochus* might leaue them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leasure his other businesse at *Ierusalem* or elsewhere. So after the sacke of *Ierusalem*, he rested him a while at *Antioch*; and then made a journey into *Cilicia*, to suppress the Rebellion of the *Tharsians* and other in those parts, who had bin giuen, as it were, by way of dowrie, to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochis* For

Gouernour

Gouernour of *Syria* in his absence, he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great authoritie about him. In the meane while *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Iafon* out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an Income, committing the charge of the Priesthood to his brother *Lysimachus*, stole certaine vessells of gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at *Tyre*, and other Cities adjoining. This he did, as it seemeth, to aduance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now by *Sositratu*s eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Prielt (formerly dispossessed by *Iafon*) had certaine knowledge, being moued with zeale, and detesting the sacrilege of *Menelaus*, hee reproued him for it; and fearing his reuenge, he withdrew himselfe into a Sanctuarie at *Daphne*.

*Daphne* was a place of delight adjoining as a suburb to *Antioch*. In compasse it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, sweet Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to luit, and other such voluptuousnesse. Whether it were well done of *Onias*, to commit himselfe to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claime priuiledge, from the holines of a ground consecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse. Only I say for mine owne opinion; that the inconuenience is lesse, to hold this book as *Apocryphall*; than to iudge this fearfull thit which

*Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the booke seemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not saue the life of the poore old man: for *MENELAUS* taking *ANDRONICVS* apart, prayed him to slay *ONIAS*. So when he came to *ONIAS*, he counselled him craftily, giuing him his right hand with an oath, and perswading him to come out of the Sanctuarie; so he slew him incontinently, without any regard of righteousness. Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his returne out of *Cilicia*, hee tooke away *ANDRONICVS* his garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led throughout the City, and in the same place where hee had committed the wickednesse against *ONIAS*, hee was slaine as a murderer.

In taking reuenge of this innocent mans death, I should haue thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Iustice. But presently after this, at the suite of one *Ptolemie*, a traytor to *Ptolemie Philometor*, he condemned innocent ment to death; who iustly complained against *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lysimachus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Vessels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his owne outrageous will, and not by any regard of justice: since he reuenged the death of *Onias*, yet slew those that were in the same cause with *Onias*, who had they told their cause, yet before the *Scythians*, they should haue beene heard as innocent.

By reason of such his vntedificence, this King was commonly termed *Epimachus*, that is, madde, in stead of *Epiphane*, which signifieth Noble or Illustrious.

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second voyage into *Egypt*, and then were seen throughout all the Citie of *Ierusalem*, fortie dayes long, horsemen running in the aire with Robes of gold, and as bands of Spearemen, and as troopes of Horsemen set in aray, incounting and cursing one against another. Of these prodigious signes, or rather forewarnings of Gods all Histories haue deliuered vs, some more, some lesse. Before the destruction of *Ierusalem* by *Vespasian*, a starre in the forme of a sword appeared in the Heauens directly ouer the Citie, after which there followed a slaughter like vnto that of *Epiphane*s, though farre greater. In the *Cymbrian* warres, *Pliny* tells vs that Armies were scene fighting in the aire from the morning till the evening.

In the time of Pope *Iohn* the eleuenth, a fountaine powred out bloud in stead of water, in or neare the Citie of *Genoa*; loone after which the Citie was taken by the *Saracens*, with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signes, *Vespera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me the most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know that in the Emperour *Nero*, the

Off-spring

Mac. lib. 2. ca. 4.

Mac. 2. ca. 4. v. 38

Perfar.

Mac. 2. ca. 5. v. 1.

Plin. lib. 2. c. 57.

Mecur. Vespera de Prodig. lib. 8. Vespera de Prodig. co. 6. facio insinuo.

Off-spring of the *Cæsars*, as well naturall as adopted, tooke end; whereof this notable signe gave warning.

*Sueton. Galba.*

When *Livia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white Henne, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. *Livia* caused this Henne to be carefully nourished, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: Of the Henne came a faire encrease of white Poultry, and from the little branch there sprang vp in time a Groue of Lawrell: so that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerors did vse to carrie in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Groue; and after the Triumphs ended, to set it againe in the same ground: which branches were obserued, when they happened to wither, to forehew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last yeare of *Nero*, all the broodes of the white Hennes died, and the whole Groue of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken downe with lightning. That the *Iewes* did not thinke such ill signe to be vnworthie of regard; it appears by their calling vpon God, and praying, that these tokens might turne to good.

Now, as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt* was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein raigning: so was his second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolemie* being left in *Alephius*, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power of their vnkle; thought it the best way to secke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by persuation than by armes. *Phylcon* had not as yet forgotten the terror of the former siege: the *Alexandrines* though they loued not *Philemeter*, yet loued they worse to liue in scarcitie of victuals (which was alreadie great among them, and like to grow extreme) since nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helpes, and aboue all these, the loving disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philemeter* in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein he stood of his vnkle. For though *Antiochus* were gone out of *Egypt* with his armie; yet had he left behinde him a strong garrison in *Pelusiū*; retaining that Citie, which was the Key of *Egypt*, to his owne vse. This consideration wrought also with *Phylcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, hee was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that hee had pretended no other thing than the establishing of the King *Philemeter* his nephew, and a meaning to subject his younger brother vnto him, which hee gaue in answer to all Embassadors; yet hee now prepared to make sharpe warre vpon them both. And to that end hee presently furnished and sent out his Nauie towards *Cyprus*, and drew his Land Armie into *Celestria*, readie to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as fast as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embassadors sent from *Ptolemie*. Their errand was partly to yeeld thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philemeter* in his Kingdom; partly to beseech him, That he would rather be pleased to signifie what hee required to haue done in *Egypt*, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an Armie. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That he would neither call backe his Fleet, nor withdraw his Armie, vpon any other condition, than that *Ptolemie* should surrender into his hands, together with the Citie of *Pelusiū*, the whole Territorie thereto belonging: and that hee should also abandon and leaue vnto him the Isle of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had vnto either of them for euer. For answer vnto these demands, hee set downe a day certaine, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleet entred *Nilus*, and recovered as well those pla-

ces which appertained to *Ptolemie* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it selfe; for *Alephius* and all about it receiued *Antiochus*, being vnable to resist him. The King hauing now no stoppe in his way to *Alexandria*; passed on thitherwards by eate journeyes.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein *Egypt* stood; the *Romans* had notice long agoe. But they found, or were contented to finde, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a ciuill warre: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the iuster cause. Yet they gaue signification, that it would be much displeasing vnto them, to haue the Kingdom of *Egypt* taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not doe; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loath to prouoke *Antiochus* too farre. Neuerthelesse, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in neede of helpe against their Vnkle, who prepared and made open warre against them both: it was to bee expected, that not onely the *Romans*, but many of the *Greekes*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefices, should arme in defence of their Kingdom. *Rome* had bene sustained with food from *Egypt*, in the warre of *Hannibal*; when *Italy* lying waste, had neither corne, nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the *Egyptian*, had *Aratus* laid the foundation of that greatnesse, whereto the *Acheans* attained. And by the like helpe, had *Rhodes* bene defended against *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the *Ptolemies* had done for sundrie people abroad, ill followed or seconded, by other as bad in requitall: but with continuance of sutable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for ayde: especially to the *Rhodesians* and *Acheans*, who seemed most able to giue it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Phylcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a yeare since: but their Embassadors lay still in *Rome*. Of the *Acheans* they desired in particular, that *Lycortas* the braue warrior might be sent to them as Generall of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his sonne *Polybius* Generall of the Horse. Hereunto the *Acheans* readily condescended: and would immediately haue made performance; if *Callicrates* had not interposed his mischieuous arte. Hee, whether seeking occasion to vaunte his obsequiousnesse to the *Romans*; or much rather enuying those Noble Captaines, whose seruice the Kings desired; withheld the common voice; which was, That their Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be aiding vnto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (hee said) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such businesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeeld vnto the *Romans* what helpe (sooner should be required in the *Macedonian* warre. And in this sentence, hee with those of his faction obstinately persisted; terrifying others with bigge words, as it were in behalfe of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius* the late Consul had signified vnto him, that the *Romans* were past all need of helpe: adding further, that a thousand foote, and two hundred horse, might well bee spared, to the ayde of their benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any seruice to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Acheans* could, without trouble, raise thirtie or fortie thousand fouldiers. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree should haue passed; he brought into the Theater where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from *Martius*; whereby the *Acheans* were desired to conforme themselves to the *Roman* Senate, and to labour, as the Senate had done, by sending Embassadors, to set *Egypt* in peace. This was an adice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadors to make peace; but as in a time of greater businesse else where, with such milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the *Acheans* should doe any good in the

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same kinde. Yet *Polybius* and his friends durst not gaine say the *Roman* Councell, which had force of an iniunction. So the Kings were left in much distresse; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome: and then might the Embassador sent from the *Roman* Senate, performe as much as any Armie could haue done.

Audience had beene lately giuen by the Senate, vnto those Embassadors of *Physcon* and *Cleopatra*; which hauing stayed more then a whole year in the Citie, brought nothing of their businesse to effect vntill now. The Embassadors deliuered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Phulometor*, no lesse than his brother 10 and sister.

Polyb. lxxij.

In this Embassage of *Ptolemie*, now requesting helpe from *Rome*; appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had bin before three or four years last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* warre; either he, or *Eulaeus* and *Lenaus* (vpon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not only he determined to set vpon *Antiochus*, for *Calesyria*; but would haue interposed him selfe betwene the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embassador was by a friend perswaded, to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts, he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subiects, to liue vnder protection of the same *Antiochus*. 20 And now at such time as by attennement with his brother and subiects, hee might haue seemed to stand in no need of such protection; he hath remaining none other helpe whereby to saue both his Kingdome and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister, shewed it selfe euen in the habit of those Embassadors. They were poorly cladde; the haire of their heads and beards ouer-grown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands, branches of Oliue. Thus they entered into the Senate; and there fell groueling and prostrate vpon the floare. Their garments were not so meane and mournfull, nor their 30 looks and countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other farre more lamentable. For hauing told in what danger their King and Country stood; they made a pititull and grieuous complaint vnto the Senate, beseeching them to haue compassion of their estate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly and faithfull to the *Romans*. They said that the people of *Rome* had so much heretofore fauoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased but to send their Embassadors, and let *Antiochus* know, that the Senate was offended with his undertaking vpon the King their Confederat; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and withdraw his Armie out 40 of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time or vsed any delay; then should *Ptolemie* and *Cleopatra* be shortly driuen out of their Realmes, and make repaire to *Rome*, with shamefull dishonor to the Senate and people thereof, in that, in the extreame dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieue them.

The Lords of the Senate moued with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadors, to determine and end the warre betwene those Kings. In commiſſion they had first to finde King *Ptolemie*, and then *Antiochus*; and to let them both vnderstand, that vnlesse they surceaſed and gaue over Armes, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate and people of *Rome*, whom they found obſtinate or vsing delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embassadors, tooke their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilst

Whilst *Popilius* and his fellowes were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his Armie ouer *Lusine*, some fortie myles from *Alexandria*. So neare was hee to the end of his journey, when the *Roman* Embassadors met him. After greeting and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Role of paper; willing him to reade those Mandates of the Senate, before hee did anie thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and hauing a little while considered of the businesse, hee tolde *Popilius*, That hee would aduise with his friends, and then giue the Embassadors their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinarie blunt manner of speech, which hee had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rodde which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moued out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commaundement, after hee had stayed and pawed a while, I will be content (quoth he) to doe whatsoever the Senate shall ordaine. Then *Popilius* gaue vnto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without anie good issue of his costly Expedition; euen in such manner as \* *Daniel* had prophesied long before: yea, fulfilling euery particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Ierusalem* after his returne; like as if these things had rather bene historiated than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadors, they stayed a while, and settled the Kingdome of *Egypt*, leaving it vnto the elder brother, and appointing the younger to raigne ouer *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they left, as it had beene, in the power of the *Egyptian*, hauing first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had already giuen an ouerthrow to the *Egyptian* shippes.

Dm. cap. 11. 107. 193. 10. 26.

## ¶ XL

How the Romans were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards *Eumenes*, *Prusias*, *Masanissa*, and *Cotys*. The end of *Perseus* and his children. The instability of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of *Paulus*, *Anicius*, and *Octavius*. With the Conclusion of the Worke.

**B**Y this peremptorie demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; wee may perceiue how terrible the *Romans* were growne, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had beene well contented, a year before this, to lay aside the roughnesse of his naturall condition, and to giue good language to the *Acheans* and *Attolians*, when hee went Embassador to those people of *Greece*, that were of farre lesse power than the King *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good wordes, and no more than good wordes, dismissed other Embassadors which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much lesse vsed anie menacing tearmes, though hee performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

*Eumenes* sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victorie ouer *Perseus*, and to craue helpe or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallogreekes*, which molested him. Verie welcome was *Attalus*, and louingly entertained by most of the Senatours: who bad him be confident, and request of the Senate

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his brothers Kingdome for himselfe; for it should surely be giuen him. These hopefull promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that hee cyther approued, or seemed to approue the motion. But his honest nature was soone reclaimed by the faithfull counsaile of *Stratus* a Phylician; whome *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keepe his brother vpriight. So, when hee came into the Senate, hee deliuered the errand about which hee had bene sent; & recounted his owne seruices done to the *Romans* in the late Warre,\* wherewithall he forgot not to make of his brother as good mention as he could: and finally requested, That the Townes of *Annus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed vpon himselfe. \* By his omitting to sue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceiued opinion, that he meant to craue another day of audience for that businesse alone. Wherefore, to make him vnderstand how gracious hee was, they not onely graunted all his desire; but in the presents which they gaue to him (as was their custome to Embassadours that came with an acceptable message) they vsed singular magnificence. Neuertheless, *Attalus* tooke no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had already graunted. This did so highly please the Senate, that whilst hee was yet in *Italie*, they gaue order for the libertie of *Annus* and *Maronea*: thereby making vneffectuall their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, reuoke. And as for the *Gabogreeker*, which were about to invade the Kingdome of *Pergamus*; they sent Embassadours to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate beeing so manifest, *Eumenes* thought it worthe of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. Hee might well blame the tollie of his second voyage thither, for this necessitie of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, hee had layed open vnto these ambitious Potentates the way to his owne dores. No sooner was he come into *Italie*, than the Senate was readie to send him going. It was not thought expedient to vie him as an enemy, that came to visit them in loue: neyther could they, in so doing, haue auoided the note of singular inconstancie: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much further complement.

*Prusias* King of *Bithynia* had bene at *Rome* somewhat before; where he was welcommed after a better fashion. Hee had learned to bechaue himselfe as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For entring into the Senate, hee lay downe, and kissed the threshold, calling the *Fathers* his gods and sauours: as also hee vsed to weare a Cappe, after the manner of slaues newly manumitted, professing himselfe an enfranchised bondman of the People of *Rome*. He was indeede naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flatterie kept himselfe safe; though doing otherwise greater mischife than anie wherewith *Perseus* had bene charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend vnto the Senate the care of his sonne *Nicomedes*, whome he brought with him to *Rome* there to receiue education. Further petition he made, to haue some Townes added to his Kingdome: whereto, because the graunt would haue bene vnjust hee receiued a cold answer. But concerning the Wardship of his sonne, it was vnderaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Aegypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectuall protection the *Romans* gaue vnto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But aboute all other Kings, *Massinissa* held his credit with the *Romans* good. His quarrels were endlesse with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all controuersies they gaue judgement on

on his side: and whereas hee had inuaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but vnable to winne the Townes; the *Romans* (though at first they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let goe all their hold, and to paye five hundred Talents to the *Numidian*; for hauing hindered him of his due so long. Now indeede had *Rome* good leysure to deuise vpon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Massinissa* himselfe was shortly by them rooted vp. But heereof the olde King neuer dreamed. Hee sent to *Rome* one of his sonnes, to congratulate the victorie ouer *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himselfe, there to sacrifice for joy vnto *Iupiter* in the Capitol. His good will was louingly accepted; his sonne rewarded; and hee entreated to stay at home.

*Cotys* the *Thracian* sent Embassadours, to excuse himselfe touching the aide by him giuen to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hostages; and to entreat, That his sonne, which was taken with the children of *Perseus*, might be set at libertie for conuenient ranfome. His excuse was not taken; thre hee had voluntarily obliged himselfe to *Perseus*, by giuing hostages, without necessitie: Yet was his sonne giuen backe to him ranfome-free; with admonition, to carrie himselfe better toward the *Romans* in time following. His Kingdome lay betweene *Macedon* and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in faire tearmes.

As for those vnhappy Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, they were ledde through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Emilius* and *Anticius*. *Perseus* had often made suite to *Emilius*, that hee might not be put to such disgrace: but hee still receiued one skornefull answer, That it lay in his owne power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that hee might kill himselfe. And surely, had hee not hoped for greater mercie than hee found, hee would rather haue sought his death in *Macedon*, than haue bene beholding to the courtesie of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* clemencie, whereof *Emilius* had giuen him hope, was no better than this: After that hee, and his fellow King, had bene ledde in chaynes through the streets, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remayned without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot vp towards the Capitol, there to doe sacrifice, hee should command the captiues to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and miserie of those that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted vnto *Perseus*: yet so, that hee had little joy of his life; but cyther famished himselfe, or (for it is diuersly reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custodie; and so died for want of sleepe. Of his sonnes, two died; it is vnertaine how. The youngest called *Alexander* (onely in name like vnto the Great, though declined sometimes perhaps by his father, vnto the fortunes of the Great) became a loyner, or Turner, or, at his best preferment, a Scribe vnder the *Roman* Officers. In such perpetie ended the Royall Houe of *Macedon*: and it ended on the suddaine; though some eightscore yeares after the death of that Monarch, vnto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If *Perseus* had knowne it before, that his owne sonne should one day be compelled to earne his liuing by handie-werke, in a painefull Occupation; it is like, that he would not, as in a wantonnesse of Soueraigneticke, haue commanded those poore men to be slaine, which had recovered his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diuing. He would rather haue bene verie gentle, and would haue considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most vnderdrotten wretches, are all subiect vnto One high Power, gouerning all alike with absolute command.

But such is our unhappinesse; in stead of that blessed counsaile, *Do as ye would be done vnto*, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie; wee entertaine that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the Most High*: that is, I will doe what shall please my selfe. One hath said truly:

Isaenai. Sat. 10.

-- v v -- *Es qui volunt occidere quemquam  
Possit volunt* —

*Euen they that haue no murtherous will,  
Would haue it in their power to kill.*

10

All, or the most, haue a vaine desire of abilitie to doe euill without controule: which is a dangerous temptation vnto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath graunted such power to verie few: among whom also, verie few there are, that vse it not to their owne hurt. For who sees not, that a Prince, by racking his Soueraigne authoritie to the vtmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his owne person) some one of his owne sonnes or nephewes to roo vp all his progenie? Shall not manie excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other nearnesse in blood, be driuen to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot, that gouernes one, the most vnworthie of his whole house, yet reigning ouer all? The vntimely death of manie Princes, which could not humble themselves to such flatterie; and the common practise of the *Turkish* Emperours, to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hereof. Hereto may be added, That the heire of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traiterously and barbarously King *Edward* the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*: which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortall enemy, to exercise the same vpon the Line of that vnhappie King. Such examples of the instabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are subiect; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitorie Gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize, by wicked precedents, the euill that may fall on their owne posteritie: so doe they necessarily make vs vnderstand, how happie that Countrie is, which hath obtained a King able to conceiue and teach, That \* *God is the fittest and sharpest Schoolemaster, that can be devised, for such Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without controule to turne it upside-downe at their pleasure.*

The true Law  
of free Monarchies.

chap. 3. §. 4.

Now, concerning the Triumph of *L. Aemilius Paulus*; it was in all points like vnto that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person, that was ledde along therein, as part of his owne spoyle; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Bootie. So great was that quantitie of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasure, that from thenceforth, vntill the ciuile Warres, which followed vpon the death of *Iulius Caesar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it selfe with anie Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to haue beene hindered by the souldiours; who grudged at their General, for not hauing dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate ouer-ruled the People and Souldiours herein, and brought them to reason by seuerall exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much honour of his victorie as men could giue. Neuertheless, it pleased God to take away from him his two remaying sonnes, that were not giuen in adoption: of which, the one died fye dayes before the Triumph; the other, three dayes after it. This losse hee bore wisely: and told the People, That hee hoped to see the Commonwealth flourish in a continuance of prosperitie; since the joy of his victorie was requited with his owne priuate calamitie, in stead of the publike.

About

About the same time, *Ottavius* the Admirall, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*; and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* prisoner; made their seuerall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles; together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings, either visiting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to visit her, and doe their duties in person; were enough to say vnto *Rome*, *Sume superbiam*, Take vpon thee the Maieutie, that thy deserts haue purchased.

BY this which we haue already set downe, is seene the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectours thought, that they could neuer haue ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We haue left it flourishing in the middle of the field; hauing rooted vp, or cut downe, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the stormes of ambition shall beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaues shall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, haue bin the subiect of those ancient Histories, which haue beene preferred, and yet remaine among vs; and withall of so many tragical Poets, as in the persons of powerful Princes, and other mightie men haue complained against Inuidie, Time, Destinie, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instabilitie of Fortune. To these undertakings, the greatest Lords of the world haue bene stirred vp, rather by the desire of *Fame*, which ploweth vp the Aire, and soweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation, and so many cares. And that this is true, the good aduice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrius* proues. And certainly, as *Fame* hath often beene dangerous to the liuing, so is it to the dead of no vse at all; because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, which are dissolued; they themselves would then rather haue wished, to haue stolne out of the world without noyse than to be put in minde, that they haue purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression and crueltie, by giuing in spoile the innocent and labouring soule to the idle and insolent, and by hauing emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them againe with so many and so variable sorts of sorrowes.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatness nor continuance) there hath beene no State fearfull in the East, but that of the *Turke*; nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his wings farre ouer his nest, but the *Spaniards*; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moor* out of *Gransda*, haue made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treasures of both *Indies*, and by the many Kingdomes which they possesse in *Europe*, they are at this day the most powerfull. But as the *Turke* is now counterpoised by the *Persians*, so in stead of so many Millions as haue beene spent by the *English*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defensive war, and in diuisions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two yeares or three at the most, they may not only be perswaded to liue in peace, but all their swelling and ouerflowing streames may be brought backe into their naturall channels and old banks. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one seeking to roote out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof, the one to joyne all *Europe* to *Asia*, the other the rest of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the rest, if we seeke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundlesse ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath been already said; That

That the Kings and Princes of the world have alwayes laid before them, the actions, but not the ends, of those great Ones which preceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they neuer minde the miserie of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the aduice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, vpon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the widome of the world, without speaking a word; which God with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth not infuse. *Death* which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleued, God which hath made him and loues him, is alwayes deferred. *I have considered* (saith SALOMON) *all the workes that are vnder the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie and vexation of spirit*: but who beleuees it, till Death tells it vs. It was *Death*, which opening the conscience of *Charles* the first, made him enjoye his sonne *Philip* to restore *Nauarre*; and King *Francis* the first of *France*, to command that iustice should be done vpon the Murderers of the Protestants in *Merindol* and *Cabrières*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore *Death* alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but *Abiects*, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent, yea, euen to hate their forerpassed happinesse. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a begger; a naked begger, which hath interest in nothing, but in the grauell that fills his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein, their deformitie and rottennesse; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, iust and mightie Death! whom none could aduife, thou hast perswaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltye, and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer with these two narrow words, *Ere facit*.

Laſtly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, call it ſelfe, The firſt part of the *General Hiſtorie of the World*, implying a *Second*, and *Third* Volume; which I alſo intended, and haue hewen out; beſides many other diſcouragements, perſwading my ſilence; it hath pleaſed God to take that glorious *Prince* out of the world, to whom they were directed; whoſe unſpeakable and neuer enough lamented loſſe, hath taught mee to ſay with I ſa. *Verſa eſt in Luctum Citha.*

FINIS.

¶ To the Reader.

**T**he use of Chronological Tables is needfull to all Historicks, that reach to any length of time; and most of all, to those that are most general: since they cannot, like Annales, yearly set downe all Occurrences not coherent. This here following, may serve as an Index to the present Part of this Workes; pointing unto the severall matters, that having fallen out at one time, are farre daynayed in the Reason. Certainly it is not perfect: neither do I thinke, that any can be. For how many the years of the first Patriarchs may seeme to have beene well-neare compact, yet in the reignes of the Kings of Iuda and Israel, we finde manye fractions, and the last reare, or yeres, of one King recovered also as the former of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in manye other; though not so perfectly recorded. Here may be added the diverse and imperfect formes of the yearre, which were in use among sundrie Nations: saying the \* Summer Months, in proofe of some Ages, to fall in: or the Winter; and so breeding extreme confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to chuse, out of so manye, and so diversely disagreeing computations, what have already gotten authority, what may probably be held for true. All this, and a great deal more, is to be alleged, in excuse of such error as a more intenuent and perfect Calculator shall happen to finde herein. It may serve to free the Booke, and likewise the Reader (if but of meane judgement) from any notorious Anachronisme; which ought to be iustice. The Booke indeed will need it, even in that regard; not onely for (some errors of the Press; in the numbering of yeares, but for some basike mis-reckonings of mine owne; which I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want careful diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall finde reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his owne ease.

The *Titles* over the *Columns*, have reference to that which follows under them; as will readily be conceived. Where two *Titles*, or more, are over the head, as [ Rome  
Nabonassar ] there does the numbers underneath answer proportionally, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example: The walls of Ierusalem were destroyed in the 219. year from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from NABONASSAR. In like manner it is to be understood, That IESHOPIAT began his reign in the 3774. of the IULIAN *Era* in the 3092. of the World, and in the 99. year of the Temple. This needs not more illustration; nor indeed so much, to those that are acquainted with works of this kind. To avoid prolixity, I have forborne to insert those years, which I find not signed with some remarkable accident: as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings Reign; some change of Government; some Battail fought; or the like. So, of the 13. years wherein SYLVIVS CAEPETVS reigned over the Latines, I note only the first; that is, omitting all between the 4. of IESHOPIAT, wherein CAEPETVS began, unto the 17. wherein SYLVIVS AVVENTIVS succeeded, and wherein IESHOPIAM first reigned with IESHOPIAT his father. For though it is aine to have filled up a Page with 12. lines of idle cyphers; numbering forth 2. 3. 4. 5. an I fill upwards, till I had come to the first of AVVENTIVS, and 17. of IESHOPIAT. It setting downe the Kings, there is noted over the head of euerie one, what place he held in order of Succession; as whether he were the first, second, fifth, tenth, or so forth in rank; of those that reigned in his Countrey, without notable interruption: Before the name is the first year of his reign; at the end, or foot of the name (as the space gives leave) is the whole number of years in which he reigned; in the spaces following underneath are those years of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the years of anie remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name, there it is to be understood, that the same year belonged, not only to the King then beginning, but vnto some one, or more, of his

## To the Reader.

*his fore-goes: as the first year of IEROHAM King of Israel was the same with the second of his brother AHABIA, and the 22. of his father AHAH. So, where two or three names are found in one place; as in the 3077. year of the World, ZIMRI, TIBNI, and OMRI: it is meant, that curie one of them reigned in some part of the same year, which is reckoned the second of ZLA, and the first of OMRI. Particularly, under the years of the Egyptian Kings are set down the years of those DYNASTIES, which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise, afterwards, the day of the month upon which NAONASSARS year began: which, how it varied from other years, may be found in the place last above cited.*

Concerning the *Æra*, or account of *Yerres*, from *I PHITTVS*, who began the Olympiads, from *Rome*, built by *NABONASSAR*, and the like; as much as was thought convenient but being found, where due place was, in the book itself: as it remaineth only to note, that under the title of Olympiads is set downe first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the year of that Olympiad: as that *CYRVS* began his raigue in Persia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the first year thereof.

Now, for that the years of the *World*, of the *Olympiads*, of *Rome*, of *NABONASSAR*, and *other*, had not beginning in one month, but *some* of them in *March*, *some* in *April*, *some* about *Midsummer*, and *some* at other times: the better to expresse their severall beginnings, *some* painefull Chronologers have divided them proportionally in their severall Columns; appointing part of the one year to part of the other: not (as I have here done) counting all overthwart with one freight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I spared, as more trouble *more* than *usefull*, since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will only be needfull to observe, that *henceforward* the *Æra* of the *Olympiads* be 24. years elder than that of *Rome*, and 29. than that of *NABONASSAR*, yet the *Æra* of *our King* may have begun at such a time of the year as did not suite with this difference. But hence I take little regard. The more curious will easily find my meaning: the vulgar will not find the difficultie. One familiar example may explaine all. *QUEENE ELIZABETH* began her reign the 17. of *November*, in the year of our *LORD* 1558: Shee was crowned, held a *Parliament*, brake it up; shewd *diverse Images*; and reformed *manie things* in *Religion*; all in her first year: yet not all in that year 1558, but the greater part in the year following, whether we begin with the first of *January*, or with the 25. of *March*. The like may be observables found in this *Table*; but so, as the difference is never of a whole year.

The IVLIAN Period, which I have placed, as the greater number, over the years of the World, was devised by that honorable and excellently learned JOSEPH SCALIGER: being accommodated to the IVLIAN years, now in use among us. It consisteth of 798 years; which results from the multiplication of 19. 28, and 15, that is, of the Cycle of the Moone, the Cycle of the Sunne, and the years of an Indiction. Being divided by one of these, it leaves the number of the present years; or if no fraction remaine, it shewes the last year of that Cycle to be current. For example: in the 4498. of this Period, when was fought the great battaile of Canne, the Prime or Golden number was 14, the Cycle of the Sunne 18, and consequently the Dominical letter F. as may be found by dividing the same number of the IVLIAN Period 4498, by 19, for the Prime, by 28, for the Cycle of the Sunne. This IVLIAN Period, after the present account, alwayes exceeds the years of the World by 682. Besides the former *Æres*, and other thence redundance, it is a better Character of a year, than any other *Æra* (as From the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more uncertaine position.

Since I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in workes of this kinde: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plaine enough to the vulgar.

*Julian*

*A*  
CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE.

YEARES OF THE JULIAN PERIOD,  
WORLD, PATRIARCHS, &c.

[illegible]

	Julian, The World.	Enos.	Cainan.	Mahaleel.	Iared.	Methu- seph.	Lamech.	Noah.	Sem.											
Enos died.	1822 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84												
Cainan died.	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179												
Mahaleel died this year.	1973 1270			895	830	603	416	234												
Iared died.	2104 1432					735	584	366												
Flood threat- ned, Gene 6 3.	2310 1557					850	663	481												
	2341 1559					872	685	503	1. Sem. 600											
Lamech died.	2333 1651					964	777	595	93											
Mahaleel died this year last, before the Flood. Noah enters into the Ark. C. 7. §. 3. & 9. The Flood.	2338 1656					969		600	98											
The Flood ceases, Noah issued out of the Ark.	2339 1657							601	99											
	Julian, World Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	1. Ar- phaxaa																
	2341 1659	603	101																	
	2376 1694 37	638	136	36	1. Sa- lab.															
	2406 1724 67	668	165	66	31	1. He- ber.														
	2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35														
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	239	1. Sem. 114											
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1. Sem. 230										
Vide Lib. 3. c. 2. §. 2.	2550 1848 191	792	290	190	155	125	91	61	61	29	1. Cham 161									
	2532 1850 192	694	392	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. Na- hor.								
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	52	30	1. Ter- rah.							
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	202	179	145	115	115	83	55	53	24							

	Julian, World, Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	Arpha- xad.	Salab.	Heber.	Peleg.	Rem.	Affyr- ria.	Sarug.	Egypt.	Nahor.	Terah.	Kings of Sicyon.
	2518 1936 279	880	378	278	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1. Ege- tus, 5
	2649 1977 110	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	1. Ni- nus, 52	148	120	118	89	32
	2670 1988 221	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	141	139	110	1. Eu- ropias
The last years of Peleg his life.	2678 1996 229	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 240	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10
Noah died this year.	2688 2006 249	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19
The 16. Dynasty begins. Value of C. 3. 4. 5. & 6.	2691 2009 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	1. Mi- ram, 26		131	22
	2701 2019 263		461	361	326	296		232	44	1. Semi- ramis, 42	100	11	141	32
The last years of Rem.	2708 2026 260		468	368	333	303		239	8	107	18		148	39
	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	25
The last of Sarug.	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	41
	Julian, World, Flood.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salab.	Heber.	Affyr.	Egypt.	Terah.	Sicyon.	Abram.				
	2735 2053 306	495		395	360	330	35	45	175	1. Apu- 25.			45	
	2743 2061 404	503		403	368	338	5	53	183	9			53	
	2760 2078 411	520		420	385	355	18	70	200	1. The- lon of Thelafon, 52.			70	
Abraham returns to the Promis. Terah dies in Haran 1. C. 3. §. 1. 2. 3. & 4.	2765 2083 426	525		425	390	360	23	75	205	6			75	
	Julian, World, Promis.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salab.	Heber.	Abram.	Affyr.	Egypt.	Sicyon.					
Abraham enters into Canaan and departs 1. C. 3. §. 1. 2. 3. & 4. The first of the 430 years of Canaan.	2766 2084 1	526		426	391	361	76	24	76	7				
Abraham returns into Canaan.	2767 2085 2	527		427	392	362	77	25	77	8				
Abraham his wife Sarah dies in Haran 1. C. 3. §. 1. 2. 3. & 4.	2775 2092 10	535		435	400	370	85	33	85	16				
Ismael borne.	2777 2095 12	537		437	402	372	87	35	87	18				
Arphaxad died.	2778 2096 13	538		438	403	373	88	36	88	19				

	Julian. World. Promis.	Sem.	Salob.	Heber.	Abrah.	Affria.	Egypt.	Seyon.	
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91	6 1. Aris 10	91	22	
Isaac borne when Abraham was 100 years old complet. 101. current.	1791 3109 26	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1. Isaac 180
The last year of Salob.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1. Abrah 12, 40.	121	52	21
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	53	22
Sarah the wife of Abraham died this year.	2827 2145 63	587		422	137	17	137	16	37
Isaac took Rebecca to wife, when he was 40. years old complet.	2811 2149 65	591		426	141	21	141	20	41
The last year of Sem.	2840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50
	Julian. World. Promis.	Heber.	Abra- ham.	Isaac.	Jacob.	Affria.	Egypt.	Seyon.	Argines
	2826 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 Thurina bus, 45	
	2841 2169 86	445	161	61	1. Jacob 147	6	161	6	1. Ina- bus, 50
Abraham died this year.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15
Heber died this year.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19
The 17. Dynasty, called of the Shep- herds, beginning this year lasted 105 years.	2871 2189 116		91	31	9 1. Abra- muthers 38	191	36	31	
	2891 2209 126		101	41	11	201	1. Len- cippus 52	41	
	2901 2219 126		111	51	21	211	11	51	1. Phoro- nent, 60
Isaac died this year.	2919 2237 144		129	69	10 1. Bala- mus, 32	229	29	19	
	2943 2260 177		153	93	24	252	52	42	1. Joseph 110
	2944 2262 179		154	94	26	254	1. Meffu purs, 47.	44	3
See L. 2. Chap. 2. § 62	2952 2270 187		162	102	34	262	9	52	11
	2954 2272 189		164	104	11 1. Bala- mus, 42	274	11	54	13

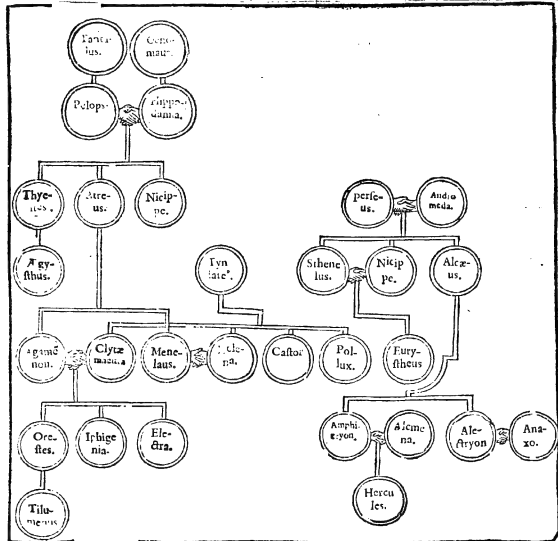
	Julian. World. Promis.		Isaac.	Jacob.	Affria.	Egypt.	Seyon.	Argines	
Joseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194		169	109	6	5 1. Orus 70, 110	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196		171	111	8	3 81	18	1. Apis 25	20
The last year of Isaac.	2970 2288 205		180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980 2298 215			130	27	24 100	37	20	59
The eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 348. years.	2984 2302 219			134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226			141	38	33 8	1. Pera- muth, 40	31	50
	2990 2314 221			146	43	38 12	6	1. Argus 70	55
Jacob died in Egypt.	2997 2321 222			147	44	39 14	7	2	56
	Julian. World. Promis.	Joseph.	Affria.	Egypt.	Seyon.	Argines			
	3005 2324 241	65	1. Altades, 32.	48 23	16	11			
	3017 2335 272	96	32	79 54	11 1. Plem- neth, 45	42			
	3018 2336 273	97	1. Mamius, 30.	80 55	2	43			
The last year of Joseph.	3041 2369 286	110	14	93 68	15	56			
	3066 2384 201		29	108 83	30	5 1. Plem- neth, 50			
	3068 2386 302		1. Manalius, 30	110 85	32	3			
	3074 2392 309		7	1. Sphers or I- phers, 35	58	9			
	3085 2403 320		18	12 102	1. Oris- pallu, 67.	20			
	3098 2416 323		1. Sphers or I- phers, 30.	25 115	14	33			
	3107 2425 342		10	1. Sphers or I- phers, 34.	23	42			
	3116 2434 351	1. Moses 120	19	10 133	32	51			

	Julian, World, Promif.	Mofes.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.		
	1118 1436 153	3	16 1. Mamilius, or Mameliu. 20.	12 135	34	53		
	1120 1438 155	5	3	14 137	36	1. Phor- am. 20.		
	1121 1439 156	6	4	8 1. Orus 2. or Bu- firu. 28. 1: 8	37	2	Athe- nians.	
	1128 1466 158	33	17 1. Sparcum. 40.	12 165	13 1. Mare- thius. 20.	29		
	1151 1469 156	36	4	31 168	4	32	1 1. Ce- rops. 20.	
Mofes wifes his brethren the Ifraelites, killes an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.	1155 1472 160	40	8	35 172	8	1. Trio- da. 46.	5	
	1159 1477 164	44	12	9 1. hermin, or Aco- cher. 20. 1: 176.	12	5	9	
	1171 1489 166	56	24	10 1. Rathur, or A- choru. 9. 188	24	17	21	
	1178 1496 167	63	31	8 1. Afar- rbu. 20.	24	28		
	1180 1498 168	65	33	11 1. Chencres. 16. 197	3	26	30	
	1186 1506 169	72	18 1. Afcarides. 40	9 205	11	34	38	
Mofes his wonders in Egypt.	1195 1512 170	80	8	16 212	18	41	45	
	1196 1514 171	81	9	12 1. Acherris. 8. 212	19	42	46	
The Plague of Deucalion, and confignation of Phaeton about this time.	1198 1516 172	83	11	15 1. E. bi- mi. 20.	44	48		
	1201 1519 173	86	14	6 218	4	1. Cyro- da. 21.	2 1. Cras- pida. 10.	
	1204 1522 174	89	17	13 1. Cherres. 15. 221	7	4	4	
	1211 1529 176	96	24	8 228	14	11	1. Am- phip. 20.	
	1219 1527 177	104	32	14 1. Armeu, or Da- rudus. 5. 176.	22	19	9	
	1222 1540 177	107	35	4 239	25	9 1. Silie- nelus. 11.	12	

	Julian, World, Exodu.	Mofes.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens.	
	1223 1541 178	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 1. Erithe- nus. 50.	
	1224 1542 179	109	37	15 1. Rameffes. 68. 241	27	3	2	Troy.
	1228 1546 183	113	19 1. Amyntas. 45.	5 245	31	7	6	
	1229 1547 184	114	2	6 246	32	8	7	1 1. Dorda- nus. 64.
	1233 1551 188	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. Dora- nus. 50.	11	5
The laft years of Mofes.	1235 1553 190	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	1236 1554 191	121	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
The Ifraelites enter the Land of Promife.	1253 1571 198	18	26	30 270	10 1. Corax 20.	21	31	25
	1254 1572 199	2	27	31 271	2	22	32	26
	1273 1591 208	20	1. Belochus the fecund. 25.	50 290	21	41	5 1. Pandi- on. 40.	45
	1283 1601 208	30	11	60 300	17 1. Epi- penti. 25.	11 1. Lyn- ceus. 41.	11	55
	1292 1610 207	39	20	16 1. Menophis. 40. 300	10	10	20	64
	1293 1611 208	40	21	2 210	11	11	21	2 1. Erithe- nus. 46.
	1294 1612 209	3	22	3 211	12	12	22	2
	1298 1616 210	5	1. Beloparis. 30.	7 215	16	16	26	6
	1313 1631 218	20	16	23 220	31	31	6 1. Erithe- nus. 50.	21
	1318 1636 223	25	21	27 225	36	36	6	26
	1324 1642 229	31	27	33 231	7	1. Abas. 20.	12	32
	1328 1646 233	35	22 1. Lamprides. 22.	37 235	11	5	16	36

The 19. Dynastie: of the Lathres, 194 years. See L. 2. chap. 26. §. 4.			3332 3690 137	39	5	17 1. Zethus, Setosis, 35. 1	15	9	20	40
			3339 3657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	3 1. 7708. 60
Tantulus in Phrygia.			3347 3665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1. Pratin. 17	35	9
			3358 3676 154	65	31	27 27.	19 1. Skym. 45.	12	46	20
			3360 3678 156	67	1. 23 Sofares, 20	29 29	3	14	48	22
			3363 3681 168	70	4	32 22	6	17 1. Cerrap. he 2. 40	25	
Pelops in Pisa, who gave names to Parnonnelus.			3364 3682 169	71	5	33 22	7	14 1. Acri- fius. 21	2	26
Ion and Anthus the sons of I. Cetes. See L. 2. C. 17. §. 6.			3374 3692 170		4 1. Dele. 2. Ba. 10	15	43 43	17	11	36
			3380 3698 185	7	24 1. Lampares. 30	49 49	23	17	18	42
			3387 3705 192	14	8	18 1. Ramfer. 66. 66	30	24	25	49
A. the deat. A. Acri. 5, the Kingdome of the Argives, practical-tye says. In all parts, and overcomes by the violence, who's of time King departed, ran the seas, where perill, p. 100000 Argives. A. Acri. 5.			3394 3710 116	21	15	8 6	37	31	32	56

A north-east a. Acriſis, the Kingdom of the Argives  
was divided into many small parts, and overruled by that of  
Myſene, where of ſome Kings deſcended from Pelopous, others  
from Pelop.



	Israël.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Athens.	Troy.
1399 2737 204	26	20	12 68	42	37	4 115
1402 2320 207	29	23	16 71	45	40	4
1403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 Poly hus. 11	2	8 1. Pandion the 2. 25
1410 2728 215	37	25 1. Pannus. 45	24 79	8	9	8 12
1414 2732 219	5 1. Gede on. 4	5	28 82	12	13	12 16
1427 2745 222	14	18	41 96	25	26	25 29
1432 2750 227	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1. Ege- us. 48
1443 2761 228	30	34	57 112	31	32	34 45
1447 2765 232	34	38	61 116	5	16	49
1453 2771 238	40	44	19 122	11	7	22 55
1454 2772 239	45	2	122	12	8	23 1. Ame- neus 6
1455 2773 240	2	26 1. Sofarmus. 19.	3 124	13	9	24 2
1457 2775 252	7 1. The- le. 27	3	5 126	15	11	26 4
1474 2792 279	18	27 1. Mireus. 27	22 123	32	28	43 21
1480 2798 285	8 1. Iair 22	7	28 149	38	24	10 1. The- leus. 20.
1485 2803 290	6	12	33 151	22 1. Phe- stus. 8.	39	6 32
1490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11 1. Priam- us. 40
1493 2811 298	14	20	20 162	21 1. Adra- stus. 4	47	14 4
1497 2815 301	18	24	5 166	24 1. Poly- phides 21	51	18 8
1501 2819 306	22	28 1. Tantanes. 32.	9 170	5	55	22 12

	Julian, World, Exodus	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycena.	Athens.	Troy.	
	3502 2820 307	9 1. Ieph sa, 6.	2	10 171	0	56	23	13	
	3508 2826 313	10 1. Ie- can, 7.	8	16 177	12	62	29	19	
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64 1. Ane- sthe, 24.	21		
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1. Aga- mennen 18.	3	23	
	3515 2833 320	11 1. Elon 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	26	
The wars at Troy began this year.	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 183 1. Thorus, 7.	23	8	10	30	
	3525 2843 330	12 1. Ab- don, 8.	25	7 194	29	14	16	36	
The 20. Dynasty, called of the Diopolitani, began this year in Egypt, and lasted 178. years. See L. 2. Ch. 26. §. 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 1. Dynastie. 178	30	15	17	37	
	3528 2846 333	4	28	25 1. Pelas- gus, 20	17	19	39		
Troy taken 408. years before the beginning of the Olympiads. See Lib. 2. ch. 14. §. 1.	3529 2847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40. Troy taken.	
	Julian, World, Troy Exodus	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycena.	Athens.	the King- dom of the Latins.
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1. Ege- stus, 6.	21	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Samson, 20.	29 1. Teu- tem, 40	8	6	4	24 1. Aene- as, 3.	
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	13 1. Demo- phon, 22.	2
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9	1. Ore- stes, 70.	3	2 1. Alca- mus, 38.
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	26 1. Zen- oppos, 22	13	15	13
	3553 2871 358	24	14 1. El, 40.	21	28	6	18	20	18
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 1. Oxy- tes, 12.	32
	3573 2891 378	44	21	20 1. Thy- mis, 20	48	26	38	7	38
	3574 2892 379	45	22	2	49	27	39	8	3 1. Syl. Pe- stemon, 30

	Julian, World, Troy Exodus	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Affyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycena.	Athens.	the King- dom of the Latins.
The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zenippus.	3579 2897 384	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1. Aph- lat, 1.	6
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		45	15 1. Tim- tes, 8.	7
	3588 2906 392	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. Adela- bus, 27.	15
	3593 2911 398	64	15 1. Samuel & after him Saul, 40.	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	31 1. Dori- lus, 40.	78		68	16	4 1. Syllus (coras), 31.
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1. Tisa- menus, 2.	19	4
The descent of the Heracleids into Peloponnesus gave notice to the Kingdom of Mycenae, and beginning to the Kingdom of Sparta, Corinth, and Messene, the Kings whosoever I judge to refer on this Table.	3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84			22	7
	3625 2943 420	96	33	23	100			17 1. Codrus, 21	23
	Julian, World, Exodus	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins.		
	3633 2951 438	104	1. David, 40.	31	108	9	31		
	3634 2952 439	105	2	32	109	10	5 1. Syl. La- tinus, 50		
	3643 2961 448	114	11	32 1. Ene- pales, 38	118	19	10		
The Medontidæ succeed onto the Athenian Kings, after the death of Codrus. See L. 2. Ch. 7. §. 10.	3646 2964 451	117	14	4	121	1. Me- lon, 20	13		
	3666 2984 471	137	34	24	141	2 1. Aca- stus, 26.	33		
Vaphres reigneth in Egypt. See L. 2. Ch. 26. §. 5.	3673 2991 478	144	1. Salomon, 40.	31	148	8	40		
Salomon began to build the Temple 480. years complete after the deliverance out of Egypt.	3676 2994 481	1	147	4	34	151	11	43	
	3681 2999	6	152	9	33 1. Loo- thes, 45.	156	16	48	
	3684 3002 3691	9	155	12	4	159	19	6 1. Syl. Al- ba, 29	
	3691 3010	17	163	20	12	167	27	9	
	3702 3020	27	173	30	22	11 1. Archip- pus, 19.	19		

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	Indian World.	Temple	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Affria.	Egypt.	Athen.	Latines.
The 21. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1704	29	175	32	24	13	3	21
The 18. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1709	34	180	37	29	18	8	26
The 19. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1713	38	184	41	33	22	10	30
The 20. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1718	41	189	44	38	25	17	35
The 21. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1721	46	192	47	41	28	20	38
The 22. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1723	48	194	49	43	30	22	40
The 23. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1726	51	197	52	46	33	25	43
The 24. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1730	55	201	56	50	37	29	47
The 25. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1733	58	204	59	53	40	32	50
The 26. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1734	59	205	60	54	41	33	51
The 27. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1735	60	206	61	55	42	34	52
The 28. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1749	74	220	17	15	24	32	29
The 29. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1750	81	227	24	22	31	39	36
The 30. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1758	87	233	30	7	45	59	63
The 31. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1759	88	234	31	8	46	60	64
The 32. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1762	89	237	34	11	49	63	67
The 33. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1768	93	239	36	13	51	65	69
The 34. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1770	95	241	38	15	53	67	71
The 35. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1774	99	245	42	19	57	71	75

	Indian World. Temple	Troy	India.	Israel.	Affria.	Egypt.	Athen.	Latines.
The 21. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1776	247	3	7	36	9	15	28
The 22. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1777	248	4	8	37	10	16	29
The 23. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1779	251	17	9	38	11	17	30
The 24. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1781	252	18	10	39	12	18	31
The 25. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1783	254	19	11	40	13	19	32
The 26. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1785	256	20	12	41	14	20	33
The 27. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1787	258	21	13	42	15	21	34
The 28. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1789	260	22	14	43	16	22	35
The 29. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1791	262	23	15	44	17	23	36
The 30. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1793	264	24	16	45	18	24	37
The 31. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1795	266	25	17	46	19	25	38
The 32. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1797	268	26	18	47	20	26	39
The 33. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1799	270	27	19	48	21	27	40
The 34. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1801	272	28	20	49	22	28	41
The 35. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1803	274	29	21	50	23	29	42
The 36. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1805	276	30	22	51	24	30	43
The 37. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1807	278	31	23	52	25	31	44
The 38. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1809	280	32	24	53	26	32	45
The 39. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1811	282	33	25	54	27	33	46
The 40. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1813	284	34	26	55	28	34	47
The 41. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1815	286	35	27	56	29	35	48
The 42. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1817	288	36	28	57	30	36	49
The 43. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1819	290	37	29	58	31	37	50
The 44. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1821	292	38	30	59	32	38	51
The 45. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1823	294	39	31	60	33	39	52
The 46. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1825	296	40	32	61	34	40	53
The 47. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1827	298	41	33	62	35	41	54
The 48. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1829	300	42	34	63	36	42	55
The 49. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1831	302	43	35	64	37	43	56
The 50. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1833	304	44	36	65	38	44	57
The 51. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1835	306	45	37	66	39	45	58
The 52. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1837	308	46	38	67	40	46	59
The 53. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1839	310	47	39	68	41	47	60
The 54. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1841	312	48	40	69	42	48	61
The 55. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1843	314	49	41	70	43	49	62
The 56. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1845	316	50	42	71	44	50	63
The 57. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1847	318	51	43	72	45	51	64
The 58. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1849	320	52	44	73	46	52	65
The 59. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1851	322	53	45	74	47	53	66
The 60. Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	1853	324	54	46	75	48	54	67

	Julian World Temple	Troy	Inda.	Israel.	Affryia.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latines.	
	3851 1169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 1. Phere- dis, 19.	13	
	3858 1176 183	329	11	12	33	35	8 1. Orl. 4. sextuor, 19		
	3862 1180 187	333	15	14 1. Ieroboa- m, 41.	37	39	12	5	
	3868 1186 192	339	21	7	45	47	18	11	
	3870 1188 195	341	23	9	3	47 1. Ari- stion 20	12		
	3874 1192 199	345	27	13	7	1. Myce- rinus, 6.	5	16	
	Julian World Temple	Troy	Inda.	Israel.	Affryia.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latines.	Media.
L.2. C.22. §. 11.	3877 1195 202	348	1. Inter- regnum ele- ven years.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 1198 205	351	4	19	13	1. Boc- choris, 44.	11	22	
L.2. C.22. §. 12.	3887 1205 213	358	11	26	10, Dar- danapa- lus slain	8	18	29	
L.2. C.33. §. 1. & 4.	3888 1206 217	359	10 1. Ptole- my, 12.	27	9	19	30	1. Arba- ces, 28.	
	3890 1208 215	361	3	29	11	10 1. The- bes, 27.	32	3	
L.2. C.23. §. 4.	3892 1210 217	363	5	31	1 1. Seleu- cus, 18.	13	3	34	5
	3895 1213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. Sylva- nus, 13.	8
L.2. C.23. §. 1.	3903 1221 228	374	16	1. Interregnum 22 years.	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 1234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	1. Seleu- sus, 20.
	3917 1235 242	388	30	15	26	38	28	23	2
	3918 1236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 1. Sylva- nus, 44.	3
	3924 1242 249	395	37	22	33	1. A'ryia, the first time of 12, 6	8	7	9
Zacharia began at the very end of the year. L.2. C.23. §. 1.	3925 1243 250	396	38	23 1. Zacharia first time.	34	2	9	8	10

	Julian World Temple	Troy.			Inda.	Israel.	Affryia	Egypt.	Athens	Latines	Media
	3926 3244 251	397			39	16 1. Seleucus an- nus, 17 Menander	35	3	10	9	11
This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398			40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	1. Saban- the Eith- er, 10.	14	13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	Iphim Olym- piads.		50	18 1. Ptole- my, 2.	46	8	12 1. Alcibi- ades, 13.	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. L.2. Ch.23. §.5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	2	52	19 1. Ptole- my, 30	48	10	3	22	24
L.2. Ch.23. §.6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	3	53	20 1. Ptole- my, 31.	49	11	4	23	25
	Julian World Temple	Iphim Olym- piads.	Inda.	Israel.	Affryia	Egypt.	Athens	Latines	Media		
	3946 3264 271	9	3	7	8	7	17	10	29	3 1. Alcibi- ades, 40	
	3955 3273 280	18	5	10 12 1. Seleu- sus, 16	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6	5 1. Inter- regnum 7 years.	20	30	23	42	14		
	3960 3278 285	23	6	6	21	31	13 1. Alcibi- ades, 2	43	15		
	Julian World Temple	Rome.	Iphim Olym- piads.	Inda.	Israel.	Affryia	Egypt.	Athens	Latines	Media	
Rome built. Lib. 2. Chap. 24. §.5. Carops the first governing in Athens for ten years: after whom succeeded six chosen each after other for the like time; and thence the office became Annual.	3962 3280 287	1	7	8	4	23	33	1. Alcibi- ades, 27.	1	1 1. Alcibi- ades, 27.	17
	3966 3284 291	5	8	9	5	24	34	1. Alcibi- ades, 28.	2	2	
The Era of Nabonassar. L.2. C.25. §.1.	3967 3285 292	6	9	10	6	25	35	1. Alcibi- ades, 29.	3	3	
Ezekia began in the very end of this year. L.2. C.25. §.1.	3968 3286 293	7	10	11	7	26	36	1. Alcibi- ades, 30.	4	4	
This year concurs with the first of Ezekia. Ibid.	3969 3287 294	8	11	12	8	27	37	1. Alcibi- ades, 31.	5	5	
The beginning of the first Messianic war. Whose? see L.2. C.27. §.4. It lasted 20. years.	3971 3289 296	10	13	14	9	28	38	1. Alcibi- ades, 32.	6	6	
Samaria besieged by Salmanassar.	3972 3290 297	11	14	15	10	29	39	1. Alcibi- ades, 33.	7	7	

The captivity of the ten Tribes.	1974 1292 200	13 8	37 1	10 1	6 1	9 1	8 1	45 1	13 1	29 1
	1976 1294 201	15 10	39 2	10 1	8 1	10 1	47 1	15 1	31 1	
L.2. C.26. §.7.	1980 1298 205	19 14	11 43	11 2	12 1	12 1	5 1	19 1	35 1	
Senacherib's Army destroyed, and he flees. L.2. C.25. §.2.	1982 1300 207	21 16	45 1	12 1	14 1	7 1	3 1	21 1	37 1	
	1983 1301 208	22 17	46 2	12 2	15 1	5 1	4 1	22 1	38 1	
	1986 1304 211	25 20	49 1	13 1	18 1	4 1	7 1	25 1	41 1	
Merodach gets the whole Empire. This year or in the end of the years foregoing. An Eclipse of ☾	1993 1311 218	32 27	56 4	14 1	25 1	11 1	14 1	32 1	8 1	
Two Eclipses of the Moon, in the Je- cond years of Merodachpadus.	1994 1312 219	33 28	57 1	15 1	26 1	2 1	15 1	33 1	9 1	
	1997 1319 222	36 31	60 4	15 1	29 1	5 1	18 1	36 1	12 1	
	1998 1316 223	37 22	61 1	16 1	30 1	6 1	19 1	37 1	13 1	
	1999 1317 224	38 22	62 2	16 2	31 2	7 2	20 2	38 2	14 2	
	2000 1318 225	39 24	63 3	16 3	32 3	8 3	21 3	39 3	15 3	
L.2. C.27. §.2.	2013 1331 238	52 47	76 4	19 4	16 4	21 4	14 4	15 4	17 4	
	2015 1333 240	54 49	78 5	20 5	17 5	22 5	15 5	16 5	18 5	
The beginning of the second Messianic War; which lasted about 18. years. L.2. Ch.27. §.4.	2029 1347 254	68 63	92 4	23 4	32 4	37 4	30 4	31 4	33 4	
L.2. Ch.28. §.3.	2033 1351 258	72 67	96 4	24 4	36 4	5 4	34 4	35 4	37 4	
	2035 1353 260	74 69	98 5	25 5	38 5	3 5	36 5	37 5	39 5	
	2043 1361 268	82 77	106 5	27 5	46 5	11 5	15 5	45 5	9 5	
	2052 1370 277	91 86	115 3	29 3	55 3	20 3	24 3	10 3	18 3	
	2053 1371 278	92 87	116 4	29 4	56 4	21 4	25 4	11 4	19 4	

	Julian World. Temple Nabon.	Rome.	Iphit:	Olym- piads.	Inda.	Chaldean Nabon.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.
The Expedition of the Scythians. L.2. C.28. §.3. & 4.	4054 1372 270	93 88	117 1	30 1	2 1	1. Nabon- assar 25	26 1	12 1	3 1	20 1
	4055 1373 271	94 89	118 2	30 2	1. Iofat, 31	2 1	27 1	13 1	4 1	21 1
L.2. C.28. §.2.	4073 1391 288	112 107	136 4	34 4	19 4	20 1	1. Neco 17	31 1	22 1	39 1
	4075 1393 400	114 109	138 2	35 2	21 2	22 2	3 1	4 1	24 1	41 1
	4076 1394 401	115 110	139 3	35 3	22 3	23 3	4 1	2 1	7 1	42 1
	4084 1402 409	123 118	147 3	37 3	30 3	31 3	12 1	10 1	9 1	3 1
L.2. C.28. §.1. & 2.	4085 1403 410	124 119	148 4	37 4	31 4	32 4	13 1	11 1	10 1	2 1
Nabuchodonosor had reigned one year with his Father; which is to be regarded in A- stronomical observations concerning his time. Lib.2. C.28. §.6. & C.25. §.1.	4086 1404 411	125 120	149 1	38 1	32 1	33 1	14 1	12 1	11 1	3 1
	4089 1407 414	128 123	152 4	38 4	4 4	1. Nabon- assar the Great, 44	17 1	15 1	14 1	6 1
	4096 1408 415	129 124	153 1	39 1	5 1	2 1	1. P/Am- mon, 12.	16 1	15 1	7 1
	4099 1414 421	135 130	159 2	40 2	1. Iphit, 23. months 20	8 1	7 1	22 1	21 1	4 1
Zedekia his journey to Babylon. L.2. C.28 §.6.	4099 1417 424	138 132	162 2	41 2	11 2	10 2	1. L. Tar- quinius, 19 19	24 1	4 1	
	4102 1420 427	141 136	165 1	42 1	7 1	14 1	1. Apris or Hapin, 20	4 1	27 1	7 1
Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor; with which 18. for the more part, and partly with which 19. the war concurred.	4106 1424 431	145 140	169 1	43 1	11 1	18 1	5 1	8 1	31 1	11 1
	4107 1425 432	146 141	170 2	43 2	1 2	19 2	6 2	9 2	32 2	12 2
Jerusalem destroyed.	4111 1429 436	150 145	174 2	44 2	5 2	23 2	10 2	13 2	36 2	16 2
Egypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor L.2. C.1. §.8. & 9.	4116 1434 441	155 150	179 2	45 2	10 2	28 2	18 2	8 2	31 2	21 2
	4125 1443 450	164 159	188 3	47 3	19 3	37 3	15 3	27 3	10 3	30 3
Nabuchodonosor loses milite; and his Kingdom is governed by others for him; during seven years. L.2. C.1. §.12.	4127 1445 452	166 161	190 3	48 3	21 3	39 3	17 3	29 3	12 3	32 3

	Julian World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphit:	Olym- piads.	Inda.	Chaldaea	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
Nebuchadnezzar recovers his senile au- Kingdome.	1121	170	194	49	25	43 1. Labar's fact more months.	21	33	16	36	
Lib. 2. Chap. 1. 5. 6.	1133	172		49							
The 27. of Iechonia his captivite com- pleat, and he enlarged.	1133	172	196	49	27	5 1. Baltha- lar, 26	23	35	18	38	
	1137	176		50							
	1137	176	200	4	31	5	27	6 1. Sennu abnegat.	22	42	
	1151	190									
Forty years after the Conque- of Egypt past, Amasis begins his reign: this being inclusively the 41. and there- fore the next year seems to occur to it in Amasis's first.	1151	190	214	54	45	19	Amasis 17. 24	15	56		
	1153	192									
	1153	192	216	54	47	21	2	17	3	5 1. Crea 1. 14	
	1171	187									
Julian, Rome, World, Nabon.	Iphit:	Olym- piads.	Perfia.	Chaldaea	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	Iewes.		
	1154	193	217	55	1 1. Cyrus in Perfia, 23.	22	3	18	4	2	48
	1172	188									
The seven Sages in Greece.	1159	198	222	56	6 1. Baltha- lar, 17.	8	23	9	7	53	
	1177	193									
Pisistratus makes himself Tyrant in A- thens.	1164	203	227	57	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	1182	198									
	1166	205	229	58	13	8	15	30	15	14 1. Cyrus in Perfia, 23.	60
	1184	200									
The end of the Chaldaea Empire.	1175	214	238	60	22	17. Baltha- lar, 17.	24	39	25		69
	1193	209									
	1176	215	239	61	23	1. Darius the Mede 2.	25	40	26		70
	1194	210									
The beginning of Cyrus his Empire.	1177	216									
His E. ill of liberite to the Iewes.	1195	211	240	60	1. Cyrus	2	26	41	Years from 1. Cyrus	Zoro- babel.	
	1181	220									
	1199	215	244	61	5		30	7 1. Tarquin the 1. 2.	5		
	1184	223									
	1202	218	247	62	2 1. Cam- byes 7.	33	4	8			
	1186	225									
	1204	220	249	63	3		6	10			
	1188	227									
The Conquest of Egypt by Cambyes	1206	222	251	63	5		3	8	12		
	1206	222									
Julian, Rome, World, Nabon.	Iphit:	Olym- piads.	Perfia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece	Iewes.	From Cyrus.			
	1191	230	254	64	8 1. The Magi 11 years.		11		15		
	1209	225									
	1192	231	255	64	2 1. Darius 198 1/2 1/2 1/2		12		16		
	1210	226									

	Julian, and World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphit:	Olym- piads.	Perfia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece	Iewes; and from Cyrus.
	1197	236	260	65	6				21
	1215	221							
	1204	243	267	67	13 1. Babylon 1. 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2				28
	1222	228							
The Tarquines expelled Rome. L. 4. C. 7. 5. 1.	1205	244	268	67	14		25		29
	1222	229							
The Carthaginians first league with Rome. L. 5. C. 1. 5. 2.	1206	245	269	68	15				30
	1224	240							
L. 3. C. 5. 5. 4.	1211	250	274	69	20. The 1/2 1. 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2				35
	1229	245							
	1212	251	275	69	21				36
	1230	246							
	1222	261	285	72	34				46
	1240	246							
	1226	265	289	73	35	Egypt rebel 1. 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2			50
	1244	260							
	1228	267	291	74	4 1. Xerxes				52
	1246	262							
The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for division of lands: which bred great com- motion.	1229	268	292	73	2	Egypt recon- 1. 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2			53
	1247	263							
An Eclipse of the Sunne. L. 3. c. 6. 5. 2.	1233	272	296	74	6 The great muster of 1. 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2				57
	1251	257							
L. 3. c. 6. 5. 3. & 6.	1234	273	297	75	7				58
	1252	268							
L. 3. c. 6. 5. 9. 10. & 11.	1235	274	298	75	8 Xerxes 1. 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2				59
	1253	269							
L. 3. c. 7. 5. 1. & 2.	1237	276	300	75	10				61
	1255	271							
	1244	283	307	77	17				68
	1262	278							
L. 3. c. 7. 5. 3.	1248	287	311	78	21	The death of Xerxes by 1. 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2			72
	1266	282							
	1249	288	312	78	5 1. Darius 1. 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2				73
	1267	282							
	1251	290	314	79	3	Inarus set up 1. 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2			75
	1269	285							
	1255	294	318	80	7. The 1. 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2				
L. 3. c. 7. 5. 5. & 7.	1272	289							
	1264	303	327	82	16				88
	1282	298							10

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The Account from the solution of the Captivity, is the same with that From Cyrus.	Indian World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphis: Olympiad.	Perfia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews; or from Cyrus & Daniel.
	4255	304	82	17		The Emperors chosen for a second time, from the place in the year.	Common story as to Cyrus in relation to the Jews.	89
	4282	309	328	4				11
Nehemias comes to Jerusalem.	4268	307	331	83	20			92
	4286	302	3	3				14
	4272	311	3	84				90
	4200	306	335	2	24			18
	4273	312	336	84	25			97
	4291	307	4	86				19
	4278	317	341	1	30			102
	4296	312	1	86				24
The walls of Jerusalem finished. Nehemias returns to King Artaxerxes.	4280	319	343	2	32			104
	4298	314	1	87				26
L. 3. c. 8. p. 1.	4283	322	346	87	35			107
	4261	317	2	88				29
L. 3. c. 9. p. 1.	4289	328	352	88				113
L. 3. c. 8. p. 4.	4267	322	4	89				25
	4290	329	89	8				114
L. 3. c. 9. p. 1.	4268	324	353	1	1. Darius Nothus.			36
	4292	331	89	3				116
	4210	326	355	2	3			38
L. 3. c. 9. s. 1. & c. 8. s. 8.	4301	340	91	91	1. Amyr			125
	4219	325	4	92	2			47
C. 8. s. 9.	4302	341	365	92	1. Darius			126
	4220	326	1	93	2			128
The Carthaginians invade Sicily with an Army of 300000. L. 5. c. 1. s. 4.	4304	343	92	93	15			46
	4222	328	2	94	2			50
L. 3. c. 8. s. 10.	4306	345	369	93	17			130
	4224	340	1	94	3			52
	4307	346	93	93	18	1. Nephtes		131
	4225	341	370	2	19	2		53
	4308	347	371	93	19	2		132
	4226	342	3	94	3			54
L. 3. c. 8. s. 12.	4309	348	372	93	9			133
	4227	342	4	94	3			55
	4311	350	374	94	3			135
	4229	345	2	95	3			57
L. 3. c. 10. s. 1.	4313	352	376	94	3			137
	4231	347	4	95	12.			59

	Indian and World.	Rome, and Nab.	Iphis: Olympiad.	Perfia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews From Cyrus Daniel.
L. 3. c. 11. s. 4.	4318	357	381	96	10	6	Agellam warreth in Asia.	142
	4246	352	1	96	12	8	The victory of Cozon at Gnidus &c.	64
L. 3. c. 11. s. 7.	4320	359	383	96	13	8		144
	4248	354	2	96	13	9	Very taken by Camillus.	66
	4321	360	384	96	13	9	Xenophon and Plato flourish.	145
	4249	355	3	97	14	10		67
	4322	364	388	97	17	11	The battle of the Marston in the East.	149
L. 4. c. 7. s. 1. L. 3. c. 11. s. 9.	4243	359	388	98	18	12	Rome taken & burnt by the Gauls.	71
	4244	360	389	98	19	13	The Peace of Antalcidas.	150
	4327	376	390	98	19	14		72
	4245	361	3	99	20	15	M. Marcius Capitolinus put to death.	151
	4332	371	395	99	24	6	The Lacedaemonians take the Citadel of Thebes by treachery.	73
L. 3. c. 11. p. 11.	4250	366	395	2	24	6		156
	4336	375	399	100	28	10	The Athenians recover their Citadel, and make strong walls upon the Lacedaemonians.	78
	4254	370	403	101	32	14		100
	4340	379	403	101	32	14		82
	4258	374	403	102	35	17	The famous battle of Leuctra.	104
L. 3. c. 12. s. 1.	4343	382	406	102	35	17		86
	4261	377	406	102	35	17		107
L. 3. c. 12. s. 4.	4345	384	408	102	37	19	The justice growth of the Theban Estate.	89
	4263	379	408	103	37	19		101
	4351	390	414	104	41	23	The great Battle of Mantinea, Epaminondas dies.	175
	4266	385	414	104	41	23		97 Jonathan
L. 3. c. 12. s. 8.	4352	391	415	104	41	23	Peace in Greece, the Athenians weaken themselves in converting their treasure to money.	176 about this time begins
	4267	386	415	105	41	23		98 Priests
	4354	393	417	105	41	23	1. Philip King of Macedonia 24 years, and part of the 25.	178
	4269	388	417	106	41	23	6 The Phocian war begins.	183
L. 4. c. 1. s. 4.	4359	398	422	106	41	23		105
	4277	393	422	107	41	23		188
	4364	403	427	107	41	23	1. Neelanebus flies into Ethiopia.	110
L. 4. c. 1. s. 6.	4368	407	427	108	41	23	15 The end of the Phocian War.	192
	4286	402	427	108	41	23		114
L. 5. c. 1. s. 4. & 4.	4369	408	432	108	41	23	16 Timoleon his voyage into Sicily.	193
	4287	407	432	109	41	23		115
	4370	409	433	109	41	23	17 Philip masters Thracia, and draws the Thracians to follow him.	194
	4288	404	433	110	41	23		116
After this, the year is called after the Jews, by One.	4375	414	438	110	41	23		199
	4293	409	438	110	41	23		121

	Julian and World	Rome and Nab.	Iphit. Olymp.	Perfia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jewes From Cyrus, Daniel.
	4376	415	110				23 Thebais & Cleonae Philip's captain General in the Greek.	2 199 131
	3694	410	439	2				
	4378	417	111	12	Nabon.		25 Philip's son of Persia. Alexander the great 12 years and five months.	4 201 123
	3696	412	1		Novemb. 15			
	4379	418	111				2 Thebes razed by Alexander.	5 203 124
	3697	413	442	2				
	4380	419	443				3 Alexander pas- seth into Asia.	6 205 125
	3698	414	4	3				
L.4. c.2. p.4.	4381	420	111	4			4	7 204 126
	3699	415	444	Thebais of Iffus.				
L.4. c.2. p.5.6. & 7. & 15. c.2. p.8.	4382	421	112			the Gauls enter into league with the Romans.	5 Alexander winnes Tyre and Egypt.	8 205 127 increased by him
	3700	416	445	5				
An Eclipse of ☾	4383	422	112	6			6 Thebais of Arbelis.	9 206 128
	3701	417	446	2			6 Babylon, Sufa, & Parthia razed by Alexander.	10 207 129
L.4. c.2. p.13	4384	423	447	7			7 Darius slain by Belshazzar.	10 207 129
	3702	418	3					
	4385	424	112	8				11 208 130
	3703	419	448	4				
	4386	425	113	9				12 209 131
	3704	420	449	1				
Alexander d. 17. days before the summer Solstice. From Nabon's after his death are reckoned 434. years — a change in the regis- tration, 194.7. the former 4378. years, which agrees with this accept. Ptoleom. Almagest. 15. c.8.	4390	429	114	13	Nabon.			16 213 135
	3708	434	453	1				
	4391	430	114	1				17 214 136
	3709	425	454	2				
	4394	433	115	4				18 215 137
	3712	428	1					
	4395	434	115	5				19 216 138
	3713	429	2					
	4397	430	115	7				20 217 139
	3715	431	4					
	4398	437	116	8				21 218 140
	3716	432	1					
	4402	441	117	5				22 219 141
	3720	436	1					
	4403	442	117	6				23 220 142
	3721	437	466	2				

	Julian, and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit. Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdom of the Grech- ians.	Greece.	Rome.	Jewes. Daniel
The Era of the Kingdom of the Greeks.	4404	443	467	7	14	1. Seleuc. 1. (20)	L.4. c.5. p.7.		14 149 16
Alexander's Cap- tain affirms the man- ner of Kur.	4406	443	469	9	10	3 Ptolemaeus in Syria and Egypt.	Adonis for 10 in 1000 the first of Antiochus.		16 151 23
L.4. c.6. p.4.	4413	452	476	16	23	10 The battle of Issus, where an army of 300,000 men was slain.			158 159 160
	4414	453	477	17	24	11 Antiochus in Syria and Egypt.			161 162 163
	4417	456	480	18	27	14 The battle of Babylon, where Antiochus was slain.			164 165 166
	4421	460	484	19	31	18 1. Demetrius. 6.			167 168 169
L.4. c.6. p.7.	4422	461	485	20	32				170 171 172
	4427	466	490	21	37	24 1. Pyrrhus 7. month.			173 174 175
	4428	467	491	22	38	25 1. Lysimachus 5.			176 177 178
	4429	468	492	23	39	26 1. Ptolemy 38.			179 180 181
The translation of the Bible by the Sep- tuagint.	4432	471	495	24	40	29 1. Ptolemy 38.			182 183 184
L.4. c.6. p.9. & C.7. p.2.	4433	472	496	25	41	30 1. Ptolemy 38.			185 186 187
	4434	473	497	26	42	31 1. Ptolemy 38.			188 189 190
L.4. c.7. p.3. & 7	4436	475	499	27	43	32 1. Ptolemy 38.			191 192 193
	4438	477	501	28	44	33 1. Ptolemy 38.			194 195 196
L.5. c.2. p.6.	4439	478	502	29	45	34 1. Ptolemy 38.			197 198 199
	4441	480	504	30	46	35 1. Ptolemy 38.			200 201 202
The translation by the Septuagint finished, this 17. of Philadelphia.	4445	484	508	31	47	36 1. Ptolemy 38.			203 204 205
	4446	485	509	32	48	37 1. Ptolemy 38.			206 207 208
	4450	489	513	33	49	38 1. Ptolemy 38.			209 210 211
The more ancient Roman Captains have been often in error. — about 1000 years old traditions to name.	3768	484	513	34	50	39 1. Ptolemy 38.			212 213 214

	Julian, and World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romani.	Lower, Daniel.	Confils.
	4453	492	516	129	18	25	1. Antiochus Thers 16			8	L. Valerius.
	3771	487		4						198	T. O. B. A. C. I. n. s.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 6.	4454	493	517	130	19	26	2	Darius his victory at Sea.		9	C. Darius.
	3772	488		1			11			199	Cn. Cornelius.
	4457	496	520	130	22	29	5	Regulus pushed into A. fricke.		12	M. A. M. Reg.
	3775	491	520	4			54			202	Cn. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 8.	4458	497	521	131	23	30	6	Marcus C. Aratus, Prator of the Achaens.		13	L. Manlius.
	3776	492	521	1			55	Regulus taken prisoner.		203	C. C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4403	502	526	132	28	35	11	Aratus recovers Sisyphus and Sisyphus in the Achaens.		18	L. C. A. C. I. n. s.
The Roman Consul became L. Iphitus. The Romans of the Parthians in Egypt.	3781	497		2			60			208	C. F. A. C. I. n. s.
	4464	503		132			12			209	L. Manlius.
	3782	498	457	2	29	36	61	Regulus his death.		209	L. Manlius.
	4495	504		132			13			210	P. Claudius.
	3785	499	528	4	30	37	62	Sisyphus, and on Sisyphus fight of the Romans at the.		210	L. Iphitus.
	4467	500		133			15			22	L. C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3786	501	530	2	32		64			212	M. Fabius.
Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicily. L. 5. c. 1. §. 11.	4469	508		133			4			24	M. Fabius.
	3787	502	532	4	34	3	66			214	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4472	511		134			4	Lucius his great victory at Achaens.		27	C. Lucius, C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3790	506	535	2	35	6	69			217	A. P. A. C. I. n. s.
The war of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians. L. 5. c. 2.	4473	512		134			5	Peace granted to Carthage.		218	A. A. C. I. n. s.
	3791	507		4			70			218	A. A. C. I. n. s.
	4474	513		135			6			219	C. C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3792	508	537	1	3	Nabon Oct. 22	71			220	M. Sempronius.
The war with the Mercenaries ended.	4476	515		135			8			3	Gracchus.
	3794	510	539	3	5	10	72			221	Fulco.
	4482	521		137			14			9	Lipidus.
	3800	516	545	1			79			227	M. A. C. I. n. s.
	4483	522		137			15			10	M. A. C. I. n. s.
	3801	517	546	2	2	17	80			228	M. A. C. I. n. s.
L. 5. c. 2. §. 7.	4485	524		137			17			12	L. F. A. C. I. n. s.
	3802	520	548	4	4	19	82			229	C. F. A. C. I. n. s.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 1.	4489	530		138			8			16	L. A. C. I. n. s.
	3807	522	552	4			86			224	C. A. C. I. n. s.
Flaminius was Consul this year. See L. 5. c. 2. §. 8.	4492	531		139			11			19	C. Cornelius.
	3810	525	555	2	11	26	87			227	M. A. C. I. n. s.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 2.	4493	532		139			4			20	P. Cornelius.
	3811	527	556	4	12		90			228	M. A. C. I. n. s.
	4494	533		140			3			21	L. V. A. C. I. n. s.
	3812	528	557	1			91			229	C. Lucius.

	Julian, and World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome, Daniel.	Confils.
Hannibal takes Saguntum.	4495	534		140			4		22	L. A. C. I. n. s.
The beginning of the second Punic War.	3812	529	558	2			92		240	M. A. C. I. n. s.
The occurrences of this year are referred by Polybius L. 5. to the 14th Olympiad the battle of the Tigris was fought in the year, the Olympian year began at the Summer Solstice.	4496	535	559	3			5		241	T. Sempronius.
	3813	530	560	141			93		242	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4497	536		140			6		243	Cn. Serranus.
	3814	531	561	141			94		244	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4498	537		141			7		245	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3815	532	562	142			95		246	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4499	538		142			8		247	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3816	533	563	143			96		248	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4500	539		142			10		249	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3817	534	564	143			97		250	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4501	540		142			11		251	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3818	535	565	143			98		252	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4502	541		143			12		253	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3819	536	566	144			99		254	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4503	542		144			100		255	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3820	537	567	145			101		256	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4504	543		145			102		257	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3821	538	568	146			103		258	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4505	544		146			104		259	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3822	539	569	147			105		260	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4506	545		147			106		261	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3823	540	570	148			107		262	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4507	546		148			108		263	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3824	541	571	149			109		264	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4508	547		149			110		265	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3825	542	572	150			111		266	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4509	548		150			112		267	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3826	543	573	151			113		268	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4510	549		151			114		269	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3827	544	574	152			115		270	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4511	550		152			116		271	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3828	545	575	153			117		272	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4512	551		153			118		273	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3829	546	576	154			119		274	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4513	552		154			120		275	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3830	547	577	155			121		276	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4514	553		155			122		277	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3831	548	578	156			123		278	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4515	554		156			124		279	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3832	549	579	157			125		280	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4516	555		157			126		281	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3833	550	580	158			127		282	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4517	556		158			128		283	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3834	551	581	159			129		284	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4518	557		159			130		285	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3835	552	582	160			131		286	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4519	558		160			132		287	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3836	553	583	161			133		288	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4520	559		161			134		289	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3837	554	584	162			135		290	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4521	560		162			136		291	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3838	555	585	163			137		292	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4522	561		163			138		293	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3839	556	586	164			139		294	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4523	562		164			140		295	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3840	557	587	165			141		296	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	4524	563		165			142		297	C. A. C. I. n. s.
	3841	558	588	166			143		298	C. A. C. I. n. s.
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